



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

- Church History: its nature & worth.
 Railroad Jubilee, 2 Discourses by
 Thomas Starr King.
 Washington, or Greatness, T. S. King.
 Mr Cook on Divine Government, " "
 Man, Bible Society; an Address, by " "
 " " " other " "
 The Death of Mr. Webster; by N. Adams.
 " " " T. Starr King.
 Woman; Her Public Function; by
 Theodore Parker.
 Worship at Work; Dr. Wm R. Williams.
 Missionary Sermon; Dr. Wm Adams.
 Conflict of Ages - : Rev. T. S. King.
 Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. Rev
 Henry B. Smith, D.D.
 2 Discourses on Endless Punishment; by
 Thomas S. King;
 2 Lectures on Trinitarianism; by King;
 Missions Sermon, by R. S. Storrs D.D.
 Bacc. Sermon " Mark Hopkins, D.D.
 Farewell " " A. D. Smith, D.D.

“and he was called the friend of God, [because that, having believed God, he also did what God commanded him.] Ye see, then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith *only*. Likewise also was not Rahab, the harlot, justified by works, when she had received the messengers, and had sent them out another way? For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also.”

Here ends what St. James says on the subject. The amount of the whole, is, that works of obedience to God, of mercy and justice to men, all proceeding from a living faith, and thus making that faith perfect, or finished, in its fruits, will justify us before our Maker,—as is shown by the examples of Abraham and Rahab of old; but that any faith, which produces no such good works, will not avail to the purpose, because it is proved to be dead by the very fact that it yields no such fruits. It is, in that case, a vain thing, which can serve no end but to deceive us. And we may add, that this is one of the plainest truths of our moral consciousness, as well as of the Bible.

We think no intelligent reader will be likely to mistake the object of the argument. It was to guard Christians against the danger of relying upon faith alone, such as produced no corresponding works: that error, into which a zeal for belief exclusively, has always run, and to which the natural love of indulgence always predisposes men. It seems probable, from the tenor of the passage, that this one-sided tendency had begun to show itself, in the apostolic age, to such a degree that it needed to be checked.

Thus far St. James. Now let us turn to St. Paul, and see whether he teaches any thing inconsistent with this. In order so to proceed as to be sure of doing the apostle justice, we ask, first, Does he ever say, while treating on the subject, that we are justified by faith *only*, as St. James denies? or, that we are justified by faith without *good* works, and that is dead? No. Had he asserted this, he would have contradicted St. James, at least in words. But such is not the case. And here we may mark one of the points at which the two apostles, while seeming to cross each other in the form of their conclusions, are found in fact, to keep perfectly clear even of any verbal conflict. Perhaps we shall be reminded that

St. Paul does say that we are justified by faith, while St. James says it is by good works. Very true. But we must remember that the works, of which St. James speaks, were such as proceeded from a living faith,—were but the outward and perfected developement of this internal energy; and that his object, in setting them foremost, was to dissuade his brethren from resting merely on a dead faith, which resulted in no works, and was of no avail. Was St. Paul opposed to this view? We repeat: the works on which St. James insisted were vitally connected with faith, were its perfected form, its fruits. Both apostles mean the same thing, in principle. Both of them quote the case of Abraham to illustrate their doctrine; only that St. Paul was led, by his immediate object, to adduce the Patriarch's living faith in God, as the internal energy which wrought his justification; while St. James had occasion to lay emphasis upon the works of obedience which Abraham performed by virtue of that faith. All the difference, even in language, is, that the one names the root, evidently meaning to include the fruit; and that the other names the fruit, evidently including the root. It is as if we should commend a favorite tree as excellent for sustaining life, and a friend, in repeating our recommendation, should refer it to the fruit rather than to the tree. Both of us would mean the same thing.

There is, however, one phrase which may still be thought to place the two apostles in contravention with each other. St. Paul says that we are "justified by faith, without the deeds of the law;" that "a man is justified, without the works of the law;" that "by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." And we may be asked, Is not here a direct denial of what James asserts, that "a man is justified by works?" No; not the least disagreement, even in the proper force of the words themselves. For the phrase, "the deeds of the law," or "the works of the law," is a form that St. Paul always used to designate, among other things, a certain class of performances which had no affinity with the good works of which St. James speaks. St. Paul never says that we are justified by faith that is without *good works*; but "without the works, or deeds, of the law,"—that is, of the Mosaic law, such as circumcision, washings, offering sacrifices,

paying tithes of mint, anise, and cummin, keeping the feasts, and other observances of the kind. We say, *these* among other things ; for though he indirectly included other things also, *these* were what gave form to the phrase, as might easily be shown by examining the several contexts in which it occurs. We will produce only one, though it is the most remarkable of them,—the one in which he asserts, and repeats over and over again, that “a man is not justified by the works of the law.” (Gal. ii. 16.) Now, what was the occasion of his argument ? It was this : When St. Peter was at Antioch, he at first ate with Gentile Christians, in contradiction to Jewish prejudices. But no sooner had certain Jewish brethren come thither from Jerusalem, than “he withdrew and separated himself” from the Gentile converts, “fearing them which were of the circumcision.” Others followed his dissembling. “But,” says St. Paul, when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter, before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, [as he had done at first,] and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews ? [as he virtually did by his subsequent withdrawal and separation.] We, who are Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles, knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, [such as St. Peter was now practising for “fear of the circumcision,”] but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law ; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.’ Gal. ii. 11-16.

At the present day, and among Protestants, especially among Dissenters, it seems useless to spend time in exposing the vanity of the works of the ceremonial law. But we must consider that “the Apostle to the Gentiles,” stood in circumstances very different from ours in this respect. He was called upon, by the prevalence of Jewish errors in the churches, to do his utmost to make his brethren understand that these things contributed nothing towards their justification. How astonished he would have been, to be suspected of teaching so monstrous a doctrine, as that really *good* works, in the common acceptation of the phrase, were worthless in the sight of God, or una-

vailing to his approbation ! He was writing to those who had either been brought up in Judaism, or who were deeply tinctured with it. He himself had been a Jew, and, as he says, had "profited in the Jews' religion above many of his equals." He well knew all their inveterate prejudices. With that people, the performance of the Mosaic rites had for ages been regarded as the chief thing in practical religion. "God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican ; *I fast twice in the week ; I give tithes of all I possess,*"—was the boast of Pharisaism. It is almost impossible for us, in the total change of sentiments on this point, to conceive how sacred, how meritorious in their eyes, were these formal observances. They called them righteousness ; they thought the service of God consisted chiefly in them ; they deemed them indispensable to salvation, and looked upon all, who disregarded them, as abominable, accursed : "this people, who knoweth not the law, are cursed." And we find, in the New Testament, as we might naturally expect to find, that nearly all the earliest Christians themselves, having been converted Jews, could not shake off their old superstitions with respect to the obligation of the ceremonial law. Many of them insisted on compelling the Church to submit to the yoke of Moses. Some of the believers went so far as to contend that no one could be saved, unless he was circumcised and kept the statutes of the Old Covenant as well as those of the New. They caused a great deal of difficulty in the Church, troubling the minds of the Gentile brethren, many of whom did not know what to think amid the perpetual controversies that were almost everywhere agitated on the question. It was on this account that St. Paul labored so earnestly to convince them that the Jewish "righteousness" was worthless, and that no flesh could be justified "by the works, or deeds of the law ;" but that faith in Jesus Christ and his gospel was the requisite to acceptance with God. On other occasions, however, he shows, as fully as do any of the inspired teachers, that this faith must be such as produces right affections, and manifests itself in works of *real* goodness. His doctrine is, that "there is now, no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who *walk*,

not after the flesh, but after the spirit. . . . For if ye *live* after the flesh, ye shall die ; but if ye through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body ye shall live." (Rom. viii. 1, 13.) "Be not deceived ; God is not mocked ; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption ; but he that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting." (Gal. vi. 7, 8.)

We have thus shown that St. Paul and St. James neither disagreed in meaning, nor contradicted each other in their language, on this point. The doctrine of each, so far as we have now presented it, was but the complement of the other's doctrine. Each illustrated that particular bearing, of the general subject, which needed the most to be enforced in his circumstances. The one had special occasion to refute the error that prevailed respecting the obligation of the Jewish rites, and to insist on the sufficiency of living faith in the gospel ; the other, to correct the tendency towards quite as hurtful a delusion, that of resting in a dead faith, which produced no fruits.

But though we need say no more, in order to clear them from all appearance of disagreement, yet there are farther considerations that belong to our subject. It goes down into principles, and reaches out in relations, which we have not yet explored, and which St. James had no occasion to lay open, in treating the matter, as he did, for the common purposes only of practical life. If we take into view all that St. Paul says, with respect to it, we shall find two things for which he is remarkable : 1. That he was habitually accustomed to recognize the divine agency as lying back of the human, in the production of our faith and obedience ; and 2. That, with his acute insight, he made great account of the distinction between works, of whatsoever description, performed out of a servile subjection to bare rules or statutes, and those which result from a living and affectionate principle of rectitude within. Let us illustrate these positions.

1. In his comprehensive view, it was "God who worketh within us, both to will, and to do, of his good pleasure," at the same time that we must "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling." In every stage of our

progress from sin and unbelief to faith and sanctification, he sees the presence of the divine energy, while he does not overlook the responsible activity of man. Herein he agrees with our religious consciousness; for this always recognizes the operation of these two elements, though it is perhaps the case that the idea is seldom developed into clear and definite forms, in our understanding, without considerable culture of the philosophic kind, such as he had. But the various ways in which this two-fold recognition would naturally affect the treatment of our subject, may be readily anticipated. Sometimes it is said that we are justified by our faith, or our works; sometimes, by the blood of Christ; sometimes, freely by the grace of God. The foregoing consideration will account for this diversity in the manner of presenting the same truth. The work is ascribed to the nearer or remoter causes, or cause, according to the tenor of the argument; just as we say that our life depends on food, on the air, on the climate, on the native vigor of our constitution, on our care, or on God,—without contradicting ourselves by these various positions.

2. Speaking with a metaphysical precision, such as is not always called for in common practical life, we may observe that it is not the outward act which is morally either good or bad; it is the internal disposition, from which the act proceeds. Of course, when treating the matter with such nicety, it is this disposition which must be regarded as the immediate ground of our condemnation or justification. In this sense, we might truly say that no man is justified by works of any outward kind; we might say so, without infringing in the least on the meaning of St. James. For he had no occasion to make so nice a distinction; he spoke in the grosser forms of current language. Again: using still the same precision, it is plain that any attempt even to obey God, if made from other motives than love, is vain; that all apparent acts of submission, or service, if performed mechanically as it were, or as a perfunctory compliance with a catalogue of precepts, are heartless; and that nothing but right affections can produce fruits acceptable to Him who will be served “in spirit and in truth.” Now St. Paul regards faith in Christ as the life-giving power by which

NATURE AND WORTH OF THE SCIENCE OF CHURCH
HISTORY.

AN

INAUGURAL ADDRESS,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE DIRECTORS OF THE

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

NEW YORK, FEB. 12, 1851.

BY

HENRY B. SMITH,

Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

ANDOVER:

PRESS OF WARREN F. DRAPER.

1851.

Published by request of the Board of Directors of the Union Theological
Seminary in the City of New York.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1851, by
WARREN F. DRAPER,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

A D D R E S S .

IN addressing the Directors of the Union Theological Seminary and this respected audience, upon an occasion of such solemn interest to myself, and so closely connected with the welfare of the institution which they guard and cherish, I would, if possible, forget my own unfitness for the office to which I have been called, and accept its duties in the name and for the sake of the Great Head of the Church. It is the history of his church which I am to teach. And if the guidance of his wisdom is needed at all times by all his disciples, it is especially needed by his ministry; yet more by those called to train men for his ministry, and in some peculiar respects by one who is to narrate the history of his kingdom to its future preachers in our age and country.

The history of the church is not the straightforward narrative of the fortunes of an isolated community with inferior ends in view, but it is an account of the rise, the changes and the growth of the most wonderful economy the world has known, embracing the most comprehensive purposes which human thought can grasp. It has maintained itself in the historic progress of the race, as has no empire. It has been aggressive, attacked, progressive and diffusive as has no other community. It has moved through States, intertwined itself with institutions, changed politics, shaped national and individual character, affected all moral and social interests, and been interwoven with the whole web of human destiny. He who would know the principles which have really controlled human thought and action, will, if he be wise, explore the records of that kingdom which has had the longest duration and the strongest influence. On human grounds alone it may challenge the most earnest study of every thoughtful mind. But this history is invested with a solemn, a sublime interest, when it is viewed as the record of a divine economy, established in an apostate world, centering in the incarnation of the Son of God, and having for its object the redemption of the race, through the might of the Holy Spirit. As such, it contains the most antagonistic elements. For, though the origin of this kingdom be

divine, and though its consummation will be the glorious and untroubled manifestation of God's grace and wisdom, yet, between the origin and the consummation there is a theatre of strife, where the strongest energies of good and ill, all the forces of a supernatural, and all the forces of a natural kingdom wage perpetual warfare. It is in the vanquishing of mighty and subtle foes that the kingdom of Christ has shown its superior and supreme authority. There is progress, but it is progress through conflict. There are the victories of faith, there is also the partial success of unbelief, there is advance in spiritual freedom, there is the exaltation of spiritual despotism; there are enemies without, and feuds within; there is the growth, there is also the perversion of Christian doctrine; there is the church separate from the world, and the church contending against submission to, and domineering over, States and empires; and all this, not in one land, or one century, but from East to West, through many centuries, in the most puissant nations of the earth. And if it is chiefly in the conflicts of the race that we are to read the destiny of the race, then through these, its mightiest conflicts, may we be taught, that he who would reach forth his hand to grasp the solemn urn that holds the oracles of human fate can find it only in the Christian church. And if Lord Bacon could say in view of the visible creation: "God forbid that we give forth the dream of our fancy as the model of the world, but may he rather vouchsafe us his grace that we may indite a revelation and true vision of the march and signet of the Creator impressed upon creation;" much more ought he, who explores the revelations of God in his new and spiritual creation, to feel the constant need of that divine illumination which can alone enable him to distinguish what is from God and what is from man, what is transient, and what is worthy of lasting veneration; which can alone enable him to get above all these contests, so as to read their meaning, and so to read their meaning as to see the march and signet of redemptive grace impressed upon the moral history of our earth.

While the position of a teacher of Church History is thus, from the nature of the case, always responsible and arduous, it is especially so to one who is called to discharge the functions of this office in our age and in our land. There are advantages, indeed, as well as disadvantages, but both the advantages and the disadvantages increase the measure of his toil. There is an accumulation of historical materials, and this is an advantage; but they are more than sufficient to task the freshest powers in the longest life. There are now better digests of the materials than were even imagined possible, half a cen-

tury ago, but the teacher must verify their details and try their principles. The presumptuous and ignorant assaults of a base philosophy against the Christian church, have well nigh spent their force; no sane and instructed mind would now dare to represent it as injurious to humanity, as the work of priestcraft, as a complex of endless and useless logomachy, and as sterile of all rational interest. These vulgar objections had their origin in schools which imagined that matter was more intelligible than mind, and in countries where the history of Christianity was identified with the progress of Romish corruptions; and they now live only in the souls that are the fitting receptacles of the veriest dregs of human thought. They have been refuted in part by the very progress of Christianity, as well as by a better philosophy, and a more comprehensive view of man's history. But these larger views of human history bring with them still graver duties to the historian of the church, because most of them assign to the church a subordinate position in the development of the race, and thus impose the necessity of giving a more philosophical character to the exposition of that history, so that it shall be seen to embrace all, as well as the spiritual interests of humanity.

There are also disadvantages in the study of this branch of learning, springing from our systems of education and national habits of thought. As a people, we are more deficient in historical training than in almost any other branch of scientific research. We live in an earnest and tumultuous present, looking to a vague future, and comparatively cut off from the prolific past—which is still the mother of us all. We forget that the youngest people are also the oldest, and should therefore be most habituated to those “fearless and reverent questionings of the sages of other times, which,” as Jeffrey well says, “is the permitted necromancy of the wise.” We love the abstractions of political theories and of theology better than we do the concrete realities of history. Church history has been studied from a sort of general notion that it ought to be very useful, rather than from any lively conviction of its inherent worth. History is to us the driest of studies; and the history of the church is the driest of the dry—a collection of bare names, and facts, and lifeless dates. It is learned by rote, and kept by mnemonic helps. Whole tracts of its course realize to us the notion of the philosopher in Addison, who used to maintain the existence of tenebrific stars, whose peculiar office it was to ray out positive darkness. Its sources are buried in the dust of alcoves, and when exhumed, it is seldom with the insignia of a resurrection. They are investigated for aid in present

polemics, not to know the past but to conquer in an emergency ; as if one should run over American history only in view of incorporating a bank, or passing a tariff-bill. While we all confess that there are sources of sublime interest in the study of the visible heavens, and that no research is too deep into the successive strata of the solid earth, we are slow to believe that in the course of human history, we are to find the revelation of the sublimities of a spiritual kingdom, and the registry of the successive epochs of that new creation, in which divine wisdom and love are manifested and mirrored forth, as they cannot be in the orbits of lifeless stars, or in the growth of the unconscious earth.

While I attempt, then, as a subject appropriate to the occasion, to set forth the Nature and Worth of the Science of Church History, I would also crave the indulgence of this audience to my seeming exaggerations of an unfamiliar theme, in the belief that its inherent dignity will commend it to their favorable regard.

And I propose to speak in the first place, of the nature or true idea of the science of church history ; and, in the second place, to show its worth as a part of theological training especially in our times.

I. The nature of the science of church history. What is, then, church history as a science ? What is the true idea of this branch of theological learning ?

The different departments of theological study are usually and most appropriately grouped under the four divisions of exegetical, doctrinal, historical and practical theology. The scope of each branch is well defined by the term applied to it. Historical theology embraces all that pertains to the historic progress of the church, under the historical point of view. Doctrines and polity as well as external facts belong to it, yet not as doctrines and not as polity, but as the history of doctrines and polity, reproducing them with impartiality and critical sagacity in the order in which they have really existed. The church historian ought indeed so to teach, as, by his instructions, to confirm soundness in faith and attachment to ecclesiastical order ; he ought to apply to history at all points the test of that word which alone is inspired and authoritative ; but in order to do this, his first duty is to present the facts themselves in the order of their occurrence. Then he may judge them in their bearings on the great ends for which the church was instituted. And all the facts in both the external and internal history of the church, its progress and its reverses, its constitution, doctrines and ritual, its theologies and its spiritual life, its effects on nations and the influence of races upon

itself, its contests with human thought in all the phases of philosophy, its bearings on social, moral and political well-being, its relations to art and culture, all these points fall, in their historical aspects, under the department of historical theology, they constitute the materials of the science of church history.

What is, then, the true idea of this science? We may answer this inquiry by considering these three points: that it is history, that it is church history, and that it is the science of church history.

1. It is, in the first place, history with which we have to do; and the history of the church falls under the conditions and laws, and has the dignity of all history. It is what has been transacted on the theatre of the world in its past centuries through human agencies, made known to us by means of monuments and testimony. It is a body of facts, but specifically of facts about the human race. It is with man that history has to do; we can talk of a history of animals or of nature only by courtesy. It is with men collectively that history has to do, and not as individuals; historical personages are historical because they are the actors in events which affect the general good. The life of an individual is a biography; the life of a community is its history. And such a history is made up of a *series* of events, an orderly succession, no one of which can be understood except in its connections with the rest. And it is a series of events containing all the great and permanent interests of humanity. Human history in its real character is not an account of kings and of wars; it is the unfolding of the moral, the political, the artistic, the social, and the spiritual progress of the human family. The time will yet come when the names of dynasties and of battles shall not form the titles to its chapters. And the events of history are great, because they are freighted with the weal and woe of States, with the social and moral welfare of mankind. Historical facts have not only an existence in space and time, but they have also a moral life, they are instinct with the vitality of human interests. The whole movements of past centuries, and the whole momentum of centuries yet unborn may meet upon a single plain, a single day, a single will. And of such epochs is the history of our earth made up in its majestic course, as the historic races of the human family have come one after another into the van of that uncounted and ever advancing host which started from its cradle in the East, swarmed through the plains of the Orient, skirted all the outline of the Mediterranean, toiled with slow advance from southern Europe even to its Northern shores, leaped the flaming walls of the old world, and now finds its largest

theatre in this our Western continent, whither all nations, tribes and tongues are congregating, bearing with them the elements, from which, it may be, the highest destiny of man is to be wrought out.

The greatness of history consists then, essentially, in these two things: that it is a body of facts, and that these facts are a means of leading us to a knowledge of the great realities of human welfare, and of the actual development of the race under the pressure of all its vital interests. Its solidity is in its facts; it is above the sphere of mere speculation, as much as is nature, though it is a proper and the highest object of speculative inquiry. And it is impossible to get at a comprehensive view of man's nature and destiny, without the lights and monuments of the past. The most speculative nation of modern times, in its reaction from the unsatisfying results of its universal and abstract philosophical systems, has thrown itself with ardor into the most elaborate historical investigations. The most imposing pantheistic system which was ever framed, the most compact and consistent, was bereft of its power, chiefly in its attempt to reconstruct the moral and religious history of mankind in conformity with its desolating principles. It fell upon this stone and was broken. It touched the monuments of time and became impotent. Fiction may be great, but history is grand. Philosophy is noble, but history is its test.

It is now the province of the historian to revivify the past. Its successive periods are to live again upon the historic page. "Even what from its antiquity is but little known," says Harris in his *Hermes*, "may, on that very account, have all the charm of novelty." It will have this, if the historian gives us, not dead facts, but living men, and broad human interests. Of that high art which thus makes the past present and the absent real, Gibbon is the greatest English master, though his vision reached only to the confines of the central kingdom of our earth. The historian is also to reproduce events, so that we may read them better than did the very actors in them; for he who is fighting in the thick of the conflict sees but a small part of the movements of the army, and even the general who directs the host cannot foresee the results of his victory or disaster. But in the results the historian is to read the causes. He is to teach us the events in the light of their principles and laws. These he is to seek out with a patient, a sympathizing, a reverential, and a truly inductive spirit. And his true office is not completed, if he gives us only partial principles and laws, but only as he gives us those which truly explain the greatest results of the greatest events. It is indeed true

that historical causes are so manifold, that nothing is easier than to build up some brilliant and partial theory, and cite facts in its confirmation, but it only requires a more thorough study of history to disclose the deception, just as it only needs an open vision to see that a Grecian temple, or a Gothic cathedral or a phalanstery is not the whole of the landscape, though it may engross the meditations of some rapt enthusiast. He who thus reads history in the light of all its impregnable facts, to get from them its laws, will be led along to see that human motives and interests do not embrace the whole of it, but that it is also the sphere of a divine justice, and the theatre of a divine kingdom.

2. And this leads us to our second point, and that is, that the subject of our science is not only history, but church history, that is, the record of the progress of the kingdom of God, intermingling with and acting upon all the other interests of the human race, and shaping its destiny.

That man looks with limited or with sealed vision upon the annals of the human race, who does not descry, running through all its course, underlying it, and prominent above it, the workings of a spiritual kingdom, whose influence, in one or another form, has defined the metes and bounds of history. To the rest of history it bears the same relation that the granite does to the earth's strata, it is both deepest and highest, it supports by its solidity beneath, and juts out in its sublimity in the loftiest summits.

The character of a people is shaped in part by its geographical position, whether along the lines of rivers, or among the mountains; it is formed in part by the influence of climate, and in the same climate, by diversities of race; political institutions serve to make men submissive or independent; social influences act with keener energy, reaching to the very fireside; more potent still are strictly moral causes, the degree in which right or wrong is practically applied; but that which shapes the whole character, and determines the final destiny of a people, that which has always done this, and from the nature of the case must do this, is its religious faith. For here are the highest objects acting on the deepest and most permanent wants of the human heart. And in the whole history of man we can trace the course of one shaping, o'ermastering and progressive power, before which all others have bowed, and that is the spiritual kingdom of God, having for its object the redemption of man from the ruins of the apostasy.

This kingdom gives us the three ideas in whose light we may best

read the history of our race, and they are sin, holiness and redemption.

If we could but fully realize the majestic simplicity of this kingdom, its spiritual nature and sublime intent, if we could make present to us the full idea of it, which is not an idea alone, but also a reality ; if we could see that holiness is the great end of our being, and that sin is its very opposite, and that redemption is for the removal of sin, and the establishment of a holy kingdom, then were we in the right position for reading, in their highest meaning, all the records of our race.

To narrate the history of this kingdom is the object of church history. And it brings us at once to the very centre and life of all history. By its light we may discern the very structure of human history, even as it is said that the anatomist may dissect the Brazilian fire-fly by the light which it emits. It runs through the chronicles of recorded time, from the beginning even until now. It has educated the race. It was revealed in the first promise ; it survived the flood of waters ; it was made a special covenant in the family of Abraham ; the law given on Sinai was to prepare for its full manifestation ; the Jewish people was secluded that it might bear it safe in type and prophecy, and in their very lineage, in the midst of the corruptions of Pagan idolatries ; the heathen nations came under one empire, and through them was diffused one language, that they might be prepared for its complete advent ; and it was brought to its full establishment, and invested with all its functions and powers, when the Son of God became incarnate, that He might die for our redemption ; and from this, the era of the Incarnation, this kingdom has gone on, conflicting and conquering, with each century binding new trophies upon its victorious brow, adding strength to its loins and swiftness to its feet ; and now it remains, still militant, hopeful as in its earliest youth, and wiser in its matured vigor, diffusing far and wide its innumerable blessings, and bearing in its divine powers and sacred truths the hopes and destiny of the human race.

The true idea of church history then embraces these points : God has made a revelation of himself to man, having for its object the redemption of man. "What education is to the individual, that is revelation to the race." This revelation is made in a real, instituted, historical economy. This economy centres in the Person and Work of our Lord, who is the living Head of a new creation. Of the life, the doctrines and the growth of this new creation, the elect church, he is the source, through the energy of his Spirit. And the history

of the church tells us how far the redemptive purposes of God have been accomplished in the actual course of human events. That history, in its actual course has been a connected series, all its facts being bound together by their common reference to Christ and his kingdom. That history has been a developing process, not only in the way of external diffusion, subduing the nations, not only in its external politics, changing to meet the exigencies of the times, not only in the application of its principles more deeply and sharply to all the relations and institutions of society, but also in its doctrines which have been unfolded, defined and systematized, so as to ward off objections, and to bring the Christian system into harmony with all other truth as a scientific whole. This developing process is not arbitrary, but it has its laws, and also its tests, both of which it is the duty of the historian to set forth. He is to exhibit all the elements which constitute the Christian church, in their just relations, doctrines, polity, spiritual life, and external events acting upon each other, and all working together in the unfolding of the kingdom of God. And this history does not stand alone; it is a part of universal history, containing its central and controlling elements; so that as a mere matter of historic justice, he who would study the records of the race with a humility like that which animates the true minister and interpreter of nature, will find impressed upon them the principles and laws of that supernatural kingdom whose final glories shall be hymned in anthems of exulting praise in that heavenly realm where the triumphant church shall celebrate the centuries of its jubilee.

This is the general idea of church history. And here I cannot forbear citing a passage from the works of the elder Edwards, our greatest American divine, which, taken for all in all, is perhaps the most remarkable he ever penned, and which shows the clearest insight into the real nature of the Christian church. In his letter to the Trustees of Princeton College, when they invited him to their presidency, he says: "I have on my mind and heart a great work, which I call a History of Redemption, a body of divinity in an entire new method, being thrown into the form of a history, considering the affair of Christian theology, as the whole of it, in each part, stands in reference to the great work of Redemption by Jesus Christ; which I suppose to be of all others the grand design of God, and the summum and ultimum of all the divine operations and decrees; particularly considering all parts of the grand scheme in their historical order; the order of their existence or their being brought forth to view in the course of divine dispensations, or the wonderful series of

successive acts and events ; beginning from eternity and descending from thence to the great work and successive dispensations of the infinitely wise God, in time ; considering the chief events coming to pass in the church of God, and revolutions in the world of mankind, affecting the state of the church, and the affair of redemption, which we have an account of in history or prophecy, till at last we come to the general resurrection, last judgment and consummation of all things, when it shall be said : ‘ It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end ; ’ concluding my work with a consideration of that perfect state of things which shall be finally settled, to last for eternity. This history will be carried on with regard to all three worlds, heaven, earth and hell, considering the connected, successive events and alterations in each, so far as the Scriptures give any light ; introducing all parts of divinity in that order which is most scriptural and most natural ; a method which appears to me the most beautiful and entertaining, wherein every divine doctrine will appear to the greatest advantage, in the brightest light, in the most striking manner, showing the admirable contexture and harmony of the whole.” In this most striking sketch, which is only partially carried out in Edwards’s Posthumous History of Redemption, and in which the very involutions of the style show the presence of the ideas that are struggling for utterance, we have an outline of the history of the church, as noble as any man ever sketched, as yet unrivalled in the English tongue, and which, of the men of his age, Jonathan Edwards alone could fully conceive : *solus sed sic sol*.

3. The third point necessary to an understanding of the true nature of our subject is, that church history is to be exhibited in a scientific form. It is history, it is church history, and it is the science of church history. It ought to be studied in a scientific method, in accordance with true scientific principles.

That exhibition of a subject, properly called scientific, consists essentially in this — that its facts are brought under their legitimate laws or principles, and that they are viewed in their connections with the causes which have produced them, and the ends to be accomplished by them. The basis of all science is facts ; the first process is to bring these facts under their appropriate general laws. Many philosophers, especially in the natural sciences, stop here, neglecting both the efficient and final causes, scouting them as metaphysical, or banishing them to what they esteem a barren theology. This view not only limits science, but it favors pantheism. And it is essentially unphilosophical, for the inquiry after the really efficient causes, and

the ends of phenomena is as philosophical as the inquiry after their immediate antecedents.

And what we here claim is that the history of the Christian church ought to be presented in a scientific method. As so presented, it is one of the noblest objects to which human thought can be directed. And this is now of special importance, in consequence of the prevalence of partial and unchristian speculations about the history and destiny of the human race.

The time is past when history could be viewed as a bare narrative of events, without any purpose or deductions. Every body now-a-days speculates about events, more or less, well, badly or still worse. That style of treating history too, which consisted in explaining all great events by merely personal motives, is tolerably antiquated, as if the Reformation broke out because Luther wished to marry Catherine von Bora, or Mohammedanism sprang up because Mohammed was ambitious and had visions in epilepsy. It has even been found that steam, electricity, gunpowder and printing are not sufficient to account for the whole of modern civilization, and we only wonder at the enthusiastic admirer of the typographic art, who exclaimed: "Be not deceived, Luther was great, but Gutenberg was greater." All thinking men must and will seek for higher and better causes for the great events of time. At the same time, many a brilliant and partial generalization of the facts of history, which protrudes some social or political object as the great end of the race, is seducing even earnest and thoughtful minds from the simplicity and sublimity of the Christian faith. And hence we say it is well to present the history of the church in a truly scientific way, that the superiority of Christianity may be evinced. Church history is now to be conducted and taught in comparison and contrast with the false philosophy of history. And, as thus taught, it is the best philosophy of history which can be written, the best vindication of the ways of God with man. It is the true philosophy of human history.

What is necessary to such a view of it we will proceed to state in the light of that definition of science which has been already given. According to this, the scientific exhibition of the history of the church would consist in the presentation of all the facts that concern the kingdom of God in Christ, in their orderly succession, with their causes, whether proximate or ultimate, and in their bearings on the divine purpose for the redemption of the world through Jesus Christ, which purpose will be fulfilled in the perfect fellowship of a divine kingdom, where justice shall adjust and love harmonize the relations of all its members.

For the sake of distinctness, it may be well to bring out more definitely the points embraced in this statement.

Church history rests upon a broad basis of facts, given in the Revelation on which it reposes, or in the course of its history. This is the basis of the science.

These facts are to be presented, as they occurred, in orderly succession, grouped around the signal epochs in which the combined interests and relations of the church have undergone some decisive change. Such points of convergence and divergence are, for example, the age of Constantine and the Reformation. This would give us the real historic course and main epochs of the history.

Here, then, we have a series of events, comprising the great and decisive interests of the human race. The inquiry next suggested is, what are the principles and laws upon which this development has proceeded, what are the actual principles, and what is their inherent worth? The proximate principles, now, are unquestionably the motives and feelings of the actors in the events. But the motives of the actors are determined by more general causes, inherent in the times and the institutions in the midst of which they live and act.

And in determining these more general causes, Christian philosophy runs counter to all naturalistic or pantheistic schemes. The latter find them in an impersonal reason, in universal ideas, in human interests or rights, in abstract laws, in social impulses. The former refers them ultimately to the purpose of God, to a real personal Providence, to an Incarnate Redeemer, to the living agencies in a divine kingdom. The one makes them to be from God, the other from reason; the one speaks of a real manifestation of God, the other of an advance in human freedom. The latter equally with the former must concede the actual existence of the church and its history; but he tries to explain this history without God, or Christ, or the Spirit's influences, and without assuming the reality of the truths which centre in this kingdom. Christian philosophy does not deny that men are animated by ideas of justice and freedom, by political and social rights, for this were unwise and contrary to fact, but it says that the facts of history are not fully and rationally explained by them alone, that they demand more than this. It does not deny that there is in history a mixture of causes, some good and some evil, but it says that the overruling ones have been for good, and chiefly through the church of Christ, and wholly through the providence of God. It claims that the very facts of church history, which all must grant to be a part of human history, cannot be rationally accounted

for, excepting on the supposition of the historic reality of the grand revelation of God in Christ and his kingdom.

Abstract ideas, or human interests, or both combined, will not account for the rise and growth of such an economy as is the Christian church. It has been admirably said: "There is one symbolical book of the Christian faith, which will ever do despite to the attacks of a negative criticism, and this is the history of the world. In proportion as historical investigations are elaborated into an universal historical science, in the same proportion will Christ be acknowledged as the eternal and divine substance of the whole historical life of the world, and his sacred person will greet us everywhere on the historic page, as it also greets us everywhere in the Scriptures of our faith."¹

But to explain aright this historical progress of the church, we need a test as well as a cause; we need to ask for the value and authority of the facts. For without such a test we are in utter confusion, and must take all as it comes, for better or worse. We may become the prey of any system of delusion under the vague notion that it is a part of the historical development. Rome might claim us, for she has been developed; all the systems of philosophy might claim us, for all the systems of philosophy have been developed; all the sects in Christendom might invoke our homage, for all the sects in Christendom have been developed; all the parties out of Christendom might claim us, for all the parties out of Christendom have been developed. And if we were divided among them all, little of faith or reason would be left to us.

No idea more vague or unsubstantial has ever been more current than has that of a mere development. It is not merely pernicious, it is also worthless, unless we can show what it is that is developed, what are the laws that regulate the development, and what are the tests by which it is to be tried. And here is where the philosophy of history must differ from the philosophy of nature. In studying nature we may be content with generalizing the facts, thus getting at its laws; although a rigid and complete method would compel us to carry our speculations still farther. But in studying history, in the investigation of moral causes, we need a test by which to try the facts and the principles; for sin is in history as well as holiness, error as well as truth, man as well as God. We need a test, and one not taken at random, but approved as such by the very course of history itself.

And to the believer in a divine revelation, such a test is given in

¹ So, for substance, Professor Brandis of Bonn, in his *History of Philosophy*.

the sacred Scriptures. By its truths and doctrines all history, and especially the history of the church, is to be judged. And that this test is not an arbitrary one may be inferred, not only from the proof of the inspiration of the Bible, but also from the actual course of human history. As a matter of fact, the truths revealed in the Bible have been the touch-stone which has tried men's spirits. Human speculation has not gone beyond, has not even fathomed its wonderful revelations. It has been the historical arbiter of Christian controversy. Its perversions have been judgments, and its truths light and life. It is a marvellous thing to see the supremacy of this Revelation in the actual course of human history. It is instructive to read the history of the church, and all human history, by its light. For, as a matter of simple fact, the whole history of the church might be summed up with saying that it consists in pouring into the human race the treasures of this volume, there to germinate, until the kingdom revealed in word and promise shall be fully manifested in its reality and power.

To complete the philosophical view of Christian history, one additional point is needed, and that is the exhibition of the end or object to which the history is tending. Of anything living and spiritual, we do not have the true conception, until we know the end for which it was made, as well as the actual course and laws of its growth. We understand man fully only in the light of the ends of his being. We have no intelligent apprehension of the true nature of the Christian church, until we see not only the course and laws of its history, but also *how* the whole course of its history bears on the great object for which it was instituted. That object is the bringing the race back to union with God, through the grace of Christ, by the influences of the Spirit, and in the fellowship of men one with another. And this object can only be achieved by the application of the principles of God's kingdom to all human relations and institutions, bringing them all under its divine supremacy, in accordance with justice and in subordination to love. It is the bringing all inferior ends into subjection to the highest end, it is the making the laws of a divine kingdom supreme over all lower laws. Church history shows how far this end has been actually accomplished, and it ought to make us both wise and earnest in carrying on the church still further towards the same great object.

In the greatness and grandeur of the end which Christianity thus holds out to man, the superiority of the Christian system over all other systems is most fully manifested. It embraces more than they

all, and what is more adapted to human wants, and what is more consistent with the facts of history. For the most current and fascinating of these schemes represents some purely human or social interests, some organization for the promotion of "humanitarian" ends, as the great object for which the race has been toiling, as the grand secret so long hidden in the womb of parturient time, with which she has been in travail these six thousand years, and of which she is soon to be delivered. But never was there so long a labor for so slight a progeny. This toil of all the nations, these conflicts of the church, this slow advance through strife, only to issue in the securing of political rights and a better social state! If any view could lead us to despair of Providence and of man, it is such a view of human history as this. All the great labors and conflicts of the past have been for unreal objects. And this is the view of those who believe in man alone, and in the supremacy of reason; they are the very ones who find the least of truth in history, and nothing of permanency in the church, which still has been made up of rational men.

But while protesting against such philosophemes and such a view of human history, as essentially defective, and contrary to fact, we should also be careful not to err on the other extreme, and deny human rights and human reason, and be indifferent to social progress. It is a dishonor to the church to suppose that it can be indifferent to these questions. One of the ends of Christianity, not its highest end, but necessary thereto, is to elevate reason, to secure freedom, and to enhance all social blessings. To take any other ground is to leave Christianity in the back ground. The Christian church must set itself right with these, or it loses its hold of the age, as did Rome, three centuries ago. It must show its superiority to all other systems, chiefly by showing that only on its basis can human rights be safely adjusted, human welfare promoted, and a higher social state introduced among mankind. Christianity is designed to make this world fairer, and wiser, and happier. It must show its supremacy, by laboring for all human interests with the wisest zeal and the calmest energy, and the most assured conviction, keeping them subordinate in theory and in life, to the one comprehensive purpose which includes all the others, and that is, redemption from sin. Without haste, but without rest, earnestly, yet wisely, protesting against all that is unjust, and laboring for its eradication, with an intense sympathy for all who suffer, and bear the burdens, and know the wretchedness of our mortal life, giving with the largest charity, having the very spirit of self-sacrifice in heart and in life, ever working for

truth and righteousness, and believing that they will come, using, as has been said, the very ruins of our earth, to build up the temple of our Lord,—in such a spirit, and with such ends, must the church of the redeemed labor, if it is to set forth the inherent superiority of the Christian system; and under such aspects must it be viewed, that it may realize the full idea of the kingdom of Christ, as a holy society exhibiting, the manifest glory of the supreme God in the redemption of mankind from *all* the consequences of the great apostasy.

Such is the sublime view of the great objects at which God is aiming, and of the final destiny of the race, which is given us in the Christian church and its history. All the interests of the human race are garnered up in its comprehensive purposes. It has principles so universal and efficient, that they alone can reconcile the conflicts and restore the disorders of our fallen state. It gives us the most elevated and inspiring view of the ultimate destiny of the human race. It gives us not a speculation, but a real historical economy; not a merely projected scheme, but one which has endured and conquered, one which has thus far approved itself as adapted to human wants and to human welfare. It gives us a kingdom which reaches forward through the world, beyond the world, even to the eternity of our being. It is a kingdom, too, in which are first adjusted the highest antagonisms, as the means of harmonizing all our lesser conflicts. It gives us agencies sufficient to carry all these ends into fulfilment. This kingdom, reposing for its foundation upon the purpose of the Father, centering in the God-man, divine and human both, animated by the living energy of the Holy Spirit, adjusting the relations between a holy God and a sinful world, intended to reconcile men with each other as well as with God, and having for its object the final redemption of mankind,—such a kingdom is as far superior in its majesty and rightful authority to any merely philosophical speculation about the destiny of the race, as fact is superior to theory, and as a divinely-revealed system is superior to the one-sided excogitations of the poor sciolist, who talks as if humanity were all, and as if his own speculations were the first light that has ever illumined the earth.

This exhibition of the great ends to be wrought out by the church completes the scientific view of its history, and gives to it fulness and roundness; that which was from the beginning in the purpose of the Father is that which is realized in the end in the kingdom of his Son. And thus the circle is completed, the end returns to the beginning, and God is all in all.

And if the inquiry about the ends for which the race was made is a necessary inquiry, if no science can be complete which does not answer it, and if that science is best, which answers it from the point of view which embraces all the relations of man, then, on the basis of the Christian revelation, may we erect the best science of human history, for here we know by the sure word of prophecy, what is the great end set before the human race.

Such a scientific view of the history of the church as is that, whose outline we have thus attempted to sketch, gives us the real philosophy of human history, and that, too, not on speculative but on historical grounds. That there is such a philosophy not all the vagaries and delusions of infidel speculations should lead us to deny. They should rather induce us to use the old prerogative of our faith, that of turning the weapons forged in the camp of its enemies, into the means of its own defence and victory. They should lead us to show that that view of human nature and destiny, which is given by the light of Christianity, is immeasurably more comprehensive and elevating, more friendly to real progress and rights, more accordant with the whole welfare of mankind, and more consistent with all the facts of history than any scheme which infidel speculation is capable of projecting. Until any one can propound a system, which shall propose to do more, and what is more needed, than the redemption of a sinful world through an incarnate God, in an eternal kingdom, whose blessings are bestowed on all who will accept them, the supremacy of Christianity as a system must needs be conceded. And this is our confidence — either Christianity is to go on, and do its work, and redeem the race — or it will be superseded by something higher and better, and if so, — by what?

And it is our conviction that if any would really study the history of our earth in a truly philosophical and docile spirit, even if he began from the merely human point of view, asking only what has actually approved itself as best and highest to man, that he would be led through the race above the race; that from the very facts of the case he would come to the recognition of the existence, and authority and need of just such a kingdom, and of just such a view of human history, as is given us in the records of the Christian church. If any do not come to such a result, it is because they do not study history in a truly inductive spirit, or else they study it with some preconceived bias against Christianity. Those who think metaphysics to be the highest of blessings, and abstractions to be the great realities, might come to different results. But this is because they have neither

reverence for facts, nor a right method of interpreting them. They do not study history to learn, but to try their own schemes upon it. They destroy the substance of the facts to make out their theories. There was once a statue of Isis, veiled, in the hall of a priest's temple at Memphis. His son, longing to see the face, struck off the veil with hammer and chisel, and found only a block of raw, shapeless stone. And this wise child is no unapt representative of those who study history without reverence, and without taking into account the fact that man is a religious being; they may strike off the veil of the divinity, and then say there is no divinity there; but they have not studied the statue, they have only tried the power of a hammer and a chisel. If we reverence the divinity that is in history, we shall see it through its veil, we shall feel and know its power, we shall see that there is a divinity which shapes man's ends, rough-hew them as he may.

I should be doing a silent injustice to the memory of a venerable and beloved teacher, if I closed this part of my subject without acknowledging my indebtedness for a right view of church history to the teachings and writings of the most eminent church historian of our day, the venerated and beloved Neander. His favorite motto, inscribed under his likeness was—Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face. In this spirit he lived and studied, and now, we trust, he sees face to face, taken, alas! too soon, as we vainly say, in the midst of his gigantic toil upon his incomparable history. Still can we see that familiar and bent frame, that countenance so Jewish in outline, and so Christian in expression when he let out upon you the full light of his eyes, usually veiled. The records of the Christian church were the study of his life, and his works are a monument to the dignity of its history. He explored the dark mines and brought to light radiant treasures. He united the most laborious research, with the most genial sympathy for all that is human, for all that is Christian. We almost forget that he may have been too lenient, when we remember how easy it is to be too intolerant. We think less that he fails in the graphic narrative of detail, because we feel so deeply the richness of that spirit, which could make the whole of Christian history so dear to our hearts, and so elevating to our faith. While we would ever judge his particular opinions only by the highest standard, we would speak of himself as we ought to speak of a man, who passed through all the conflicts of his age and country, and kept firm and high his conviction of the supernatural origin of Christianity, and had a living sense of Christ's

grace, and in all his life and writings exemplified the power of that faith which overcometh the world, and of that charity which is the greatest of the virtues. And the unobtrusiveness of his studious life has been equalled only by the extent of his growing influence. His memorial shall not depart away, and his name shall live from generation to generation.

II. The Worth of the Science of Church History. If the view we have given of the science of church history be correct, we can hardly over-estimate its value for all who are interested in the great problems of human destiny, and especially for those who are to be the preachers of the gospel of Christ, in our age and country.

1. And it has, in the first place, an inherent dignity. It is valuable for its own sake.

If man was made to know, so that all knowledge is good, then must that history be of an elevating influence, and most worthy of regard, which reveals to us what the race is for, what it has been and is to be, and which brings us into the heart of all its conflicts. There is something admirable, worthy even of our wonder, in seeing the might and progress of a spiritual kingdom in a sinful world. There is no history to be compared with it in its intrinsic interest and grandeur. Beginning among the hills of Judea, it went forth amid the chaos of pagan idolatries, and within a century its churches were planted, in spite of persecution, in all the chief cities of the Roman empire. It became strong through suffering. The succession to its chief churches was, as Ranke says, a succession to martyrdom, as well as to office, but the succession was always full. It fought in the shade, only because the air was filled with the arrows of its foes. It became so strong in Rome, that neither a Nero nor a Decius could quench its fires in blood. The persecutions of a Diocletian through the whole empire, only served to reveal its hidden might. As Dante says of the Pope, that his adversity was great, until he became great in his adversity, so was it with the early church; and when it became great in its adversity, and the emperors could not suppress it, then they bowed before it. It had existed in the catacombs, but under Constantine it was established upon the throne of the Caesars, and its worship was celebrated in the basilicas of Constantinople. It changed the whole face of the ancient world. When the northern barbarian hordes desolated the empire, the church was consolidated and prepared for their coming; so that although Italy was laid waste, the kingdom of Christ subdued these fierce foes unto herself. This irruption of the North upon the South, was the providential means

of spreading Christianity from the south to the north of Europe. The church converted the Teutonic races, which, under its auspices, have been the regenerating element in modern civilization. When the balance of the political power of Europe was transferred from the south to the north, the Papacy of the south resisted and subdued the imperial encroachments, in that long strife between Guelph and Ghibelline. It gave to Europe strength to resist that Moslem zeal which strove to scale its battlements. It influenced the prowess of that honorable yet corrupt chivalry, which showed both its might and its blindness, in regaining the sepulchre of our Lord. Through its very successes, the church had now become almost inebriated; and in the pride of its power, it usurped the place due only to its Head. Yet, even in the night of the middle ages, its scholars were giving needed shape and precision to its theological systems. The learning which it brought from the East, awakened a new spirit of inquiry; its despotism provoked national resistance; its Pelagianism called out the spiritual prowess of the heroes of the Reformation, and the old Gospel was spoken anew in their mother tongues, to the waiting nations. Rome was left in the south; and, among the free and investigating nations of the north, the church exhibited itself in new forms, to meet the exigencies of that new spirit which was spreading among the people. It was a new trial for the Christian church, whether it could maintain its authority in the midst of freedom of thought and of philosophical research. And Protestantism has proved to us that it can,—the thoughtful Protestantism of the Lutheran churches, and the aggressive and advancing Protestantism of the Reformed churches. To the latter was vouchsafed the office of maintaining the supremacy of Christianity among the freest, the most commercial nations of the earth. The aggressive and progressive portion of modern church history, belongs to this branch of the church. And nobly has it fulfilled its office, both in the old world and in the new. Calvin, once said the greatest living German historian, was the virtual founder of the United States of America. And here the Christian church still lies at the basis of our institutions, and sustains them by its power, which we feel the less, because it is so equally diffused. It has grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength. That sacred kingdom which began its contesting course at the city of Jerusalem, and passed victorious from Asia to Europe, and from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, which crossed the Atlantic in adventurous barks, has extended itself through the length and breadth of our land, and is now planted on the borders of the vast Pacific, to

carry back, it may be, the treasures of its grace, from island to island, in a returning course, to the continent and the hills whence it first sprung, and fill Jerusalem with a higher praise.

And what other history can tell such a tale, or knows such marvels, such conflicts, and such victories?

And there is not only this, its external life, — there is also its hidden, spiritual life, — there are its spiritual heroes. It has its array of martyrs and confessors. There is the refiner's fire, and in it the molten gold. It perpetually renews the story of the burning bush that is not consumed. It tells us of those who have taken poverty for their bride, and, for the good of souls, gone to the ends of the earth. It tells us of those who "have done things worthy to be written, and written what is worthy to be read." There are rivers of peace, gently flowing, "life, love and joy still gliding through;" through its whole history runs the river of God, whose depths are ever peaceful, though its surface be torn by the storms. And thus, from the history of Christ's church we may draw such spiritual lessons, that it shall be to us indeed a "book of holy doctrine," nourishing our hearts in the truth and love of God."

2. Another point of view under which the value of church history may be considered, to which our limits allow us only to advert, is its bearings on the vindication of God's providence in his moral government of the world. The strongest objections to God's providential rule, are on the field of history; and in the history and progress of the Christian church, with the aims it has in view, we have our best basis for a reply to the objections. Without the light of Christianity, human history is dark indeed, and hardly intelligible to any serious mind. And though difficulties may be left even from the Christian point of view, yet the most perplexing questions are solved, and solved not in the way of bare possibility and speculation, but on the ground of actual facts, on the basis of a revealed economy, which is full of blessings and of grace for the human race. This gives us points that "throb with light," in the midst of all the darkness. God's government of the world is thus seen to vindicate itself. As the scientific study of nature has given the best reply to the well-known Lucretian objection, "*stat tanta prædita culpa*," so the thorough study of history will reveal to us a wisdom in the divine dealings, which is the best answer to inconsiderate objections to the moral government of God. But we cannot dwell upon this topic further, because for our present objects it is more needful to consider a third aspect under which the value of church history may be considered.

3. And that is, its general doctrinal bearings. Church history comprises the history of doctrines. This is its more important portion. It gives us the real internal life of the church. And it is a field more fruitful in interest than is almost any other portion of this history. Here we have that greatest of controversies, between philosophy and faith, of which all external conflicts are but the symbol. Here we are taught how Christianity approves itself as the highest reason. Here, too, we see that

“ Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,
The eternal life of God is hers,
But error, wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshippers.”

It is animating to follow this record, and note the stadia of that grand process through which the church has been passing, in order to come to a full comprehension of God's revealed will, and to reconcile the verities of Christianity with all other known truth. Each age has here had its special office. It is as if no one period had been able to grasp the full meaning of revelation; the first age was devoted to the Incarnation and the Trinity; the next to sin and grace; the next more especially to the polity and the sacraments; the age of scholasticism to a systematizing of the previous labors. The Reformation brought out into bold relief the doctrine of justification, and the true idea of the church, while it delivered the church from an usurped ecclesiastical authority, and it produced the largest body of symbols and confessions. Then came the period of the conflict of Christianity at all points, even to its foundations, with criticism and philosophy, its contests with all the forms of infidelity, and the great attempt—in the midst of which we now stand—to reconcile the whole of Christianity with all the thoughts and interests of the race, to bring all our knowledge of human and divine things into one self-consistent system.

And whoever reads this inspiring record in a right spirit, will find it to have a two-fold value; it guards against heresy, and it confirms the essential truths of Christianity.

It is a preservative against error, according to the maxim, “forewarned, forearmed.” Many an objection made against what are called the formulas of doctrine, would vanish, if the history of those formulas were known. And, in fact, they cannot be thoroughly understood excepting in the light of their history, which tells us the reason for almost every word in the chief definitions. The formula then

becomes full of life. If it is seen how Arius, and Pelagius, and Sabellius, were conquered, we shall give less heed to the attenuated repetition of their thrice slain objections. It is a wise saying, "that only he who is able to trace an error to its roots, can tear it up by the roots." If we get at the roots, we need not spend so much time on the new sprouts of heresy. We shall thus be less apt to quake at every objection to the truth, and we shall have more of that calmness which is one prognostic of victory.

Of equal service is the history of doctrines, in confirming us in the truth. If, in the year 1384, Wyckliffe could write, "Truly aware I am, that the doctrine of the gospel may, for a season, be trampled under foot, and even suppressed by the threatenings of Antichrist, but equally sure I am that it shall never be extinguished, for it is the recording of the truth itself," much more may we say this now, with a faith confirmed by the history of almost five subsequent centuries. There have been, and there will be, conflicts; but those truths which are both old and new, which are always and never old, which are always and never new, have still maintained their vantage ground. Those very truths, against which human reason has brought the subtlest objections, the Incarnation, the Trinity, Atonement, Justification and Regeneration, those very truths, which to the superficial view seem contrary to reason, because they are above mere natural reason, are the ones which have received the strongest additional confirmation, in the progress of doctrinal discussion, which have approved themselves as fundamental in the Christian system. Thus, for example, the doctrine respecting the Person of our Lord, the union of the human and divine natures in his sacred person, that central doctrine of Christianity, has been assailed by every imaginable objection; some have denied his divinity, at the expense of his humanity; others, his humanity at the expense of his divinity; others still, have feigned a nature neither human nor divine; some have confounded the natures; others have divided the person; every form of philosophy, in each successive age, has done battle against this most vital and most comprehensive truth—and almost every form of philosophy has come at last to pay it obeisance. It has maintained its hold, so that in every century men have bowed at the name of Jesus, with such love and faith, as none but a suffering God-man could inspire. And the history of this truth reveals to us its sublimity and authority, and shows us the great practical end to be gained by a review of past controversy, and that is, in the mutations of human opinions to see the immutability and progress of divine truth.

4. This study of church history is of importance, not only in these general doctrinal aspects, but also, in the fourth place, in its application to present controversy.

We live in an age and in a country of sects and of controversies, and this is not so bad as an age of indifference or of spiritual bondage. Sects are better than coercion, and controversy than thoughtlessness.

But this variety of opinions imposes the necessity of a broader theological culture, so that we may know the grounds of difference and the points of agreement. The study of the history of opinions contributes to this.

All present controversy has a tendency to sharpen and limit the vision; the study of history has a tendency "to inbreed within us," what Milton calls, "that generous and Christianly reverence one of another, which is the very nurse and guardian of Christian charity." It gives a position above the controversy which is of inestimable value, especially to him who is involved in the controversy. Thus can we best distinguish between the essential and the contingent.

All intense doctrinal discussion has, likewise, a tendency to run back upon metaphysical distinctions, and to make these appear of too great relative importance; and as these distinctions are not so readily apprehended by the popular mind, there is a strong disposition on the part of the polemic, for the sake of popular effect, really to misinterpret his opponent, and to say that he denies the whole of a truth, when he only objects to some one of the forms in which it may be stated. And this, too, in forgetfulness of the fact that phraseology, which to the popular mind is definite, has become indefinite among theologians through the stress of controversy. The study of doctrinal history does not make any one less scrupulous in the use of terms, but rather more so; and it also shows the value of nice distinctions, and that is, that they are rather scientific than practical; and it makes one averse to the petty and easy art of the unscrupulous polemic, who appeals to popular prejudice to sustain a cause which he is in danger of losing in argument. He, who knows the full history of controversy, will be as little disposed as any one, to tamper with the truth for the sake of novelty; he will see the wisdom of the forms in which it is embodied; but he ought also to acquire such breadth of vision, that he will not unnecessarily exalt minor points of difference, even for the sake of displaying his own orthodoxy. It is easy to gain the notoriety of a polemic — little knowledge is needed to that; it is easy to exalt the difference between Old School and New, between Presbyterians and Congregationalists; but it is wiser and better to

work together for our common good, and against our common foes. A state of things in our American churches, which should lead to more serious collisions between those so substantially at one as are Congregationalists and Presbyterians, which should annul that old Christian freedom and brotherhood, which made transitions from one to the other easy and unnoticed, could not be too much deplored. Far distant be the time, when it can be said, that he who would go from hence thither cannot, neither ought any man to come hither from thence.

But the controversies among Protestants are not those in which church history has the most solid and needed lessons to convey. There is the still more important and urgent controversy between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic communions. While the political power of Rome is dying out at the heart, its spiritual claims are exalted at the extremities. And from the very nature of the Romish polity, this spiritual includes a political claim, wherever it can be enforced. Its dignitaries may praise republicanism, and toleration, and rights of conscience, and the social compact, in republican cathedrals and in the halls of Congress; but, behind the rights of man are the rights of the church, the toleration they invoke is for them and not for mankind, the inviolable conscience is the Roman Catholic conscience; and, above all social compacts, is a sovereign and infallible church. They catch the popular ear by words, which when interpreted in the light of their full system, are abhorrent to the popular ear. It may be, that they will yet be plagued by their own inventions, and that what is policy in the leaders may become conviction in the followers.

And this church invites us to a conflict, which cannot long be put off. It throws down the gauntlet, and boasts of our decline, perverting the facts of modern history, as it forged donations and decretals of all. And there is need among our ministry of a more thorough study of its real character, for the flowing lines by which we now vaguely define its differences from us, are not the real lines on which the battle is to be fought. Rivers are said to be good for the boundaries of peaceful States, but bad for the defence of armies. If we would learn the real power and strategy of Rome we must away from the rivers, to its hills and encampments.

The strength of Rome is in its completeness and consistency as an organic system. The Roman Catholic system is the most comprehensive, subtle, self-consistent, flexible and inflexible polity, which the mind of man ever wrought out for purposes of spiritual and tem-

poral authority. Its parts are knit together. Doctrines, polity and rites — they are all members of one body, an organized, aggressive and zealous spiritual hierarchy, whose claims run through all the relations of life, trespass upon the sanctity of the family, unbind the oaths of political allegiance, and know no human or civil rights, which are not subordinate. From the cradle to the grave it accompanies each of its members with its mystical sacraments. It changes its astute policy at each emergency; as has been said, “it neutralized Aristotelianism by scholasticism, printing by art, the Albigenses by the Franciscan order, and a Luther by a Loyola.” It is wise even to wiliness, and when it seems to succumb, it is just preparing to strike. It has something of that insatiable variety which Cicero attributes to nature, and also of that complex order, which modern science finds everywhere in nature. It can afford to be inconsistent for a moment, that it may be consistent in the end; it can outbid any other system with both the populace and the politician. It is by turns servile and despotic. And its systematic power is rivalled only by its zeal, and its zeal is not greater than is its adaptedness to almost all moods and classes of mind. It awes by its power those whom it cannot enchant by its flatteries; it is harmless to the submissive, meek to the inquiring, and intolerant to every adversary. It appeals to all the senses in its varied rites; it charms the understanding by the consistency of its system, and it subdues reason itself by its claims to infallibility. It is seductive to the barbarian, and alluring to the imaginative; its later converts have been among cultivated minds, who have lost sympathy with human rights, and despaired of reason, and were glad to submit to a venerable authority, which was strong through its traditions, and unfaltering in its aspirations. And all its policy and efforts look forward to one great end, that of a spiritual domination, embracing all the great temporal interests; the supremacy of a single see, having its seat in that ancient, venerable Rome, which, having conquered the whole of the old world, and been supreme in mediæval times, would also give the law to the whole modern world, and make of Rome the centre of the earth.

While the strength of the Roman Catholic system is thus to be found in its consistency, and completeness and pliancy as an organized whole, the arguments in its favor, and its means of defence against assault are chiefly on historical grounds. From the nature of the case, its claims to unity, infallibility and supremacy stand or fall with its tradition. This open foe of all our Protestantism, and this covert foe of all our civil rights can be thoroughly undermined only

on the historic field. The wisdom of the Reformers was seen as conspicuously in the production of the *Magdeburg Centuries*, as in any other of their works, and the *Annales* of Baronius, with all its continuations, have not filled up the breaches which were then made in the Roman bulwarks. A superficial study of history may be favorable to the Papacy, but a thorough exploration reveals the gaps in its assumed successions, destroys the figments of its traditions, shows the arts by which it came to power, and the gradual rise of its corruptions until Christ was hidden, and Christianity externalized and materialized, and the whole ecclesiastical system wrought out under Pelagian views of human nature and carnal views of Christ's spiritual kingdom. And the modern portion of that history exhibits the judgment that has been passed upon this usurping hierarchy. Even if, on historical grounds, Rome might prove itself fit for the middle ages, on the same grounds it can be proved unfit for the modern world. What might have been Catholic in mediæval times, is sectarian in modern times. Its history since the Reformation contains an argument against it as strong as is that derived from the record of the growth of its previous corruptions. Under the ardor of the attack, it did indeed at first exhibit the revival of missionary zeal; but its Eastern missions have died away, and its churches in South America are among the most corrupt forms of Christianity. In Europe, its intolerance has provoked all the great religious wars; it has armed the Inquisition with new powers; it has published the decrees of Trent; and it has produced, denounced and welcomed back the society of the Jesuits. The decrees of Trent and the Jesuits are the great products of Rome since the Reformation; and in these decrees it has petrified itself in its doctrinal corruptions, and in the Society of Jesus we have a body, all whose spirit does violence to the sacred name it bears. In our own country we might have more hope of its reform, were it not that its leading advocates are so thoroughly hostile to our general spirit as a people, and so ultra-montane in all their tendencies.

And it is also worthy of remark, that in all the great contests of Christianity with its modern foes, Rome has kept in the back-ground. Once it led. But from the very nature of its system, it is not able to meet manfully the questions between science and revelation, between philosophy and faith, between the past and the present. The honor of these conflicts has been given to Protestantism; all the controversies between materialism and pantheism on the one side, and Christianity on the other, have been conducted under Protestant auspices.

Rome does not know how to reconcile Christianity with popular rights, nor reason with revelation. It cannot do this on the basis of its system. It has said something about these things, but it has not discussed them. It can enforce duties, but it cannot recognize rights. It does not know man as man. Nor does it know, nor is it able to satisfy the highest spiritual wants of man. It is not fitted to grapple with the great social problems of modern life. And while the whole of modern society is stirred to its depths by these great questions, which must be met and answered, this venerable hierarchy, in its great councils, is busying itself most intensely with that most important theological inquiry, upon which so much can be said and so little known — the immaculate conception of the virgin.

A review of the whole history of the Roman Catholic Church is thus one of the best means for refuting its claims, showing us that what it attempts in theory never has been realized in fact; that, if in its grandeur, it be like the venerable cathedrals in which its service is chanted, it is also like the greatest of these cathedrals in another respect, and that is, it has never been completed, — as also in another point, that however grand they are, they are not large enough to hold, nor strong enough to bind that spiritual Christianity, which rests in Christ and not in the church, in justification and not in works, and which is ever favorable to human reason and to human rights.

5. That same history of the Church, which may thus be of use in respect to present controversy, is also of value in preparing us for the future. It has a prophetic office. It bids us look forward to the progress of the church, and to the unity of the church.

“It is a maxim in the military art,” once said Napoleon, “that the army which remains in its entrenchments is beaten,” and eminently does this hold true of the moral conflicts of the race. And as we read the record of the past victories of the church, we realize more fully its missionary character, and acquire greater confidence in the reality of the scriptural promise that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.

And for the future unity of the church, as well as for its missionary expansion, the study of church history may serve to prepare us.

If any lesson is written broad and deep upon the whole course of Christ's militant church, it is this, that the unity of the church is to be the consummation of the church, and not the means of its consummation. This unity is to be attained by means of its inward life, and not by means of its outward forms. External unity is not Christian union. Nothing is more conspicuous in Christian history, than the

disdain with which external forms and successions have been treated when they cramped the spiritual power and progress of the Christian church. Nor is such unity to be found in a sacrifice of faith to feeling, though without the feeling it cannot be realized. There must indeed be more of Christian charity, and a more whole-souled faith, living in the great spiritual realities of God's kingdom in Christ. But there must also be — and here is where the study of the doctrinal history of the church has its important bearings, — a thorough and comprehensive review of the whole course of Christian theology, so that each sect and each doctrine may be judged in the light of the great central truths of the Christian system, and receive its true relative position. Put the church question, and the sacramental question, and the inquiries concerning divine sovereignty and free agency ; put the doctrines of atonement, and justification, and regeneration, in their real relations to Christ the living Head ; exalt his person and work, and his intimate relations to believers ; make him the centre of our systems, as he is of our faith, as he is of the divine revelation, as he is of the history of the church, as he is of the whole history of our fallen race, as he is of the whole kingdom of God in time and in eternity, and we are advancing farthest and fastest towards that unity of the church which is to be its hallowed consummation. And that he is this centre, the whole history of his church, next to the Scriptures, gives the most convincing evidence.

In the spirit in which I have now attempted to set forth the nature and the worth of the science of Church History, it will be my aim to teach it, as the Lord may give me strength, in training in this school of the prophets such a ministry as our American churches now need. If ever churches needed a thoroughly trained ministry, it is our American churches in their present position and conflicts. If all the wisdom and fulness of the Christian system ever needed to be poured into the very heart of any society, ours is that society, — so united in a few great political and religious convictions, and so divided on all other points. Though the mariner has a richly-freighted bark, and all the powers of steam, and even the terrestrial magnet, he needs more than ever the stars and the sun, and the best instruments of science to tell him where he is. No theological education can be too thorough for our ministry, which does not interfere with the higher moral and spiritual qualifications for the ministerial work. And the most thorough intellectual discipline does not do this, though an inferior culture may. For the most sublime truths of the Christian sys-

tem are those which have the greatest practical efficiency ; and the most comprehensive study of these truths will enable the preacher to apply them most directly and wisely to the heart and life, and such study alone can qualify him to answer all the objections which he must encounter. Only he who knows the times in which he lives, can act upon the times ; and only he who has studied the past, can know the present, and act wisely for the future.

We need a ministry trained for conflict and discussion, and trained through investigation and discussion ; for on the field of open controversy all the great questions which come thick and fast upon us are to be adjusted. We need a ministry qualified to refute error by showing its grounds, and to advance truth by displaying its symmetry ; which can meet argument by argument, a vain philosophy by a higher wisdom, novel speculations by showing either that they are too novel or too antiquated, pretended ecclesiastical claims by pointing to the gaps in the succession, and the assumptions of an infallible church by the documents that prove its fallibility. We need a ministry which shall be conservative without bigotry, and progressive without lawlessness ; which shall neither nail the conscious needle to the north, nor strive to watch without the needle's guidance ; which shall hold the truth in its fulness, and the truth in its simplicity, and the truth in its symmetry, and the truth in its power ; which shall sympathize with all human wants and woes, and which above all temporal wants shall labor for the spiritual welfare of immortal souls ; which shall be ready to live and to die for the church as the body of Christ, and for Christ as the Head of the church, and for all men for the sake of Christ and his kingdom.

We need a ministry filled with the powers of the world to come ; living in the grand realities of God's spiritual kingdom, and really believing that it is the Lord's ; that he hath not forsaken it, that he will not forget it ; that though a woman may forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb, yet God will not forget his Zion. Behold, he says, I have graven it upon the palms of my hands, and thy walls are continually before me. Fear not, for I am with thee. I will bring thy seed from the East, and gather thee from the West ; I will say to the North give up, and to the South keep not back ; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth.

The Railroad Subiler :

TWO

DISCOURSES

• DELIVERED IN

HOLLIS-STREET MEETING-HOUSE,

SUNDAY, SEPT. 21, 1851.

BY THOMAS STARR KING,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.

Published by Request.

BOSTON:

BENJAMIN H. GREENE,

124, WASHINGTON STREET.

1851.

B O S T O N :
PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON AND SON,
22, SCHOOL STREET.

DISCOURSE I.

PROV. xvi. 9: — “A MAN’S HEART DEVISETH HIS WAY; BUT THE LORD DIRECTETH HIS STEPS.”

It is true, not only that God sometimes overrules the evil which men create to some good result, but also that he always bends the good they achieve to some better offices than the agent could have conceived. Men are ever “working together with God.” Our action becomes implements for his providence; and, although we are free, so that every heart deviseth its own way, we often see clearly how our toil, instead of ending with the result before our own desire, plays, like the mechanic’s cog-wheel, into a vaster wheel, whose roll carries a great and beneficent design of Heaven. Here, indeed, is a prominent element

in the glory of goodness, that we do not know, and cannot prophesy, where its blessed sequences will end. We fling out the tokens of our fidelity to become instruments of God, and he alone knows what purposes in his rule they are competent to serve; he alone can foresee what a family of benefits will be their lineage. And, ah! is it not one of the most eloquent warnings against unfaithfulness to right, that the consequences are not limited to ourselves, but that such agency undulates, we cannot know how far, and spreads the power of the prince of darkness in society, instead of starting, as it might, if obedient to the higher voice, a train of blessings, which God had laid near our will?

The old prophets, for instance, were not far-sighted enough to see the effect of their words upon the intellect and heart of after-times. They supposed that the greatness and limit of their office were reached in announcing the approach of some judgment or mercy upon their Hebrew race. But it turns out, that their fidelity to a perilous summons, and the

sublime and tender language in which they clothed their messages of doom or love, remain long after the events they promised are forgotten, and kindle the religious sensibilities of generations whose advent was concealed from their eye. How could David imagine that the prayers for aid to which the forest-leaves of Hareth stirred, and the trustful hymns which filled the dim caves of Adullam, and the rapturous odes which he sent from his palace to be chanted in the tabernacle on Mount Zion, and the penitential breathings that brought back the divine presence to his breast, should be used as part of Christian worship in the cities of an unknown hemisphere, and furnish the souls of millions, of all latitudes and times and tongues, with a liturgy of devotion, gratitude, remorse, and hope? Had David been an irreligious man, had he never prayed, and sung, and wept for sin, what a sad blank would be left in the forces of civilization! how many thousands less would have known the peace of communion with God! how different might be your condition and mine! His heart

devised the utterance of aspiration and endeavor as a private necessity, and God directed their agency to the help of countless needy souls.

In secular affairs, also, it is so. Little did the men who went up to die at Thermopylæ conceive for what they were to die. It was not merely to prevent the Persian yoke from weighing upon their brethren: their swords were to open a path for the advent of the tragedies of Sophocles, the studio of Phidias, the Parthenon and Plato, from the ideal realm of possibilities into the domain of history: they went up to die for the classic culture of the world. Little did Columbus know of the importance of the hour when the western land broke the dim horizon through the morning twilight of October. The pilot of the "Mayflower" could not estimate the freight she bore. Feebly did Luther fancy the consequences of his defiance of the papal edict, and his tearing off the monkish cowl. And what a slight and incompetent idea did the wisest of our fathers entertain of the meaning and

promise of their heroism, when, less than a century ago, they kindled with their eloquence the flame of revolution upon this continent, and deliberately cut the last bond that knit them to a throne beyond the sea! Something very suggestive was there in the appearance of those two veterans of the Revolution in the pageant which, two days ago, moved through our streets; something to touch the secret springs of our wonder and gratitude. Their tremulous frames were the visible link of all the pomp of that spectacle to the most critical season of our history. I know not on what fields they fought, or what exploits in their country's service they can relate; but their presence was a thrilling admonition to fidelity to duty. Must it not have seemed strange to them, strange as the legends of enchantment, that they should live to see such fruitage from their labor! Is it improbable that they thought, as they might well have thought, while their carriage was threading our avenues, "This, then, is the echo of our valor; this, the offspring of the blood with which our

comrades stained the soil, as they fell, long years ago, at our side. We took our muskets to defend our rights, and show that we would not bear the shadow of oppression: we imagined we were pledging our toils for our own advantage, and THIS has come of it,—cities like this, crowded with plenty, and blessed with peace,—freedom and dignity for labor; the myriad-handed genius of industry ever busy, under the free sky, for the welfare of a nation; a citizen soldiery; rulers without decoration or titles conferred by birth; and for every child of the humblest and poorest, the privilege of education and the opportunity to rise to the highest influence and honor. Neither we nor our captains intended such grand results as these.” No; but Providence decreed that they should follow, if the men of the Revolution were faithful to their task. Alas! how poorly off should we be, if we depended on human foresight to project all even of our social blessings; if we could have nothing and expect nothing but what the wisdom of men can devise and consciously strive

after; if there were not a veiled wisdom, will, and mercy to superintend and compass all our ways, and bend our best efforts to purposes beyond the intention of our will! We cannot be grateful to our ancestors, without recognizing a higher Benefactor, and lifting our praises and thanksgiving to his throne. He has done for us, in addition to our fathers' labors, more than they could have conceived it possible to effect: he arranged a great plan of beneficence to which their heroism gave the impetus. Their hearts devised their way; but the Infinite Goodness directed their steps, and we now dwell and rejoice in the manifestations of that bounty.

The mention of the spectacle that recently adorned our streets leads us to some especially appropriate illustrations of our theme. We have entered into a period of society which will be characterized hereafter as the *Industrial Age*. It is plain that, about fifty years ago, a new direction was given to human affairs, a new force uprose in civilization, and different objects loomed ahead to draw the

energies of the world. The subjugation of nature; the increase of material conveniences and comfort; the binding of nations together by communion of traffic; the conquest of space, and compression of time, — these are what the civilized world is now beginning to be in earnest about. It is looking to labor, not to armies and diplomacy, for its resource in the accomplishment of its dearest ambition. Not Mars, nor Apollo, nor even Mammon, but Vulcan, stands pre-eminent in its regard in the pantheon of its deities.

It is often the case that the drift and worship of an epoch are revealed in some one enterprise, and condensed in one brilliant scene. Such a symbolic scene this year has numbered among its events. The CRYSTAL PALACE, on the bank of the Thames, is a magnificent temple, born out of the heart of this century, dedicated to its living God, and filled with the offerings of its worship.

“ Out of Thought’s interior sphere
Those wonders rose to upper air.”

Not more clearly do the sombre Pyramids, or

the battered face and sand-imbedded grotesqueness of the Sphinx, reveal to us the reverence of the old dwellers by the Nile; nor the massive aqueducts, the ruined Coliseum, and military roads, indicate the favorite ideas of the imperial Romans; nor the lovely ruins of the Parthenon, and fragments of immortal sculpture, tell, as it were, in sighs and sobs of music, of what Greece once delighted to do, than the various wonders beneath that vast roof, — the multitudinous triumphs of skill, industry, and genius, collected from myriad workshops that send their smoke into the sky of Europe and the new hemisphere, — proclaim our worship of the physical forces, which, under the guidance of cunning hands, will insure perfection of product and dominion over the world.

Worship is the only word that is deep enough to express the Anglo-Saxon relation to the mechanic powers and arts. We revere what they can produce more than any thing else. Take us as a race, we love speed and perfection in the necessary fabrics of life,

and skill in the combination of powers that give supremacy over nature, better than we love wealth, comfort, leisure, knowledge of God's world, a cultured manliness, and religious nobility and peace. It should seem that we must be lineal descendants of Bezaleel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah, "who," as we read in the book of Exodus, was selected from Moses' camp, and "filled with the spirit of God to devise cunning works, to work in gold and in silver and in brass, and in cutting of stones to set them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship." *Our* inspiration is of that nature, and for such ends. Human nature itself we estimate of less account than the material products it can create.

I have sometimes imagined another crystal palace placed near the great receptacle of the world's labor, and filled with typical selections from the *laborers* that produced those things. Ah! what a commentary would it furnish upon our religion and the love of our neighbor, to pass from the hall of the results to the

inclosure of the workers, — to see the squalor, the degradation, the miserable poverty, the unprotected disease, the carelessness of any refinement, the worn and distorted frames, half-fed and scantily clothed, the lack of glee in childhood, the absence of hope in maternal eyes, the feeble gleams of the noble traits of our humanity in the faces of all, men, women, and children ; to whose steady toil from dawn till dark, — with scarce a respite through the years, till the drained and crippled body drops useless into the grave, — those triumphs of skill are due ! And yet, with such a palace in open contrast to the great storehouse of industry, no doubt the verdict of our working race in Europe would be, “We will have the products at *that* price.” Practically, they do say that now. They know all those miseries ; and they say, “We will pay the human faculty for the material product it may create ; we love coal at five dollars a ton more than the miner’s manhood and domestic comfort, if they add another shilling to its price ; we must have cheap garments, though the children of

the widow-seamstress cry for food ; pins must be perfect, though fifty thousand men be turned into mere pendants of the machine that makes them so ; fabrics must be woven at the lowest possible rate, even if the factory-bell summon feeble children from the school-room, and the continual roar of the mill drown every thought of duty and of heaven ; laces must not advance in price, nor lose in elegance, though the needle-woman be forced to stitch her honor and the peace of life into the tender mesh, to prolong her existence in a hostile and desolate world.

Selfishness, competition, rivalry, are, as yet, the springs of the industry of Christendom ; and yet, see how the doctrine of the proverb is supported even here ; see how a providential good rises out of the strife of human wit and trade. It is better for the poor workers, that there be such half-paid toil than war. It is better for their manhood and the hopes of their children, that they strain their sinews in mines, at forges, and by looms, and live in poorly warmed huts and with stinted fami-

lies, than be drilled to the murderous business of the battle-field, and pass their days in the camp, where there are no domestic influences at all. Despite the oppression that underlies our industry, "the World's Fair" strikes a great blow for international peace, teaching countries that there is a nobler arena of conflict and emulation than the field of blood; it awakens industrial ambition and pride; it convinces thousands that it is better to tear the earth with ploughs than with cannon, and to try which people can excel in swift steamships, flying yachts, locks that defy the burglar, and machines that make the reapers cheer for joy. Until now, the nations have striven to see how they could pile the largest holocaust to the demon of war, and keep a relative superiority by means of destruction and devastation: but the rivalry of commerce and industry is found to be more profitable and no less exciting than that of butchery; and out of the shrewd contest of the mercantile and industrial arena, and out of the miseries of the laborers, Providence draws the possibility of a

congress of nations, — “the United States of Europe,” — and leads statesmen to talk of the barbarity of battle, and use with hesitation the threat of war.

In the recent jubilee and the closing pageant within our city, an illustration is given how God draws the good of a higher sphere out of the benefits that lie in a lower order. That pageant was in honor of the completion of many years' endeavor to perfect the intercourse of the metropolis of New England and our own neighborhood with the North and West. The causal motive of the enterprise that has covered New England with nerves, of which our city is the brain, was not distinctly philanthropic. Perhaps it was chiefly selfish. Each line of road was schemed with direct reference to the return of interest on the investment, and the securing of a larger trade within our streets. Not till the prospect of profit was clear could one of these undertakings be carried through. It was not the direct intention of a single board of directors of a single railroad company to do a specially

Christian deed, in inviting to their scheme, — to bind states and communities together in holier ties, to diffuse a spirit of good-will, and strengthen civilization. The stockholders, as they subscribed and paid their instalments, had no such motive and purpose. The plans and the acceptance of them were for dividends and wealth.

But Providence had another and a higher use for those iron tracks and flying trains. After the mercantile heart had devised and secured them, God took them for his purposes: without paying any tax for the privilege, he uses them to quicken the activity of men; to send energy and vitality where before were silence and barrenness; to multiply cities and villages, studded with churches, dotted with schools, and filled with happy homes and budding souls; to increase wealth which shall partially be devoted to his service and kingdom, and all along their banks to make the wilderness blossom as the rose. Without any vote of permission from legislatures and officials, — even while the cars are loaded with profitable freight and paying

passengers, and the groaning engines are earning the necessary interest, — Providence sends, without charge, its cargoes of good sentiment and brotherly feeling; disburses the culture of the city to the simplicity of the hamlet, and brings back the strength and virtue of the village and mountain to the wasting faculties of the metropolis; and fastens to every steam-shuttle, that flies back and forth and hither and thither, an invisible thread of fraternal influence, which, entwining sea-shore and hill-country, mart and grain-field, forge and factory, wharf and mine, slowly prepares society to realize, one day, the Saviour's prayer, "that they all may be one." The beneficent genius of the age keeps his special and invisible express, laden with packages of providential blessings, upon every train that runs through our communities; and it seems, as the cars fly along the avenues which selfish traffic has created, that the villages, which are everywhere threaded like beads along the iron wires, are, to use the language of another, "counted off by the spirit of our age as so

many pater-nosters upon its rosary, in its swift worship of gratitude for the dawn of the age of peace.”

Honest labor, of all kinds, although stimulated by private interest, does an unselfish good. “Labor is not a devil, even when encased in mammonism. Labor is ever an imprisoned god,” and will contrive, over and above the narrow task for which it is paid in money, to do some gratuitous service for truth and heaven. It is good that mountains shall be graded, ledges blasted, fair roads built, deserts fertilized, mud swamps filled, marshes drained, and machinery invented; and, just as fast as they are accomplished, better results than thrifty enterprise had in view supervene. There is more intelligence, more generosity, more enjoyment, more advantages for securing the great ends of human life. “The unredeemed ugliness is that of a slothful people. Show me a people energetically busy, even when worldly motives are the only springs of it, heaving, struggling, all shoulders at the wheel; their heart pulsing, every muscle

swelling with man's energy and will ; I will show you a people of whom great good may be prophesied, to whom all manner of good is yet certain, if their energy endure." The Christian religion never will flourish in purity and power among an unenterprising and unthrifty race.

I presume it is the simple truth, that the recent jubilee was called into being by the fact that Boston has made good its stand, as an independent force, against the commercial rivalry and absorbing centrality of New York ; and that, by means of the recently finished lines of railroad, the trade of the Canadas will be attracted to our marts, and flour brought here a few cents cheaper on a barrel than before. Never were a few cents so splendidly honored ; never did the prospect of so slight a profit do nobler service. Can any thing bear more brilliant testimony to the worship we pay to material forces, and the supreme estimate we put upon material triumphs, than that such a spring could stimulate such enthusiasm, and carry such a complex machinery of

show ? And yet, how the mercenary and commercial origin was dropped from the spectacle, and even banished from memory ! The titled ruler of the Canadas, with his retinue, comes to visit us ; and the talk is not of traffic, but of fellowship in blood. The official word of welcome and pledge of hospitality are responded to by the sincere compliment, the expression of astonishment at our prosperity and blessings, and the hope that the two kindred nations may dwell in perpetual peace. The streets are studded with generous mottoes, the speakers at the feast inspired with noblest sentiments, and the language of bargain and sale would jar the harmonies of the time. It is encouraging to the philanthropist to compare the procession of the trades with the spectacles that, in former ages, bore witness to popular joy. When a Roman general was honored and welcomed by the city, it was with grim ranks of paid soldiery, files of chariots, long lines of desolate captives, and the brutal excitements of the gladiatorial show. If a city would be merry in the middle ages, the

tournaments must be projected, and chivalrous duels delight the eyes of lordly and lady guests. *When* before, to honor eminent dignitaries, have the artisans been called from their tasks and toil as the right arm of strength, and the triumphs of their skill been selected as the noblest exhibitions of civil greatness and the chief reasons of pride? Can it be without important social consequences that so many intelligent Englishmen have been thus welcomed, and have gone back to the provinces of our mother-country with a deep impression of what, under the spur of our free suffrage, we are doing for the improvement of our soil, the wealth of our community, and the education of every child born into our protection? In striving for a wider field of traffic, we have built a ladder of iron, upon which our ideas and blessings shall yet climb into the Canadas. Such a three days will do far more for the progress of freedom than a three-days' revolution like that which France saw in 1830, and which intoxicated the world with a fallacious hope. Never was commer-

cial motive so dignified by unselfish fruit; never was the mercenary project of man more brilliantly enrobed with a providential meaning, office, and worth !

The visit of our own excellent Chief Magistrate and his Cabinet bore witness, by the speed with which they reached our city from the capital, to the effects of these material benefits in making our countrymen acquainted with each other, and in cementing their fellowship. Those who indulge fears for the stability of our nation on account of the extent of its domain, and who justify those fears by the recorded fortunes of ancient empires that were broken by the weight of their territories, do not appreciate the difference between our condition and theirs, in a representative government and provincial independence. And yet, admirably devised as our scheme of government is to promise central vigor and permanence, and to avoid the perils that spring from breadth of territory, diversity of climate, variety in habits, prejudices, and the scale of culture, and the conflict of material

and social interests, it is very doubtful whether its present extent would not prove too vast for the resources of our Constitution, if we had been left to the old means of communication and intercourse. The framers of our national charter would have considered the idea of bringing the shores of both oceans under its sway, and keeping their inhabitants in peaceful and fraternal communion, scarcely less than preposterous; and, with mail-coaches for the only conveyance to Utah, and barques doubling Cape Horn as the swiftest mediators between Washington and San Francisco, the attempt would be almost useless. But, when California may be brought within one week's distance, and the pioneers of Iowa and the planters by the Rio Grande may hear the debates that affect their interests in the capital before the speakers reach their perorations, a new principle is introduced which must modify all calculations of national security drawn from the infirmity of Athens and the decline of Rome. Steam and the magnetic wires compel the correction of our political philosophy; and,

if there be a pre-eminent value in the structure of our civil constitution; if it be a worthy subject for rejoicing that the breadth of a continent should be brought under its sway, and exhibit to the world the lasting triumph of the experiment of republican freedom, on a larger scale than any upon which imperial despotisms have yet displayed their transient strength, our gratitude is not more certainly due to Providence for the wisdom and patriotism of Washington, Hamilton, Franklin, and Adams, than it is for the genius of Watt, the ingenuity of Fulton, and the mercantile energy which has threaded our forests with rail-tracks, and disturbed our waters with steam-ships that conquer tides and storms.

Indications of the value of our neighborhood in time are already apparent. That eloquent and most noble speech from the Secretary of the Interior, in our State House, was to me the most important and suggestive event occasioned by the festival. By the good it will do, it will trebly repay all the money appropriated by the city. Its frank and generous conces-

sions of our thrift and prosperity cannot be without effect in restoring to New England, and especially to Massachusetts, its proper influence upon the sentiments and ideas of the nation. It is a solemn declaration to our Southern confederates, that we are in the proper path to strength and power; that we are in harmony with the American idea. Such a speech from the lips of a discriminating, unprejudiced resident of the South does more against slavery than all the infatuated disunionists can do in a century. The voice of friendly and unimpassioned wisdom, pointing to the social and industrial results of their institution, will impress them more effectually with its radical injustice than the boom of indignation borne to them from afar.

We have a country immense in extent, and ruled in its different parts, as yet, by different ideas. To be strongly and permanently united, we must have more than great statesmen in the Cabinet, and a loyal army and navy at command, to coerce South Carolina: we must come into some unity of political and social

life; we must not be separate nations, one part pledged by passion and fancied interest to the support and extension of bondage, and another part determined to resist that spread. Antagonistic sentiments and principles must not separate us. Titanic strength of intellect in our leaders cannot throw a bridge across that chasm. Iron rails cannot clamp the territory whose principles refuse fellowship, and struggle for despotic supremacy. Unity of ideas must be our bond and stay. The tendency to such unity is our only hope. The love of freedom, and the belief in its superior benefits, must be shed into our brethren of the South, not by our interference with their affairs, nor by indiscriminate denunciations of their sin, but by the silent, steady example of our New England. Character, national as well as private, must exert an influence according to the measure of its strength, so soon as you put it in vital communion with the world. And so every railroad that opens a path into the heart of our territory, and hastens the traveller on his way to our domain, is

an influence for freedom, a friendly force to the rights of the slave. We say, "Come, and see what freedom has done for us; how it has covered our grim rocks with fertile soil, filled our harbors with wealth, called up cities by our river-banks, wakened the roar of myriad looms, dropped a school-house in every district, and set a church as a beacon of heavenly light upon every hill. Come and see, by our peace, energy, plenty, and opulence, which is the path of power; and consider how your own rich soil would be loaded with fertility, your waste places become green cities, and your cities be filled with busy life, and every element of prosperity bless you abundantly, if, like us, you would banish from your communities that which, in every age, has proved itself the paralysis of energy and the canker of all civilization, and regain, through justice, the divine path to power." Henceforth, New England must preach for freedom and free soil by her example and her work, and her influence will travel on the lines of iron and the threads of wire, which private interest has laid, into the

most distant portions of our land, and, by reform of public sentiment, at last strike the fetters from the slave.

Reserving for a second discourse the more practical aspects of our subject, we should thus see, in closing, that God uses these material conquests of our land to impress upon us the value of union, and to make it more firm. If we would exert an influence in favor of the bondmen we desire to aid the most, we must be united. If we would not disturb the intentions and thwart the purposes of Providence, we must be a family of states; we must open anew the channels of brotherly affection, cherish fraternal sympathies, and feel that, as a people, upon this land which cannot be broken by the geographer or the surveyor, even if we are insane enough to seek division, we have all one call, one mission, one destiny.

DISCOURSE II.

LUKE, xii. 15 : — “ A MAN’S LIFE CONSISTETH NOT IN THE ABUNDANCE OF
THE THINGS WHICH HE POSSESSETH.”

THERE is a radical discrepancy between the Catholic and the Protestant conceptions of civilization and social advancement. This difference of ideas makes discussion about the relative merits of the two churches, in respect of their influence on the progress of the race, almost useless. “See,” says the Protestant, “how, wherever the new spirit of the Reformation is welcomed and prevails, public energy is apparent, the work of improvement begins, wealth increases, genius is stimulated, labor is more cunning and constant, the railroad pierces the forest, and the shrill steam-whistle startles the old meditative silence of the hills. Our reli-

gion," the Protestant continues, "has been the parent or patron of freedom. Human rights are more sacred where the papal sway is denied, and privileges are steadily gaining ground against despotism. Better laws and order have sprung up wherever the influence of Luther has been felt; and it is plain that man is considered a nobler being. The Protestant faith was compelled to take the colder and wilder North countries of Europe and America, while the Catholic held dominion over the more sunny, cultivated, fertile South; and look now at the result of our stewardship. For three centuries we have had in charge the rugged North; for fifteen centuries you have held full sway in the lower climes, — and what is the verdict of fact upon the worth of the two systems? Rich, powerful, scientific, cultured England answers for our principles, against decrepit, superstitious, paralytic Spain for yours. Scotland appears as an offset to Ireland. Protestant Prussia, with its popular education, its orderly finances, its vigorous administration, and famous universities, faces

Catholic Austria, weak, impoverished, treacherous, and cruel, upheld in its despotic haughtiness by foreign ducats and the bayonets of the Czar. Snowy Sweden reveals the plenty, virtue, and thrift of her people, in contrast to the dissolute laziness of Naples, and the hopeless ignorance of Portugal. And New England stands out, the brightest spot upon the chart of civilization, — reclaimed from the savage, the wolf, and the deer, while Cuba has been sinking under a despotism that cripples its resources, and Mexico has been rotting into incurable decay. And where, too," continues the Protestant, "can you bring the names in your list of genius to mate Shakspeare and Schiller, Bacon and Lessing, Franklin and Fulton, Watt and Dalton, Newton, Goethe, and Guizot?"

It seems strange to us Protestants, that every intelligent Catholic is not overwhelmed with this argument against his faith. When he is pointed to the fact, that it is the ally of tyranny, the opponent of material prosperity, the foe of thrift, the enemy of the railroad, the caucus, and the school, we wonder that he does

not read in its results the condemnation of its principles, and abandon it for a more inspiring religion. But Catholics, able and learned, are not wanting who boldly take up the challenge, face the array of evidence, and, while they confess the general fairness of the statement, deny the inference. Protestantism, they tell us, is developing a type of civilization that is hostile to Christianity, and indeed to any religion. "You are plunging headlong into materialism and atheism. You are worshipping this world, laboring for the body, pampering the pride of the intellect, and, in your absorption of the body's needs, forgetting the soul and ignoring heaven. Your materialistic civilization is a tumor that has drawn to itself all the life that should be proportionally distributed in the brain, the lungs, and the heart. What advantage is it that you have railroads through every valley, and corn on a thousand hills; that you have charters of civil liberty, and all the means of worldly success and aggrandizement, if men are becoming enslaved to this world, and faithless as to a higher

one? ‘A man’s *life* consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth;’ our church makes another end supreme, and can be content to see a State without railways, merchant-princes, representative governments, and restless democracies, if the people are docile, obedient to spiritual authority, and ambitious of heaven; if they confess, and are baptized, and die in full communion. Protestantism is raising a spirit which it cannot master: in seeming to carry civilization onward, it is pushing towards an intellectual barbarism; while our church, content with slower social progress, gives the people more rest and happiness on earth, and fits them for the skies.” Accordingly, it has been seriously contended by an eminent Catholic, in a Review published in this city, that Ireland is in a far more satisfactory state than Massachusetts; and that Lisbon and Madrid are more truly civilized, more moral, and every way better off, than Boston and New York.

I have given these arguments at such length, because I believe they are worth con-

sidering fairly; and, if so considered, will teach us much valuable truth. The Catholic certainly slights the importance and worth of the material side of civilization. Man was put here to subdue nature. It is just as truly a part of God's call to men to lay rail-tracks as to build churches; to improve steam-engines and construct pulleys; to perfect levers, spinning jennies, forges and looms; to study chemistry and geology, optics and magnetism, as to erect pulpits and revere the characters of saints. It is as really contrary to the Divine intent, that stage-coaches should be the only means of conveyance where there is wealth and skill enough to put steam-cars in motion, or to have books multiplied by copyists where printing-presses can be invented, or to be governed by absolute kings and popes when constitutional charters may be had by discreet resistance, as it is contrary to His will that there should be sin when virtue is possible, or bodily suffering when it may be exchanged for health and pleasure. And if a church recoils from the advance of genius and triumphs of labor; if it feels un-

equal to the task of guiding such efforts, and refuses to sanction them; if it plainly prefers the shelter of despotism and the stagnation of ignorance; if it looks with greater affection upon the mediæval than the modern centuries, and has no other ambition for the people than that they should listen to the chanting of masses, obey minute directions about the counting of beads, and be prepared by priests for heaven, — *it is* sufficient evidence of its incompetency to rule the future, and of some vital falsity. Monasteries and monks were not intended to be the supreme products of society on earth, even as the shelter and the types of piety.

But there is much truth, and much that must be pondered, in what the Catholic retorts about the relative importance of machinery and men, material progress and inward culture. “A man’s life does *not* consist in the abundance of the things which he possesseth;” nor do the life and prosperity of society lie in its physical conquests, material conveniences, and trophies of skill. The tunnelling of moun-

tains, the erection of telegraphs, and the free supply of gas and water to cities, are all secondary to the development and vigor of men; and any system which sacrifices the last to the first, or subordinates it to the first, or postpones it in favor of the first, is as partial as the Catholic theory. It is a serious question, therefore, how far the material achievements of our age injure or help the development of our spiritual faculties, and assist or embarrass a realization of the highest aim of life.

Plainly there is danger, in a state of civilization like ours, that we may under-estimate the value of the individual spirit, and forget that it has a worth, separate from social fortunes and destiny, and far above the measure of physical comfort and prosperity. When we see how slightly the laborer is prized in comparison with his work, it is plain that we are all tempted, by the spirit of the time, to put a lower value upon ourselves, as private souls, than it is our duty to do. "How strange it is," said the wisest man of Germany, "that every

man estimates himself for more than he *is*, and prizes himself much less than he *is worth!*” He estimates what he has gained and gathered as something noble and precious, — the accidents that distinguished his lot from that of the majority of our race, such as wealth, houses, barns, power, and stocks: but the heritage of great spiritual forces, — intellect, will, and conscience, and the opportunity for unfolding these and pledging them to what is eternal, — he esteems as of little moment; to be acknowledged on Sunday, and sacredly forgotten Monday morning. Each one is greater than the highest material aims society has before it. God puts a higher price upon each laborer that finishes a screw for a boiler-plate, than upon the Royal or the Collins line of steamships, and all the wealth they will ever make. Great as are the uses of swift and cheap intercommunication, the Infinite Father would destroy for ever every railway in this land, rather than see the soul of the most degraded Irishman that has worked upon their embankments, and whose existence he has accepted, stricken finally from being.

Men would not give him another shilling a day, that he may have more opportunities of manly development in his almost brutal home ; but God would not sell him for all the acres of the West. He will keep him alive to be one day cultivated and ennobled in soul, to feel the embrace of Infinite Love, and to progress in goodness and the knowledge of him for ever. And if we lose the sense of our infinite worth in the general estimate of the value of society ; if we fail to revere our own nature more than all outward successes ; if we are led to think that we are of trifling consequence, as souls, before the gigantic enterprises of our day, and hold it sufficient that we are stockholders, bank-directors, voters, and legislators ; if we spare no energies and ambition from these interests to devote to the spiritual relations of our lives, — the culture of intellect, the purification of conscience, the devout study of God's works, and joy in his existence ; if, by reason of the swift progress of society, we are led to live as though our destiny is attainable and completed here, — we are the slaves of

matter, and have parted with the glory of our state.

We talk of “subduing nature;” and seemingly, by our vast enginery of science and labor, we are doing so. But it is not certain yet. Satan often foils us with our own weapons. Let us see to it, that, in our tug and swift contest hand to hand with the world, — as in the duel between Hamlet and Laertes in the play, — the deadly rapier do not pass over to the cunning world-spirit, and we be slain with the implement of our fancied triumph. The only possible way for us to subdue nature is to be men, and to maintain our position as higher than nature, and kindred with the Spirit that created it. It is yet an open question, whether we are subduing nature, or whether the world is subduing us. If we do not keep our virtue, our vigor, our manliness, our sense of infinite relations and responsibilities, every railway we construct, every science we perfect, every labor-saving machine we invent, every new comfort, whose dominion we extend, becomes our foe; and the chains we thought we

were flinging over the world are thrown back to bind us to the earth, and make us fellows with the beavers and bears, which nature creates that they may eat and sleep and die.

You, my friend, however obscure you are, are greater in capacity and in the Divine intention than the star you look at, far off in the night-heaven. But, if you do not look upon it in a higher spirit than that from which it shines; if its light does not fall upon some lens of reverence, faith, and devoutness in your soul; if it does not awaken that religious sense in you, which makes you a son of the Eternal love and wisdom which hung it out in space; —in its still light and unbroken obedience to heavenly law, it is greater than you, though you detect its secrets by your telescope, measure its bulk, weigh it, and calculate its path; for it realizes all the purposes of its creation, while you have not aspired nor awakened to yours.

Every vice or infirmity is evidence of subjection to nature. If a man needs wine to make him cheerful, or if he has an appetite

that clamors to be satiated with it; if he must have opium or tea to stimulate him to the pursuit of truth; if he requires luxury to make him content with life, and can see no inspiring privilege in an existence that never knows the comfort of a fine parlor and the amenities of cultured intercourse, — he is, to the extent of such weakness and craving, in bondage to the physical realm he was sent to subdue. Only that man who estimates the privileges of a mind and conscience as the supreme blessings of Providence, and who would prefer the knowledge of more truth and the attainment of more virtue, with bread for his sustenance, water for his drink, and the night-sky for his roof, to an easier lot at the cost of some abasement or blighting of his faculties, can be said to have “overcome the world.”

Hence, where there is not a development of the higher energies of human nature, proportional to the great physical achievements of a people, “things get in the saddle, and ride mankind.” Where the merchant has no thought higher than his ships and his ven-

tures, they rule him : he does not own them. When the capitalist bends the energies of his genius to increase the business and profits of his factory, without intercalating any nobler work, he is not the lord of the factory, but the prominent wheel of its mechanism : the steam-engine or the dam carries his brain, his heart, and will, as surely as it keeps any band or shuttle in motion. If the elegant woman lives for the gaieties of fashionable society, and finds the sweetest satisfaction in the admiration her beauty excites and the flattery it wins, her nature is subordinate to the bracelets and diamonds she has purchased, and is owned by the silks and laces by which so much interest is absorbed. Where the mechanic serves his trade ; and the lawyer has no conception of a higher justice, and a supreme court, of whose laws he is not the expounder, but the subject ; and the preacher thinks only of the structure of his sermons, his reputation or ease, and does not live, to the extent of his ability, for and in the truth which he unfolds, — they are all appendages to their occupation, not

masters of it; bond-servants of nature, not its lords.

Babylon and Nineveh, Greece and Rome, supposed that, when they had risen from the savage necessities of their first estate, and were surrounded by the trophies and appliances of their constructive genius, they had conquered nature; but, as their visible conveniences and glories rose, their manhood sank. They had spent their best days in piling a majestic and decorated sepulchre; and, when its structure was complete, its art-stained walls and frescoed roof fell in upon the shrivelled manliness that was left to inhabit it, and smothered the little vitality that remained.

Our Pilgrim Fathers, who, landing from a little barque that had borne them away from the culture and civilization of Europe and the past, stepped upon an ice-ribbed and desolate shore, and there pitched their tent, and raised their log-huts, and sent their hymns and prayers up from reverent hearts, so that —

“The stars heard and the sea!
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
To the anthem of the free,” —

they subdued nature. The comforts of their former estate, the shelter of laws, the fellowship of men, could not make them forget that truth, and the sense of God's approval, and the achievement of the spiritual ends of life, are the everlasting tasks of all true souls; and when they found that all which civilization had done in the old world did not offer to nourish, but threatened to crush, their manliness, they came to the wilderness, to show on a background of ice, granite, and famine, that the humble devotion to duty, the reverence for right, and the vigorous will, make men masters of the world, and compel the storm-winds, the bleak shore, and the unstained forests, to welcome and cherish their spirit and ideas.

Our life does not consist in the abundance of the implements and conveniences we have around us, but in the nobleness and virtue compressed in us; and we cannot now, with all our material triumphs, subjugate the world, unless we partake of the spirit of our ancestors, and feel and show our infinite superiority. Not in the ways by which they were compelled

to manifest it, are we called to exhibit it; but in a way as hard, — by resolute resistance to all the soft solicitations of our circumstances, that would make us live in their comfortable embrace for luxury, physical enjoyment, and the world's applause.

The Christian conception of life vaults far over the plane of our industrial tendencies and civilization. How much direct help does the progress of science give us to live nobly? What influence could emanate from those ponderous and ingenious machines, that were borne along, the other day, in honor of the triumph of our enterprise, to help us in the wrestle and race of moral life? If you are worth a thousand dollars, you are richer than old King Croesus was; for with your property you can circumnavigate the globe, which he could not do with his. If you have a hundred dollars, and will spend it wisely, you may purchase more priceless wealth than Lucullus could own; for you may make it bring you almost the whole of the permanent and eternal works of literary genius. And, if you desire to

expend it in other ways, you can have more people and more forces your obsequious slaves, while it lasts, than any Sultan can command. Every railroad offers to bear you; gorgeous steamboats compete for the honor of carrying you; splendid hotels, near the mountains and by the loveliest scenery of nature, send you their cards of invitation, and promise to obey your orders; merchants endeavor to serve you; stores vie with each other in splendor for the honor of your entrance; a whole city strives to do your bidding, till the last cent of it is drained.

And yet how much aid does all this convenience give you in your secret, unwhispered combat with your appetites, and the conscientious ordering of life? How much strength does the invention of a new lever infuse into your will? How will the double-cylinder printing-press give you the heavenly wisdom? By what means will the opening of a new road to Canada, though it binds two nations in closer amity, shed into your breast that charity without which "we are but sounding brass and a

tinkling cymbal"? In what way can the extract of gas from water kindle or intensify that inward light without which our souls are in a rayless world? How can the invention of the "fire-annihilator" assist you to quench the flame of the passions we are set to subdue? There never will be a railroad to heaven; and no engineering or science, but our vigorous toil, will level the cliffs and pierce the ledges that lie in that journey.

God helps society, as an organism, by the advance of science and art; they raise the plane and widen the arena of our public life; but that progress cannot add directly one per cent of spiritual faculty to us as individuals, nor remove or lighten a single problem that meets us and tries us as men. Above the region of physical civilization is the domain which the gospel rules; and within the circuit of our wealth and comforts is the sphere of spiritual trial which God and heaven survey, and where our victory must depend, not on our wealth and station, but on the clearness of our conscience and the stoutness of our will.

Ah! how true is it, how sadly true to many of us, that advance of wealth and comfort does not lift us out of our moral feebleness, or remove us from the siege of the besetting duties that grow out of our existence! Temptation and trial rise with the flood of prosperity that floats us into a more elegant abode; the call of duty is no more musical when our income is princely than when it was slight; the same passions gnaw us when we stand up on the pedestal of our ambition, as when we looked at it from below; the tongue is the same unruly member, whether we ride in a rail-car or in a wagon; and there is no more breadth of manhood in us, now that California is our province, and our country's flag is reflected in the Pacific waves, than there was when the Rocky Mountains were its western ramparts, and the Ohio flowed through a silent wilderness.

I speak these things, brethren, from the suggestions of my own deepest experience: are they not endorsed by yours? How much better are you, how much more vitality of will

and devotedness to duty have you, because of your advance in prosperity, and the influx of general comfort in our city the last few years? How much nobler men are you for those gas-pipes that bloom nightly in flame around our parlors, and the water that gushes from the generous lake into our chambers, and the furnaces that banish from our homes the knowledge of cold? We ought to be, somehow, nobler for these things. They are blessings of God's spreading mercy of civilization, and we ought to be grateful for them. They lift off layer after layer of the pressure of material necessities, and give us more leisure for the pursuit of higher ends. Think under what heavier conditions virtue is demanded of the poor than it is asked of us. Is it not right that God should expect nobler spiritual results from us, than if we had been appointed to rear Christian qualities amid the anxieties of constant physical toil, under the pressure and pinch of poverty, and with the consciousness of injustice from the world? Consider the immense distance between the lot of a wealthy

merchant and an ordinary laborer, and think whether the All-seeing Ruler may not justly call for something like a corresponding order of manly attainment ; whether the apex of the social pyramid should not furnish better specimens of men than those at its base. I will not stop to consider if the fact corresponds to the call : I will only say, that, if we are not better with the extension of our material privileges, we are surely worse, — worse as individuals, because false to greater privileges ; worse as communities, because we need a larger virtue to uphold the blessings of a complex civilization than that which would be sufficient for lower stages of social life. Amid this vast network of forces and comforts, man must be more truly and vigorously man, in order to escape being a portion of the surrounding mechanism, and to stand out distinct and eminent from the splendid social order our hands have raised.

And so the lesson of all our triumphs, pageants, and comforts is, that we need more reverence for duty, constancy of noble purpose,

steady strife against temptation, faith in God, and assurance of immortality. These alone can enable us to maintain our manhood, and be the lords of the world. These alone can keep off the perils which beset every high state of social advancement, and which, thus far in history, have laid every cultured and wealthy nation low. A nation, whose men are dwindling, may be prosperous for a long while; as the ship may sail swiftly on her course, headed towards her harbor, while the crew she bears are smitten with pestilence, and have begun to die. But when the storm comes, and stalwart arms are needed, the shrivelled mariners cannot do their work; and she will drift to wrong latitudes, become the prey of pirates, or founder in the sea.

And for *ourselves*, in our most comfortable conditions, we need these principles and hopes. We must have them, if we would be men, and feel kindred to something higher than our houses and doubloons; we must have them, if we would know how to use our means and privileges in the service of ennobling things; we

must have them, if, in dark and troublous times, we would have inward sustenance and medicine for the affections, which soft couches cannot solace, nor money drug to rest. We must have them, if, when houses and estates—the world in its beauty and cultivation—begin to fade from the dim sight, and the last great trial of our manliness and superiority to nature is at hand,—that trial before which the majority of men have failed,—we would see the gleaming shores of the spirit's everlasting country through the mists of death, and exclaim, “O grave! where is thy victory? O death! where is thy sting?”

The hope and resource of society and the individual,—the hope of stable prosperity, and the resource of personal nobleness,—lie in the gospel, and the influence of the Saviour's triumphant life. Men may ever, and properly, look to science, industry, and art, to conquer the material obstacles to social advancement, and give the key to material wealth and power; but when they feel the burdens and obligations of a heavenly origin,—and who of

us does not feel them often, and would not feel them more? — when they are conscious of the stern conditions of virtue and inward triumph; when they drag the heavy chain of degrading habit, and feel the pressure of the mystery of the grave; when, in the spasms of a holy shame or the agony of doubt, they exclaim, “O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?” — the answer comes, not from the forges, the looms, the palaces, the art-halls of civilization: it comes to us — if we get the true and competent answer — as it did to poor, persecuted, triumphant Paul, who sent it to the believers in imperial Rome, and whence it is wafted to our souls, “I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord!”

ART. XIV.

Washington; or Greatness.

MOST people love to look on a great man. It is an epoch in the lives of persons, when they first behold some of the greatest natural sublimities or beauties of the material creation, such as the "White Mountains," "Niagara," a "Storm at Sea," the "Bay of Naples," or an "Italian Sunset;" but there is no landscape, or range of hills, that can afford so clear a manifestation of the divine wisdom, goodness, and glory, as is revealed to us through the faces and the works of the eminent men of the world. "The word made flesh" takes rank of all the forms of the word, as it is revealed in globe, or star, or sky. I should like to look up to Mont Blanc, from the valley of Chamouni, or stand under the shadow of the Pyramids, or see the panorama that stretches beneath the summits of the Andes, but should prefer, of the two, to pass an hour with Plato, to study the beauty of Milton's countenance, to have seen the expression of Shakspeare just as Hamlet was completed, or to have stood among the circle that heard the apostle Paul at Lystra, or that listened to his defence before Agrippa in the city of Cesarea.

Next to the *sight* of great persons, the *ideal* knowledge of them is interesting and important, through careful study of their careers. The way to keep up our faith in virtue, if it flags, and to enlarge our conception of greatness, if it shrivels, is to turn from the small proportions of the souls about us, and our own easy defeats, and go into the society of the eminent servants of truth and right, whose devotion cannot be questioned, and whose biographies are like suns in the firmament of history.

We need continually to be refreshed as to the relations of the moral element, of goodness, to human greatness. Every man was made to be a subject. There is law in the universe, law for men as well as for things; and there is no majestic greatness or enduring force except in the line of law. No piece of rock, no gem, no river, no mountain, could have any beauty, usefulness, or power,

outside the laws of order that entwine the globe. Let any thing in nature set up for itself and refuse to obey, and it is weak and good for nothing. We hear a great deal said about instinct, self-reliance, and the virtue of impulse and disposition. It is true that the saintly goodness consists in this, but it is a virtue that the soul attains and ends with. Every man must apply a law to himself, before he can be a law to himself. Weeds are spontaneous, fruit is cultivated. It does not depend on a man's virtues, whether he shall be *distinguished*, but it does depend on them whether he is *great*.

We must make a clear discrimination, and keep it ever in mind, between distinction and greatness. Some persons have one power or faculty of our nature, in greater prominence than the average of the world, and we call them *great* because of it. One man has more strength, or more mechanical skill, or more of mercantile sagacity, or more fluent utterance, or a more fertile brain than ordinary men. If there was no moral truth, or moral law in the world, we might decide the greatness of men, as most persons do now decide it, not at all by the uses to which men put their faculties, but simply by the degree in which they possess certain powers.

Some men are distinguished also by a certain fineness of quality ; their sensibilities and their brain seem to be made of more delicate and subtile material. Poets and artists are distinguished thus. Others, again, rise above the level of capacity, by the quantity of their nature and attributes. They have vastly more of the common qualities which other men possess, such as prudence, steadiness, common sense, and are eminent by their *mass* of substance. But before the word "greatness" can be applied to any of these, the question must be asked, "What do they do with their qualities ? how do they rule them ? in what service are they employed ?"

In the light of these principles it is very easy to see the line in which Washington was great. He was not distinguished from others by the great preponderance of any one faculty. It is said of some great men that they would have been equally eminent in many other careers. Thus Napoleon, or Cæsar, might have been a great orator, poet, mathematician, engineer. But Washington would

not in any line have been a brilliant man. No culture probably could have brought any one power of his nature into such distinction that it could be eminent in a circle of the most gifted minds which his country or his age produced. As a speaker, a writer, a scholar, he could have been faithful and respectable, but not remarkable, not brilliant, and in no sense original. Neither did he have the second element of distinction, that is, a peculiar fineness of quality or organization. Of all that passes for genius in the domain of artistic creation, he was destitute. A subtle thought, an acute distinction, a delicate perception, a fine and elusive emotion—any thing connected with the poet's sensibility or the poetic capacity, he was debarred from by temperament. The distinction of Washington was the great bulk and compactness of his practical powers, the solidity, the strength and the poise of those faculties, which we do not usually associate with genius, but which are the spiritual substratum of every nature that is called efficient and reliable for systematic and practical work in society. The remark which Patrick Henry made, after his return from the first Continental Congress, to a person who asked him who was the greatest man in that body comes in play here. "If you mean who is the greatest orator, Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, is no doubt, the most eloquent man; but for solid information and sound judgement, Col. Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor." He was great, that is, distinguished from other men, by the mass, gravity, and majesty, with which, by nature, the strong qualities of our humanity were aggregated in him.

But this does not define his greatness in the true sense of that word, that is, in the sense which every Christian man should use it. With this large quantity of being, Washington could not long have played a subordinate or trivial part in practical life, but he might have made his energy and power of influence ministers of his own aggrandizement in startling ways, and at the expense of general welfare. It is one of the first elements of his greatness to be noted and to be revered, that his powers were subjected to a rigid rule. He had great passions, but he had iron walls and reins of steel for them. Self-command was his prominent trait. The lower flames of

his being beat in vain against the ramparts of his will. And this self-command was not merely the discipline of his lower properties, so that they should not interfere with his success. Many men, doubtless, have had the power to smother their flaming passions in emergencies, by a cool selfishness, but in his case, the will itself that ruled them was loyal to an idea of right, and all the powers of his nature were subordinated and systemized by the dominion over him of the law of duty. He was a law-giver to himself. From the date of his responsible years, he rigidly strove to put himself in harmony with moral truth, learning to command, by being commanded, and through obedience aspiring to be free.

The Proverb says, "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city." A vast proportion of what the world calls greatness, has been in the line of the strong passions of our nature; the spring, the power-wheel of it, has been some one of the unrul'd, riotous, and degrading forces of the soul. Very seldom is greatness seen, that is based on, and grows out of, self-rule, and the antecedent conquest of that portion of hell that is contained in every human breast. If Washington's spirit had been less orderly, he would doubtless have seemed greater to a vast many who now see nothing very remarkable in his nature, because he would doubtless have done many things that would have been more startling and would have called forth more applause. Take, for instance, the case of the two men Cæsar and Napoleon. In contrast with the brilliant story of their victories and their subjugation of great nations to their will, the exploits of Washington look meagre enough. But their successes were all stimulated by selfishness and ambition, and were thus in the direction of passions, whose gale they trimmed their sails to take. It is easy enough to scud before the wind, but seamanship is oftener displayed in beating into harbor against the breeze, around the points, and among the shoals, than in a quick run across the ocean. Who knows what brilliant achievements Washington could have surprised men with, if his powers had been wildly dishevelled, and his faculties put to the service of lust for dominion and aggrandizement? Who knows whether the temptations to do just such things as have immortalized the impe-

rial geniuses, did not writhe in his brain and swell his breast, to be wrestled down and fettered? If so, he was greater than Napoleon or Alexander, by that rule of his spirit, that made him refuse such distinction as theirs. If the temptation to be a despot conquered the genius of Bonaparte, and was conquered by the soul of Washington, all the splendors of the first man's success only show that, in the region of morals, he was magnificently weak, and the poverty of splendor in the second man's achievements, prove him to be magnificently strong.

The very word *passion* implies subjection and submissiveness. No human strength is suggested by the word, but the contrary. Where a passion is violent and sweeps through the soul with irresistible press, no matter what great records of brilliant confusion it may leave in the outward world, the man himself has been acted upon and swung as an instrument. The law-giving, order-appointing faculty at the centre of his being—the *will* in which the likeness of the Infinite Ruler is reflected, has been conquered, so that the soul becomes a subject thing, and not a monarchical lord of the forces in its own realm. The horse hurries the rider in the paths it likes; the mob invades the deliberative silence of the Capitol. For this reason it is that “he that is slow to anger is better than the mighty.”

Surely then it is time that we made the most important discrimination between the distinction that comes from lawless yielding to the currents of worldly temptation and passion, and the greatness that lies in sterning these and working in the line of truth, usefulness and law. If Napoleon and Cæsar had been greater men,—that is, truer, more loyal men, they would surely have been less brilliantly distinguished men. They would not have jarred the globe with the tread of their armies, they might not have crowned the Alps with their banners and their eagles, they would not have made so many homes desolate and so many acres rich by the slaughter of their foes, for they would probably have kept at home, and labored to increase the blessings and improve the civilization of their own people, and the record of their battles would have been limited to those fought to repel invasion, or to crush the outrageous tyranny of foreign despotism. If the pres-

ent ruler of France were a *greater* man than he is, the world would have heard far less about him. It would never have heard of the subtle and comprehensive brutality by which a nation's liberty has been betrayed, and the sportive fiendishness that has contrived to make the people themselves parties to his conspiracy. Had he been a greater man, he would have respected his oath, or if forced by the desperate condition of his country to save it from misrule by momentary usurpation, he would have used his power for the broad good of his land, and not to increase, by stupendous rascality, the pomp of his own state and name. I heard an eccentric but shrewd man once remark that he never knew a person who startled people very much, and for whom crowds seemed willing to throw up their hats, that was not, to a great extent, a humbug. There is much truth in this, for it is often the case that if persons who show brilliant and surprising qualities in the world of action, speech or thought, had more solidity or good sense, their startling distinction would be less prominent, because their wisdom and general vigor of nature would be greater.

God strives in every way to make us see the greatness of all that is productive of peace and order. The prairies waving with growing wheat, and forests studded with swelling oaks, make no noise ; and the electricity which roars in the thunder peal, is not a tithe so powerful as that which sleeps in the light and holds the drops of a cup of water in their liquid poise. The world's estimate of power gives greater prominence to that which upheaves and causes disorder. The eruption of a volcano, to almost all minds, symbolizes more strength and grandeur than the silent swing and radiance of a planet. If there could be some splendid confusion produced amid the serenity of the present universal order, if some broad constellation should begin, to-night, to play off from all its lamps, volleys of Bengal lights, that should fall in showers of many-colored sparks and fiery serpents, down the spaces of the heavens, or if some blazing and piratical comet should butt and jostle the whole outworks of a system, and rush like a celestial fire-ship, destroying order, and kindling the calm fleets that sail upon the infinite azure into a flame, how many thousands there are that would look up

to the skies, for the first time, with wonder and awe, and exclaim inwardly, "Surely there is the finger of God." They do not see any thing suprising or subduing in the punctual rise and steady setting of the sun, and its imperial and boundless bounty ; and yet there is enough fire in the sun to spirt any quantity of flaming and fantastic jets ; it could fill the whole space between Mercury and Neptune with brilliant pyrotechnics and jubilee displays, such as children gaze at and clap their hands. But the great old Sun is not selfish, and has no French ambition for such tawdry glories. It reserves its fires, keeps them stored in his breast, spills over no sheets of flame from its huge cauldron, but shoots still and steadily its clean, white beams into the ether, that evoke flowers from the bosom of every globe, and paint the far off satellites of Uranus with silver beauty.

It is a bad sign always for the permanence and beneficence of any power, when there is much clamor in it and excitement about it. Where a school is governed by the frequent accompaniment of loud talk and whippings, there is not nearly so much power at work, as in a school where, through respect for the teacher, every thing goes on quietly, as it were without direction. So it is in homes ; the more noise and scolding, the less parental power. Activity and clamor of the tongue and hand are brought in to supply the lack of that steady central strength which organizes peacefully. In the same way it is the excess of the violent and degrading passions,—which in their dominion, really show the weakness of a man, and not his greatness,—that usually has made the fame and supremacy of the leading geniuses. If a man is not too great to be unscrupulous, he can with a fair share of force in him make headway and considerable noise in the world. There is more power in putting the foot upon a passion, and being unknown through that victory, than in surrendering to it, and thus making a world-wide noise. We may conquer the globe in the latter case, but in the former, we conquer the prince of this world. The passion for money-getting, for reputation, for power, for a seat in Congress, often acquires for a man the credit of greatness, through his success, when he may have neighbors that show themselves to be greater than he, by refusing to let a passion absorb

them, and are restrained by the delicate bonds of refinement, honor, and conscience, from the tricks, meannesses and questionable measures that must often be used to be brilliantly successful in the world of wealth and fame.

All true greatness is calm, has a large side of silence, works in harmony with the still and modest laws of truth, and shows symmetrical proportions that prevent its majesty from producing its full impression upon us until we study it carefully. I was talking with a man, not long since, who said that he could not see the remarkable greatness of Washington. "What new thing did he do?" he asked. As if it were not a marvellous instance of greatness that, with such opportunities to do such new and brilliant things as to be the founder of a line of kings on a vast continent,—he would not think of it; as if he did not show the very originality of his greatness among the chieftains of history, by lifting up the common virtues of honesty, integrity, and regard for the welfare of others, and wearing them instead of a royal robe and princely crown, thus showing that they were broad and ample enough to cover him with majesty; as if that letter by which, from the impulse of honor and devotion to republican truth, he refused the imperial office and name, and rebuked the officer who wrote the temptation to him, was not the most original page in the bloody annals of revolution and war; as if it were an every day occurrence for a man, by the justness of his motives and the clearness of his sight, to ensure liberty for generations to half a hemisphere; and as though it were something lightly to be estimated, when the devil takes a great nature, such as he has so often conquered by his splendid baubles, up to a high mountain, from which the extent of a nation is visible, and offers the landscape as the prize, if he will kneel and worship—to hear the answer given that echoes round the world, "Get thee behind me, Satan, for I will serve only truth and my fellows, and the Supreme God."

Mr. Carlyle has been led away by the same falseness or feebleness of sight to disparage the greatness of Washington. Because he gained no brilliant victories, because he made no startling and melo-dramatic displays of arbitrary will, because there were no meteoric moments and passages in his career, he and many others, doubtless, have

thought him unworthy a place among the great heroes of the time. "Good enough," they say, "a very good man—but over-estimated for greatness." Ah! was it a small thing, to be turned off in that way in our rhetoric, that there has been a man who lifted up Generalship from the low purposes and aims which have degraded it, and in the height of power showed the world the dignity there is in serving, rather than lawless seizing? We need not deny, or detract from, the splendid abilities shown by the great captains of history in their campaigns that gave or upheld their despotic power. We see the brilliancy of such achievements at once. They glare. But bring them into comparison with the silent greatness of Washington in the first years of the Revolution! Look at those great leaders with their mighty and well appointed armies, full of enthusiasm for their chiefs, and eager for war, and then think of Washington, in his humble camp, so feebly and fitfully supplied; invested with every sort of difficulty that might dishearten a noble nature; denied the opportunity of doing any thing brilliant in the way of battle; compelled to counsel, argue with, and inspirit the Congress, that appointed him and that watched him; obliged to use the greatest art, often, to conceal the poverty of his resources from his foes and from his own men; seeing his ranks thinned just when help was needed most; doomed to have his head and heart pecked at by jealousy, detraction, and infamous slander; compelled to keep up courage in defeat, and to look abroad for light in the thickest gloom, to cheer his soldiers amid the frost and the famine of their winter retreats, and to suppress their mutinies and keep alive their patriotism, when their pay failed and their prospects were black; and in the midst of all, to keep the same calm temper of endurance, and the same deep love of freedom and serene faith in success; to feel "though persecuted not forsaken, though perplexed not in despair, though cast down not destroyed;" and to come out of it all triumphant, and with the same majesty of joy in victory, as there was of trust in the night hours; and then to rule with the same steady justice in the Cabinet, as he had shown in the Camp; is not this a greatness, that is only too original in the annals of the world's warfare and struggle? Where is the other great genius that has been call-

ed to stand the strain of such constant and exciting duties—the wear and tear upon temper, hope, confidence, and the last resources of the breast for years, with no absorbing personal ambition to inspire him, but only a sentiment of duty, and the ardent desire to give freedom to a land ?

In the silence and persistency of the breast of Washington, there was the noblest display of greatness. The spirit which ruled him was the highest spirit ; and the qualities within him to be ruled thus must have been massive and immense, or they never could have done the organizing work which they performed. Try to think of any other man, connected with the armies or the councils of our revolution, taking Washington's place, and he performing a subordinate part. We cannot do it. The history of that period, and the fitness of things, would be tortured by such an arrangement. We might as well try to conceive the sun acting as satellite to one of its dependent orbs. Great men, noble men, brilliant men, there were belonging to the camp and to the Capitol, but they show aright, and to the best advantage, when disposed around his Doric greatness. He was the man fitted and made to uphold the banner of liberty on a continent,—the colossal nature representing in his own inward rule and repose the greatness of a nation rising up to proclaim and illustrate liberty founded on law. He towered from the level of the virtue and patriotism of his countrymen, not by any different or more surprising qualities than theirs, but as the mountain rises by greater mass and gradual slopes from the plains ; and he stood among the cluster of large names that surrounded him and supported the common cause, as the summit which bears his name in the highlands of New Hampshire, rises from the cluster of neighboring peaks, so majestic and supreme in its eminence, that at the distance all the rest seem blended into its sublimity, and it is its height that represents the grandeur of the region, and guides the traveller from afar on his way.

Whenever we are grateful to Divine Providence for the freedom we enjoy, and the persistent heroism that secured it, we ought especially to recognize and adore the guidance that raised such a nature to be its support and head. Coming a generation before, or a generation after,

there would hardly have been on this side the globe, the proper work for such a man, and he would have been a discreet, successful, and happy farmer at Mount Vernon. Many speak of the indications of Providence in behalf of our land, shown by the seemingly miraculous interpositions that kept him, in his youth, from the service of a foreign navy, and that guarded him, in forest skirmishes and open battle, from the skilful bullets of his enemies. But it is wiser and more Christian to study the comprehensive providence that organized secretly such a soul in the settlement of Virginia, and, when the time arrived that called for a leader, able to conciliate differences, disarm prejudice, inspire confidence and courage, and give weight and dignity to a popular cause, led forward the man full-formed, competent to utter without heat, the radical opinions and determinations of an excited people, and to invest rebellion with the calmness of philosophy and the majesty of truth. Without Washington, our revolution, if successful, would lose its chief grandeur. No brilliancy of military genius in any other leader, could atone for the loss of that brave manliness at the head of our armies, that collected and pious patience in reverses and distress, that chastened and systematic enthusiasm which defeated, by wearing out, the haughty hostility of a foreign cabinet and king, that serene and stately wisdom from which has floated down to us the parental counsels of that Farewell Address—fitting close to a life of unfaltering devotion to duty and a country's cause. The man to whom a whole country looked for support, and on whose inward resources they relied in war and peace, has not been overrated for greatness, nay, has not been wisely enough estimated as yet. Let us bless God for Washington ! And if any man cannot see our indebtedness for his service by looking at the past, let him turn towards Europe, and study what each oppressed and bleeding land is suffering, because, in the spasmodic throes of its strength, or despair, it has no such man as he to comprehend the justice of its cause in his brain, and the sentiments of it in his breast, and to excite in every thinker, in every lover of God and religion, and in the cottages of every village, a trust in the clearness of his sight, the purity of his heart, the soundness of his judgement, and the republicanism of his sword.

When there shall be fewer metaphysical declaimers and atheistic brigands in the ranks of the leaders of the popular cause in Europe, and a few men, yes, even one large and well poised nature, to whom manliness and piety may look up without fear and without shame, the prospects of liberty will not be so dark as they are now.

I wish to speak next of the morality of Washington's intellect. Without the due appreciation of this, any estimate of his genius must be partial. As the great powers of his nature were only the ordinary qualities of good men enlarged and intensified, so the greatness of his mind consisted in his tendency and desire to see the single truth and justice in every question that came before him for consideration and for action. Somebody has finely said that, if you seek the new, you will be likely to miss the true, but if you seek the true you will probably find the new. Simple standards are very severe ones for the judgements of men. How few are there that, in all their inquiries, seek only truth with their whole heart, and in all their actions desire to do purely what is best. Let the bigotries and prejudices, the oppressions, the infidelity, the unfaithfulness of men answer for this, for they exist simply because men do not pursue truth with singleness of mind, and strive to support in action what they know in meditation to be the right. But there never was a nature sounder to the core of its interest and its will, in these respects, than Washington's. Sincerity and truth-lovingness were in his blood. Morality shot up into every fibre of his brain, and was alive in each sinew of his hand. We cannot conceive of him making any investigations to dress out a subject in any other light than its own, or planning to serve a party, or laboring in any course that did not seem to promise the best results for all. Reference to what is highest in the nature of things had been made a habit so strong by his faithfulness, that it became an instinct. A Patriot he was in the highest sense, not because he loved his country with a selfish love, but because he loved justice on the broadest scale, and believed that the cause of his country was that of eternal justice ; and so when he spoke of resistance, it was a command from the very spirit of loyalty, saying "submit no longer," and when he drew his sword, every Christian in the

land might safely say "*Amen.*" So lofty was his nature, that he could not stoop to selfish ambition, nor counsel any thing that would tamper with the public good, or did not point directly to his country's benefit. If such a spirit is the soul of greatness in whatever sphere, we may see also the breadth of the nature in which that spirit lived, when we consider how naturally we think of Washington, as a public man. There are many very good men, reliable men—men as pure in the spirit of their greatness as Washington, whom we should instinctively consider out of place in any large public capacity. And many who are called to the national councils seem too small for the work allotted to them, not less by the feebleness of their powers, than by the selfishness of their spirit. The ample expanse and dignified associations of the Senate Chamber dwarf them; the Capitol does not seem to enclose its masters when they are in it; an empire is too broad a back-ground for their height and bulk. "Pigmies are pigmies still, though perched on Alps." But Washington was emphatically a *States*-man. The home and the farm could not keep him, although his heart was there. He was made for the broad sphere of public action. The swing of his arm had momentum enough to move a nation; his presence was for the head-quarters of an army, or for the palace of a people; his pen was made to transcribe treaties, and his voice to be heard at the limits of a State. His writings have the solemnity and majesty appropriate to the deliberations and decisions of a congress, and nothing but a nation, and a serious revolution for the maintenance of right, could be competent to relieve the plain but colossal proportions of his judgement, prudence, integrity and love of freedom.

And now, bring into the presence of such a character—thus seated upon the throne of justice and a people's veneration, such men as Cæsar and Bonaparte. We ought to bring them there; it will do us good to see how they look, and we ought to know how they look, in the light which that brow and that face shed upon them. Do they not look smaller? What right have we to judge any man, however great, by any other standard than that of *the good*? If a man is a Colossus in genius, but is a colossal criminal, why not always use the noun to de-

scribe him, rather than the adjective. Is it not time to see that the standard of the just and good, flames over *statesmen*, as well as over *humble men*, and that if a man who cheats and conspires against his neighbor's right in a small sphere is called a knave, the man who cheats and robs and fetters his country, by whatever brilliancy of achievement he effects it, should be branded as a royal villain. Let not the purity of Washington's character be considered, as it too often is, an almost supernatural exception to what can be expected of mortals, but let it be looked up to as the pattern of what humanity may attain, and let it shine upon the reputation of these men that are accounted great, that the splendor of their battles may pale in the solemn brightness of his integrity, and that the complexity of their genius, which only offers so many channels for the selfishness of our nature, may dwindle in its charm before the great simplicity of his soul, that was translucent with the immortal brightness of virtue and fidelity.

It is well for us to look up to the height and mass and complexion of such a virtue. The anniversary of his birth-day does not come round too often for us to devote some hour of it, whenever it returns, to meditation upon him and to gratitude for his spirit and his work. The Almighty has put him into history, as he put the soul of Samuel into the history of Palestine, to show men the majesty of virtue its public relations, and to speak to the human sensibilities and conscience through the incarnate eloquence of a life.

The character of Washington is a buttress to every pulpit of America; for it is a character that is baseless, if religion be not true. If men are mere animals, if there is no law of God, no holy duty, no eternal life, his life is a sublime inconsistency. There is a firmer fulcrum for the lever of the Gospel against the passions and the worldliness of men, there is greater vigor in the eloquence that denounces self-worship and enthrones loyalty to truth, there is more intensity in every appeal that calls men not to be "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God," because such a man has woven the tissue of his fidelity into the half century of his earthly stewardship. Such a life makes the greatness which the precepts of Christianity

present abstractly, a reality ; it strengthens the laws and adorns the landscape of the kingdom of Heaven.

The Saviour said that his apostles after their death should "sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." And every great character which, out of the materials of human discipline, builds up a shining greatness, rises after its death to a throne, and by its eminence judges the world. And so our subject mounts to a climax of moral authority, impressiveness and appeal. The character of Washington hangs in the moral atmosphere, for instruction and for judgement, over the statesmen of our land. How can there be a time-server, a demagogue, a trifler with right and the true interests of his country, a brutal scorner of the laws of virtue and honor, in that Capitol founded by Washington, and in which his marble counterfeit still strives to shed dignity and truth ? The people of this land have before them the incarnate ideal of what a statesman should be, and they ought to hold the statesmen who have read his life, and who meet in the city that bears his name, to the duty of laboring in a spirit like his for the business and the interests of the great estates they guard. It is our fault if his name shall die away into a mere ornament of congressional and caucus rhetoric, and if it is suffered that business shall be postponed, and the courtesies of life trampled upon, and the supreme law of God made a bye-word and mockery, by puny men who sit in the high places of an empire which his fidelity and religion saved. If any man smiles at the idea of great virtue being possible amid the temptations of public life, and thinks that the standard of the pulpit is not for the conflicts and rivalries and diplomacies of the political arena, and feels that the religion of Christ is good enough outside the storms and stress of the world, let him be pointed to Washington, who went clean and victorious through all, and who, "though dead, yet speaks" to us, that the trouble in gaining a great virtue is not in the strength of the world, but in the feebleness of the soul.

And that character shines down upon all of us, and searches the depths of our hearts to prove our fidelity to truth and Heaven. The greatest goodness is imitable and encourages aspiration. What is there in the greatness of Washington that cannot in spirit be revealed in us, and

that is not applicable to our circumstances and needed in our breast? If Washington had failed in fidelity to his call; if he had said "my circumstances are easy enough here amid my parks, and forests, and farms, and I will not hazard my happiness upon the issue of a conflict between my feeble country and the most powerful empire of the world;" or if, having taken the responsibility, he had used its means and power for himself more than for the great duties to which it called, we should mourn when we read it, and view it as another dark page in the history of the frailty of human genius. And yet, in the sight of God, what would it be but a record in larger type of the practical infidelity and failure which so many men are printing in smaller type upon their allowance of time? Every private soldier is required to be faithful, as much as every officer who has charge of the campaign. Every man is required to rule his passions and to discipline his powers as the great founder of our freedom did; and although every man is not required to save a country, yet there is no one that does not have a soul to save from darkness, depravity, the feebleness of sloth and luxury, and the powers of hell. Some men say that the divine character of Christ is too high for them, but what *man* has done surely men may do; and the affectionate reverence which we feel and pay towards the Father of his country, and the gratitude we confess to Providence for placing his name foremost and lustrous on the roll of our country's annals, call on us, in the name of consistency and our own moral aspirations, to examine ourselves and see if there is in us, as there was in him, a love of the truth that makes all falsehood infamous; a devotion to the right that keeps the ear away from the seductions of the flesh and the world; and that upward look to what is best, which fosters in us the desire at all times to be the servants of that and that only which is supreme and everlasting.

T. S. K.

ART. XV.

Literary Notices.

1. Wesley, and Methodism. By Isaac Taylor. New York: Harper & Brothers, &c. 1852. 12mo. pp. 328.

A NEW work from Isaac Taylor is always a rich and profound mine of thought newly opened. Of all living writers, in England or America, he stands perhaps first as the expounder of those moral and religious forces which make up human character, and which operate in practical life. Or, if we were to assign him an equal, in this province, we should at once name that mighty but eccentric spirit, Thomas Carlyle; though the differences, between the two, are such that it is difficult to compare them with each other. The latter wants the Christian element which distinguishes the former in so great a degree. Besides this, Carlyle delights to study human nature in remarkable individuals rather than in the mass; he has quite a taste for "hero-worship," rather than for the patient and systematic illustration of our active forces, as they belong to all men. Even when he turns to these, it is generally to disclose their relations with the infinite depths that encompass our being, instead of tracing out their workings in every-day life. Taylor has none of his dramatic power, little of his gift at drawing or creating personal characters; and though endowed with a strong imagination, he possesses but a moderate share of his humor, and less of his poetic genius. His style of writing is, in most of his works, about half as crabbed as that of the arch-humorist himself; his sentences being long, contorted, sometimes dislocated, and usually awkward, though his words at least are generally English. But his thoughts make ample amends for the roughness of their clothing. They are distinguished for their vigor, and for the rare combination of breadth, depth, and completeness; and they abound in pregnant suggestions, every where throwing out new views of facts and relations. He not only clears the path before him, but fills the horizon around with light. This is the case, at least, when he treats of principles as they actually work in the human heart, and as they come out in human character. When he ventures to calculate the course which communities, or institutions, will hold in the future, we have not much faith in his prognostications,—he then gives too free a play to his imagination, and is too confident that the plan, on which the Almighty Ruler governs the Universe, is "the Thirty-Nine Articles." He is a better philosopher than prophet.

In the work before us, he maintains that the Methodism of Whitefield and Wesley, though quite faulty as a system, was nevertheless

is known to those who can appreciate the felicities of his wonderful style of treatment. That much of his writing fails of this mark, and is only excellent preaching, was almost unavoidable, when we consider the difficulty of the thing to be done and the novelty of the undertaking. But judged by his best works, we must acknowledge that no poet has succeeded more nobly, or failed with less disgrace. One volume of these seven will become classic poetry of an incomparable kind, while the other six will often be read for their vigorous thought and spiritual ethics.

There were great defects in the mind of Wordsworth. His want of humor and dramatic insight, lessens the value of his delineations of life. He sails majestically down the great current of existence, but almost ignores the zig-zag courses of its ever varying tributary streams; and like those Indians who carry their birchen canoes around rapids and cataracts, he rarely attempts to shoot the tortuous passages and crises of the soul. This want of his mind is most apparent in his opinions upon society. He was never quite able to separate the actually true and beautiful in humanity, from a certain set of social, political, and theological arrangements. The rural life of England, the English Church and Constitution, came to be in his mind, almost the sole conditions of a spiritual and poetical existence. His opinions upon many things appear to us, what his early critics declared his poetry, nonsense; and are to be accounted for only by constitutional peculiarities and domestic influences, acting in conjunction with this lack of humor and dramatic insight.

But what he *was* chiefly concerns us; and this is seen not only in himself, but in every true English and American poet, who has written since his genius became a power in our literature. In Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, and the Brownings, and no less in our own Bryant, Dana, and Longfellow, we trace the shaping hand of this master of the new poetry. And to how many of us he has become an elevating and refining influence, can be known only in that day when the Poet of the Christian Life shall gather in his fold, and men of all degrees of culture, from every sphere of human activity, shall honor him as the Artist of the Divine Life.

A. D. M.

ART. XXXIII.

M'Cosh on Divine Government.

The method of Divine Government, Physical and Moral. Rev. James M'Cosh. New York : Robert Carter and Brothers. 1851.

Our readers will recollect, perhaps, that we called attention to this work, some months ago, in a short Literary notice. We do not propose to give any thing like a Review of it here. To do so would require a volume ; for the author leads us into almost every portion of the domain of Natural Theology, tracks along most of the tendencies of liberal and pantheistic speculation, and often makes a plunge into the deepest and dreariest wastes of metaphysics. After a somewhat careful perusal, we are able to reaffirm the estimate formerly given of its importance and ability ; although we think that its chief value consists in the broad range of fresh and brilliant illustration, by which he brings Calvinistic dogmas into the society of the natural world, rather than in any remarkable vigor of logic, or subtlety of argument, brought to bear upon the old threadbare themes. While the author is but slightly endowed with the penetrative imagination, that is able to fill a familiar and perhaps exploded doctrine with intense vitality, and compel you, even in your recoil from it, to feel the fascination of its ugliness, and cast about with fresh anxiety for weapons to reach its fallacy, he possesses a most fertile and brilliant fancy, which enables him to give the clearest statements of the points he is anxious to defend, and to adorn his diffuse and unimpassioned discussion with analogies and imagery that frequently surprise the critical reader, and please while they perplex him.

The purpose of the book is to portray the moral character of God, as the governor and judge of men, by a careful survey of the physical world in its relation to the human constitution and condition, and by a minute analysis of the moral faculty in man. We have found much in it to admire and commend. Sometimes whole chapters contain nothing with which our convictions are not in entire harmony. By skilful concessions and the bland and

entertaining methods of his advocacy, Mr. M'Cosh has certainly succeeded in causing his "grim-visaged creed" to "smooth its wrinkled front, and caper nimbly" in the fields of science and poetry; but the mild expression is momentary and unnatural, and the belief is not dislodged from us that nature and the soul of man do not offer the welcome even to cultured and genteel Calvinism, which the author would have us believe. We shall confine our dissentient criticism to a very few lines of thought which pervade the book, and which are portions of the boundaries between the domains of Orthodox and Liberal Christianity.

Mr. M'Cosh has much to say concerning the exhibitions of the goodness and love of God in the world of matter. And yet his book has impressed us with a fresh sense of the appetite of Orthodoxy for the melodramatic colors and anomalous facts of nature. Skeptics, like Hume and Bayle, have delighted to call attention to the seeming irregularities in nature, and to the traces of indifference, confusion, or oversight in the government of the world, as sufficient excuse for questioning the infinite wisdom of the Deity, or as plausible evidence for believing that two hostile agents divide the empire of the universe. With a different purpose, many of the great Trinitarian writers have been in remarkable harmony of labor with them. Pledged to the support of the exorbitant and oppressive justice which their faith ascribes to the Almighty, they have watched eagerly for every indication or echo in the physical creation, that can be made to bear witness to "the terrors of the Lord;" they have dwelt with enthusiastic logic upon the instances of heavy penalty and moral mystery in the divine rule; they have loved to disarm the arguments by which more cheerful thinkers have divined a beneficent and spiritual purpose to be served by such severe conditions of existence;¹ and gathering all the evidence which shrewd cross-questioning can elicit from volcanoes and simooms, sand deserts and earthquakes, famine and blight, wild beasts, venomous serpents, the miseries of children, and the sharpest circumstances of human trial, have mounted by the gloomy steps of their induction to the thick darkness which hides the supreme and arbitrary Will.

¹ pp. 37 *et seq.*

Liberal Christianity has called attention to another class of facts,—to the hues that brighten the world ; and although any deliberate partialism in the selections of facts must be condemned in a scientific inquirer, or a philosophic judge, it may fairly be regarded as sufficient condemnation of a scheme of doctrines claiming to be Christian, if it is obliged to take under its protection and emphasize the disguised and perplexing phenomena of the Infinite administration ; if it trembles before every triumph of scientific investigation that discerns a new use in labor, and a fresh sign of merciful retribution in the infliction of pain ; if it fears to learn that temptation and inhospitable circumstances are the only possible conditions of spiritual nobleness ; and if ever hiding in the shadows that bound our comprehension of Divine beneficence, it shrinks, as the wave of light conquers a wider horizon, and retreats into the darkness that happily is undisturbed. A Christian mind should *assume* that the system of faith which furnishes the most inspiring conception of God, and which rejoices over every new resolution of moral mystery, and every disclosure of merciful purpose in his rule,—even though it is seemingly contradicted by some remaining features of his economy,—is most worthy of confidence. Some such act of *a priori* trust we must exhibit, if we would have any settled theory of religion and life.

For it is impossible, in the present state of science, and with the present power of our faculties, to get any *induction* from all the facts of nature, that will give us a simple and unembarrassed theory of the Divine Attributes. If, as strictly scientific reasoners, we say that God is malignant, a chorus of witnesses to the plain beneficence of a large portion of His appointments rises to condemn and drown the verdict ; if we conclude that he is indifferent to the welfare of men, a thousand instances of special contrivance for the production of pleasure, stand over against the judgement ; if we maintain, on the evidence of nature, that there is no malignancy or indifference in his breast, it will puzzle us to demonstrate the loveliness of a scorpion, the tenderness symbolized by a shark, the beneficial mission of a swarm of locusts and mosquitoes, the parental affection implied in a devastating earthquake, and

the mercy enfolded in the laws that visit the keenest suffering upon the innocent, for the crimes of guilty men whom they never saw. And if, as a last resort, we decide that God is capricious, or that two antagonistic beings struggle for supremacy, we are stopped by the splendid evidence for the unity of plan in the structure of the universe, and the sufficient proof that the evils we cannot solve, grow out of laws and adaptations which are essential to the stability of nature and the existence of mankind.

In fact, we cannot demonstrate inductively that there is an infinite God, much less, that he is infinitely perfect. Nothing that we have discovered of the universe compels the belief that limited power and wisdom are not sufficient for its creation. A tribe of merely syllogistic intellects would never be able to adore an absolute First Cause. And just as the soul drops the measuring-line and hand-lamp of logic, when its surveying processes are finished, and on the pointing of its instincts, leaps from the finite creation to the idea of an Infinite and absolute Mind; so from the preponderance of good in the ordering of the scene and laws of the world, and from the witness of its own aspirations and desires for communion with a Perfect Holiness and Love, it springs to the conception of such perfectness, brings it as its contribution to natural religion, and cleaves to it, by a right superior to the cold methods of science, as the hypothesis of the heart. Here is the great value of the teachings of Jesus, that they not only give a conception of God, which we cannot reach from the partially discordant facts of nature, but that, by their refining influence, they quicken the spiritual sensibilities that prophesy, independently of nature, a Perfect Goodness as the substratum of nature, and fix the idea of such a being in the soul as a conception to shed light upon the world, and give higher significance to its cheering facts. It is in vain, therefore, that the Calvinist, when he walks through the realm of nature, presses upon our notice the appearances that do not harmonize with our conception of the perfect paternity of God. We reply that we do not derive our ideas of Deity from the physical creation merely, but from nature and our own spirits; that the dispute between conflicting schools in natural religion must always be as to rival hypotheses, and their *relative* claim to the confidence

of mind and heart ; and that we will cheerfully leave to the verdict of an advancing science, and an improving moral life, *our* theory, which lays aside the darker aspects of nature and life, as unresolved phenomena, which may, some day, appear as necessary proportions of the vast order devised by infinite Love, against that which clings to these anomalies as indispensable defences of its principles, and as final proof of some sternness and vindictive quality in the character of God.

There are many passages in Mr. M'Cosh's book which imply that the world is essentially changed since the entrance of sin. He speaks of the adaptation of the world to man, considered as a fallen being,²—says that man is in an ungenial clime,³ admires the heavy doom of labor as “an instrumentality employed by God, that he might be governor of the world in spite of human rebellion,”⁴—describes the condition of man in the world by that of a criminal carried, when intoxicated, to prison, who wakes to find himself “abandoned, and yet watched—spared in life, yet spared as if for trial,”⁵ and affirms, in the broadest sense, “that physical evil is the natural consequence and punishment of moral evil.”⁶ This view is essential to the symmetry of the Orthodox theory of life. Their principles bind them to believe that, if the serpent had never entered paradise, or had been defeated in his insinuating plea, the earth would have remained an Eden, and man been placed entirely beyond the annoying experience of physical and material ills. Nature, with a spontaneous bounty, would have anticipated all our wants ; no occasion would have arisen for the irksome labor that now oppresses human existence ; the successive stages of life could have entailed only a delicious and appropriate change of pleasures ; and death, if, indeed, it could have entered such a planetary Elysium, would have been a gentle transition to a still more glorious abode. There is no stopping half way in this matter. Adopting the principle which underlies all the Trinitarian eloquence as to the schism between the soul and God, we are bound to believe that every desolating storm which shuts out the sunlight and howls around the globe ; the tantalizing luxury of the soil which makes it so fruitful of weeds and tares, while corn

² Page 259.³ p. 266.⁴ p. 261.⁵ p. 51.⁶ 269.

and fruit will reward only the patient tillage ; the desert wastes, the blasted mountain peaks and ridges, the cold, the pestilence, and the malaria,—every hostile attitude of nature to the physical peace of man, and the whole array of bodily pains,—the fever, the ague, the twinges of agony at the fracture of a bone, the chill imparted by a drizzling mist in spring, and the oppressive heat of every sultry day ;—indeed, the thousand troubles that spring from the acute sensibilities of our frames, are reverberations of the first displeasure of God, and part of the disastrous heritage bequeathed by Adam's fall.

We are quite disappointed that Mr. M'Cosh did not devote a chapter to the bearings of science upon this point. He states the principle over and over again ; his theory of providence is colored by it ; but he is provokingly sparing of illustration and details. If the inclemencies of nature are retributive adaptations of providence to a fallen being, show us, we say, the intimation upon the crust of the world *when* the catastrophe began. Let the doctrine be confronted with the geological testimony that the earth, for ages, has been in a state of constant developement, and that its present state is the natural sequel to its former history, and the only one at all favorable to the existence of man. If frost and pestilence were to have been unknown in the state of paradise, let us be instructed how the fall of Adam created the arctic temperature, distilled the consumptive winds, and soaked the torrid swamps. To read the language which Mr. M'Cosh uses, one would suppose that before the great transgression, convulsions and wrangling of the elements were impossible, and that all the physical forces were serenely busy in building and adorning the terrestrial palace for God's children ; but we cannot help asking, " how, with the gases in so mild a mood, the Andes were upheaved, and with the old cauldrons temperately simmering, the basalt could boil over and split the hills ? " Besides, if disastrous climates and an unfruitful soil form part of the judgement pronounced on moral evil, can a man be blamed for supposing that the earth would have been uniformly cursed, since evil is equally diffused ; or, at least, that if diversity of temperature and fertility were allowed, the most pleasant and favorable districts would be apportioned to the most virtuous and religious

people? If the globe responded so quickly to man's iniquity, it is a little strange that its improvement is not, in some degree, connected with his reconquered goodness, and that prayer and charity do not conspire with ploughs and chemistry to invigorate the soil and improve the harvest. Nothing should seem more natural than that the gradation of the divine order would allow us to predict the moral condition of any country by observing the line of latitude on the map,—so that Italy and Mexico would be the abode of the most elevated and spiritual of the race, while the most corrupt and abandoned would be doomed to wrestle with the hostile airs and rugged surface of Scotland and New England.

Surely it is time that theologians, whose eyes have been familiar with the pages of any popularized scientific volume, should abandon this ghastly and effete nonsense about the desolation of nature as an offshoot of the primal sin. It cannot, any more, be vitalized sufficiently in a cultured mind to deserve the refutation of the crowd of scientific discoveries that are ready to demonstrate its absurdity. Mr. M'Cosh has evinced his discretion as a controversialist, and his homage to science, by hiding this doctrine in abstract and comprehensive statements, which are so disposed along his pages as to give its confederate tenets the requisite hue, instead of bringing it into such distinct prominence, by illustrations in detail, as to provoke the immediate scorn of a thoughtful and unprejudiced mind.

Is it too much to maintain, also, that the time is due when theology should stop wringing its hands and weeping its sentimental tears over the "sad doom of labor that oppresses the world?" What can be more saddening than the constant wail of religious literature over the loss of the soft skies, the flowery banks, and lazy innocence of a paradise, and the lament that virtue must be wrought out by the strenuous wrestle of a beleaguered will? If the temperate zone, and the necessity of industry, are a sample of the budget of woes imposed upon us by the fall, Satan was not so false a prophet in his promise to our ancestor. Charles Lamb, in one of his letters, attempts to describe the misery of Adam, "until he felicitously sinned himself out of Eden," and there is not so much irreverence in his wit, as in the prevalent theologi-

cal impeachment of the ordinance of labor. The unskilful and unjust structure of society, of course, distributes the duty unequally, and heaps heavy wrongs upon whole classes of men ; but it is not the parent of so much misery and sin as would soon devastate any paradise, such as the prevalent theology describes as the great boon that was alienated from our race, if we could inaugurate such a paradise to-morrow, and people it with saints. All true souls promptly pity or despise the man that longs for more easy and propitious circumstances than Providence has appointed to him, and imagines that the highest state is where no stout problems are set before the will ; and yet, by its rose-pink portraiture of the luxurious indolence we have forfeited, and its florid prophecies of the "rest" that awaits the faithful, what is the prevalent religion striving to do, but to divorce the ideas of fidelity and blessedness, to enthrone something above consecrated endeavor, and to make the path of spiritual heroism appear a wintry landscape, where the traveller is ordered to breast the storms, and plod through snows, as the arbitrary condition of being lifted, when his energy is drained, into a soft and balmy clime. It would be well to construct a new "body of divinity," with this text for the initial passage and keynote : "My father worketh hitherto, and I work." We only wonder that Lucifer did not draw *more* than a third of the angels into his treason, if they had nothing to *do*,—if it is the chief occupation of the spiritual world to sip nectar, enjoy the landscape, and repeat, through ages formal offices of worship, accompanied by golden harps.

On pages 266 and 267 of his book, our author admits that the necessity of toil does obviate much terrible *ennui* and restlessness, and is the preventive of a deluge of crime, but he insists that it is not a blessing, and does not spring out of the nature of things ; he bids us admire, in the prevalence of "mud swamps, and sour, festering waters," which arduous labor must drain, and in the pressure of social injustice that hangs a heavy chain upon the energies of a majority of mankind, the subtle policy of Infinite holiness, by which the rampant passions of a fallen world are mechanically hindered from subverting the pillars of His throne. How charming the analogy of galley-slaves, dragging their weights and fettered to their oars,

to represent the condition of our race ! How inspiring the theory of heavenly government, which shows us the Almighty contriving to maintain some semblance of spiritual order in his planetary gaol, by spurring the muscles of his convicts to incessant activity, which leaves only their thoughts free to rebel, and, after all, is not competent to prevent an occasional jubilee of insubordination ! Mr. M'Cosh had a fine opportunity to append a political corollary and an illustrative note, to the chapter we are considering. He might have prophesied that the advance of social freedom, and the invention of labor-saving machines, which promise to relieve the sinews of the industrial classes, and afford us triumph over nature, are hastening the reign of moral chaos ; and he should have shown how, in Massachusetts, where the curse of toil is abated more than on any equal area of the globe, and the people have more independence, the divine rule is most insulted, and the danger most imminent of a carnival of iniquity.

How much more sensible would it be to confess, that the world, instead of being contrived for man as a *fallen* creature, is provided for him as a *moral* being, and fitted to him as a *growing* one. Its laws are perfect. The rigorous conditions of our lot may be glorified by spiritual triumphs, that will make heaven more lustrous ; the stern retributions of it are the negative revelations of forces that desire our service and friendship, and which then lift us into the region of holy pleasure and heavenly peace. Its laws stiffen into adamant, and enclose us as a prison, only when we butt against them ; they melt into air, and flow like waves of warm light around us, if we accept and honor them. Men have not yet learned to organize themselves in accordance with them, and hence the heavy hardships that oppress society, and the sombre mysteries which the study of it hangs around our thought. The inclination of the earth's axis, the varied zones, the pathless forests requiring the adventurer's axe, the cold soil needing the laborer's careful tillage, are not dreary sequences of the serpent's victory, but deliberate provisions of the Almighty for rearing a peculiar quality of spiritual excellence to adorn eternity. And the traces of doom which make the thinker sad, so far from being the penal

lineage of an ancestral crime, are the shadows thrown by our hostile attitude to laws, which, if allowed to rule society, would at once install a millennium.

We approach, with more interest, the pages in which Mr. M'Cosh attempts to buttress the vicarious theories of redemption, by the facts of man's moral constitution. The first step in this process is the proposition that the natural conscience, which keeps its seat in our fallen nature, always condemns, and, whenever active, is an instrument of torture. We have not met a single passage in the volume, which intimates that the moral faculty, or sense, or voice, or judgement,—by whatever title our psychology leads us to describe it,—ever approves an unconverted man, and is the minister of an elevated pleasure. It is essential to the author's doctrine to establish this, and yet we hold that nothing can be more plainly opposed to human experience. Can we believe that any man, belonging to the average of spiritual condition, in our community, has never felt a glow of satisfaction, a sweet, momentary sense of greater worthiness, as the sequel of some act higher than the routine of his deeds? Can we doubt that all responsible souls have such passages of experience? and is it not, plainly, one element of the power of the Christian pulpit, that it finds in every breast an echo to its descriptions of the joys of goodness, as well as to its tones of doom? The conscience of Calvinistic treatises does not exist in human bosoms. It whispers, at times, acceptance, as well as anathema; and the moral consciousness of all competent creatures of God has measured, by the oscillation of personal feeling, the distance between the bliss of heaven and the torments of the pit. Whether it be right or wrong, it is a fact of our nature, that the moral sensibilities will not withhold a thrill of delight in response to a good deed done to-day, because a bad one was committed yesterday; they do not refuse to feel a pure pride of victory over a temptation crushed, because they whipped the cowardly will for its defeat on a previous issue. If conscience is the witness of God within us, pronouncing judgement upon human character, it is a witness against Mr. M'Cosh's creed, for, in the name of him by whose behest it often warns and lashes, it sometimes intimates approval, and bestows a sweet reward.

But we shall be told that no lapse of time will induce the conscience to revoke its condemnation, and that fifty years hence, it will pronounce the same judgement on a sin which it affixed yesterday. We do not see, however, in what way this plays into the service of a vicarious theory of redemption; for, must not the conscience of the Trinitarian Christian condemn him when he reviews his former sins? nay, if he has gained a clearer conception of God's claims to his service, and a keener sensibility to holiness, must not his disapproval of past transgressions be more intense than any worldly man's conscience can inflict? The fact, therefore, that conscience cannot be suborned or silenced in its hostile verdicts, is no proof that a peculiar system of means must be devised for human restoration, for the troublesome phenomenon appears more clearly after that restoration than before.

Mr. M'Cosh, however, will maintain that, whenever an unregenerate man examines himself, he will see that he is not keeping the law of God, and that he is steadily and rightfully accounted an alien and rebel by the Infinite Holiness. We do not intend to act as counsel for the unregenerate here, but this topic brings up a vital point at issue between Orthodox and Liberal Christians, viz: as to *degrees* of goodness and the standard of virtue by which God judges men. While our author affirms the corruption of human nature and the Divine abhorrence of it, he carefully contends and repeats, as though he loves the task, that men, generally, are not nearly so bad as they might be; that they possess and exhibit many amiable and benevolent qualities, and "that actions of moral honesty, and integrity, and even of religion, so called, are performed in obedience to the conscience."⁷ It is the sin of ungodliness, we are told, that vitiates all their superficial goodness, and brings them under the Divine displeasure. They do not act from the feeling of devotion and service to the Almighty, and God cannot but account them foes. This is the theological standard of goodness,—the corollary and companion of the tenet that conscience, in the natural man, always condemns, and a necessary pillar of the scheme of sacrificial interposition. We main-

⁷ See pp. 369 *et seq.*; 409 *et seq.*

tain, however, that, according to reason and natural religion, God, as the supreme excellence, is the friend and patron of all goodness. So far from refusing to recognize any worthiness in those who do not come up to a certain mark of character, which he has arbitrarily fixed, he discerns, welcomes, and blesses every feeble tint of purity that flushes the spirit, every deed performed from the dictate of an unusual motive, every timid aspiration that mounts a little above the degraded level of custom, every strain of the struggling will against the pressure of appetite and the seductions of the world. Mr. M'Cosh contends, earnestly, that there are wide degrees of difference in the sinfulness of the unregenerate heart; he paints the admirable qualities that may be exhibited by our fallen nature,—its gentleness and amiability, the sacrifices it will make for friendship, the honesty and integrity it often upholds in the strife of mercenary passions. But these, though distinguishable and pleasant to mortal eyes, all melt into the common blackness of our inherited quality, when surveyed from the far distance of Infinite Holiness. What a strange absurdity is this! If these shades of difference exist, does not Omniscience take note of them? does not the Lord and Protector of the interests of virtue rejoice in every hue that shades towards the unstained whiteness? We call it one of the divinest dispositions and powers of the saintly character, that it can detect lurking traits of good in sinful souls, and that its judgments of others hesitate because of its piercing and discriminating charity. As they acquire this spirit and such vision, are they growing less like God?

It is coarse philosophy—to say nothing yet of the Christianity it implies—that would invite us, as Mr. M'Cosh has done,⁸ to a vast aerial journey, which stretches beyond planets, suns, and visible firmaments, and having borne us to the splendors of an Infinite throne, point cynically to the slight differences in the characters of men, and show them all, from that awful and radiant eminence, dwarfed to an equal insignificance of guilt. There is the same degradation in it—and all the moral eloquence of orthodox literature is tainted with it to the heart—that there is in the skeptical temper which abases man and scorns the

⁸ p. 361.

idea of Providence, when standing amid the spaces of the night, and viewing the glories of the sky. Is there not a sad impiety in the theory that presumes to banish any thing which man is compelled to discriminate from evil, beyond the realm of Him who is striving to spread the domain of righteousness. Distance of space, if Deity dwells in space, cannot prevent Omniscience from seeing things *as they are*. The Lord of the animalcules does not confuse the characters of his children. If God is good, he loves goodness ; whatever the standard of perfection may be, he loves the feeblest approaches to it ; and so intense is his repugnance to evil, that his all-seeing eye suffers no element or experience, which stands even in slight relief against the black abyss, to escape his approving gaze. We are not surveyed from the cold summit of a stern and haughty holiness, but embraced in the sweep of an intelligent and sympathetic goodness ; and it is to us one of the most inspiring promptings to effort and duty, that the Holy One is not interested to make out a case against us, but that every act we do, and every thought we cherish, and every impulse we follow, which is not positively sinful, is exactly discriminated in his sight, and welcomed with a joy proportionate to its spiritual worth. We have already alluded to the craving which Trinitarian logic has evinced for the depressing anomalies of God's physical providence ; it is an equal and equally repulsive distinction that it searches out, probes, and seems to glory in, the dark side and concealed corruptions of man, and seems pledged to decry the fairer side. For every cess-pool of the soul, it has a measuring line at hand, and eagerly describes its stench, and reports its depth. For every filament of impure motive that mingles in the mixed mesh of experience, it has a solar microscope to exaggerate the hideousness. But it shows no alacrity in painting the lovelier aspects of human nature ; if it can blacken them, it will ; it packs off all the creditable facts it can, upon unmoral instincts, and when a good element is suspected by its analysis, instantly reverses its lens. We need, of course, both poles of truth ; and yet, there are instructive suggestions in the fact, that it is only the vulture which, amid the splendors and fragrance of nature, flies to the carrion for a repast ; only the owl that can tell nothing of the glories of the day.

It will be said, however, that unregenerate men act always from selfish motives, and, therefore, cannot be acceptable to God. To this we say, first, that if it is so, theologians have no right to speak, as Mr. M'Cosh has done, of the good elements discoverable in them. If they always act from selfishness, there is nothing good in them; and the contemplation of their condition, should be as repulsive to a defender of God's laws, as he affirms that it is to God himself. But, secondly, we deny the statement. In what is called the unregenerate state, men do sometimes act, we believe, from higher motives than selfishness,—from motives as worthy and exalted as the best men are conscious of. We believe there are very few men who are not often restrained from doing many things, to which they are tempted, by the warning of conscience, and the conviction that such a course is wrong; and who are not prompted to certain acts, by the predominant feeling that it is right to do them? There are not many men who do not have visitations of God's spirit, which they welcome, aspirations, which they honor, gleams of nobler ways than the beaten level of their habits, which they not only resolve, but begin to travel in, under the impulse of their enthusiasm. The most barren lives enclose some seasons of heroic resolution and some deeds born from a loyal recognition of right, as the bleak and riven ledges of the mountain hold some patch of soil from which a flower meekly lifts its beauty.

The differences in human character arise from the want or the presence of *organization*. There are few who are systematically selfish, who live deliberately in the violation of heavenly truth, for the reason that there are few who, in respect to motives, are systematically any thing. Men generally drift along without seeking to know the proper course, determining the direction of their voyage, and pledging their will to a steady guidance of the spirit against every hostile wind and in every tempestuous sea. They are visited by good suggestions, and they act from them once or twice; they have serious counsels of conscience, and they obey them for a season; but they do not have some one grand crisis-season in their career, when they ponder their mission, acknowledge the amazing distance between the right and every other force that may

hurry them, and solemnly consecrate themselves to the highest service. And so their occasional aspirations, resolutions, and pure deeds, which should be the forecast Aurora of a luminous principle of life, gleam on their souls like Boreal streams in the wintry sky, and fade into the darkness. Other men, those who deserve the technical title of *regenerate*, have some critical period in their history, when the law of right, and the spiritual interests of life engage all the powers of the soul; and as the result of the meditation, the wrestle, the tears of repentance, the earnest prayer, and the solemnly given resolution, a steady and comprehensive force is imported into the breast. They devote themselves in a mood that gives a spiritual vitality to all after experience. They bind their will to the law of right in a vow of marriage, whose sanctity is ever felt. A power-wheel is fitted into their moral structure which carries the thoughts and emotions in an orderly play. According to their original temperament, they make either the idea of justice, or the revealed will of Heaven, or the conception of God as the sovereign or the father, the back-ground of their consciousness, so that when the fore-ground is taken up by the world, and in all seasons when unorganized spirits might be in peril of doing wrong, there is a sacred motive ready to start into prominence, if the interests of holiness are likely to be betrayed.

We believe, therefore, that many of the acts which, in the average of men, Trinitarian theology ascribes to good feeling, or some unvirtuous instinct, are really dictated by fitful reverence for holiness; and to this extent they are acceptable to God as all goodness is acceptable, and kindred with saints as all true deeds are kindred. But it is perfectly and sadly true that they are not consecrated men; their powers are not put to usury for the interests of right; their holiness is casual; and they miss the glory and the joy of God's constant fellowship and blessing.

Theology, too, has been sadly narrow in restricting the number of consecrated men to those who have undergone the stereotyped tortures symbolized by the anxious-seat, and who profess to live in the fear and for the glory of an Infinite claimant of their service. Many men have strong and righteous organic characters whose bent towards good-

ness began in no such whirlwind of experience, and who find it difficult to invest the supreme qualities of excellence with any personality. They are not pantheists, but they seldom conceive God as an intensely active will and love, and it is not such an idea that broke the clouds of their darker estate and drew their faculties into loyalty. Perhaps they seldom pray. Right has revealed itself to them in its impersonal majesty and its infinite distance from the wrong, and it is the magnetic effluence of that august conception that has polarized their will, and their harmony with that which constitutes their rocky principle and clean integrity. There is an ascending plane of consecrated characters rising from the stoic who hates evil and is a Spartan subaltern of duty, to the filial Christian who walks in the sweet light of infinite affection. Their distinguishing and common feature is, that they are given over to an object higher than selfish enjoyment and isolated good. God does not reject any class of them for the reason that they do not work with reference to his distinct glory, and do not square with the standards of the sacrificial Church; for his glory is the spread of truth and virtue, and his standard is the gravitation of the soul to some principle of his realm that will give a moral orbit to the life. As the patron of every form and grade of righteousness, he accepts and blesses their service, and whatever sense of dignity and inward peace they feel, is the type, if not the product, of his benediction. Would that our writers of doctrinal treatises might have some visitations that would impress upon them the truth which gathers a church for the Almighty out of every heathen land, and every century, and which it required a miracle to make a Christian apostle see,—“God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted of him,”—accepted, we may add, according to the quality of his devotion and the extent of his work.

We must say something, before closing, of that portion of Mr. M'Cosh's book which denies that the schism between the soul and God can be bridged by simple repentance. This is a fundamental doctrine of a vicarious Christianity, in which it is at variance with all that the Prophets, the Psalms, and the four Gospels teach con-

cerning the conditions of the Divine pardon and favor. It is a very important point, therefore, involving, in our view, not only our own welfare, but the truthfulness of the best portion of the Old and New Testaments, if such a doctrine is supported by the suffrage of moral philosophy.

Although Mr. M'Cosh argues at some length the insufficiency of penitence alone to reinstate a sinner in God's favor, he intimates throughout the discussion, that repentance is not in the native power of a being fallen under evil. On page 373, he proclaims that "a responsible being wandering from the path of rectitude cannot return to it, any more than a planet wandering from its course could come back to its path." It would have been more in accordance with a logical system to demonstrate such a position at once, and save us the trouble of testing proofs, brought to show that an *impossible* doctrine is not *true*. In case he had done so, we should have been glad to learn why a being is called "responsible," that has no power to act differently, and what distinction our author draws between *responsible* and *irresponsible*. The analysis of human consciousness by which this paradoxical infirmity is detected would, also, be a most important contribution to psychology. In our present darkness, however, as to the arguments in reserve, we simply deny the statement on the authority of our consciousness, suggesting also, as a scriptural bulwark for our rashness, the case of the pagan Ninevites who repented and were pardoned, notwithstanding the opposition of the prophet Jonah to the proceeding, and the recorded experience of the prodigal in his loneliness and amid his husks.

Simple repentance, in many cases, Mr. M'Cosh tells us,⁹ can make no possible reparation for the injury which has been inflicted. It cannot bring back a murdered man, nor dry the widow's tears. But if God cannot, or will not, pardon sin, until such reparation is made in the shattered order of events, we do not see how a vicarious interposition puts the sinner in any more favorable posture. Does the *sacrifice of Christ*, even on the Trinitarian hypothesis, restore the murdered man and make atonement to his family? This argument either has no point, or it stabs too deep into the sacrificial scheme.

Again, we are told that, in case of repentance, all which

⁹ p. 353.

conscience can do, is to say that penitence is not, of itself, a sinful act ; it cannot assure us that it restores to God's favor. True, we cannot say that any inward experience assures us of any outward reality. But the simple question is, what is the mood of the soul, after sincere repentance of a sin ? We say, it is a lightness of heart—a sense of restored order and peace, as though a broken tie to a mysterious and holy agency was knit again. Emotions like these succeed it, as surely as a glow of satisfaction suffuses the breast, after a charitable gift that relieves a suffering fellow creature. Now, we maintain that, so far as the evidence from our constitution goes, this consciousness is as clear a testimony to the Divine favor, as the condemnation of conscience is of Divine displeasure. Our nature reports both facts ; and it is perfectly arbitrary to accept the voice of doom, as the whisper of God's justice, and deny that the thrill of spiritual pleasure is evidence of his smile. We affirm that the one *is* the cloud that hides his presence, and the other the sunlight that returns to revivify the heart.

Ah ! but repentance makes no atonement to the insulted law ! “ We cannot conceive,” says Mr. M'Cosh, echoing the continual cry of the sacrificial literature, “ that the Governor of the universe should proclaim throughout the world which he has created, that his intelligent creatures may break his law, and inflict injury as they please, and then that they will be forgiven on the profession of repentance. Does it not seem as if the conscience would condemn such a mode of governing the universe, if presented to it ? ” But suppose the proclamation is, that all who break His law, shall be surely and adequately punished, and that they will not be forgiven until they not only “ profess ” repentance, but sincerely repent and return. Will conscience condemn *such* a system ? Nay, must it not be a conscience drugged, frightened, stimulated to an insane delirium, by the strongest distillations of theological falsehood, that can acknowledge any other justice, or see the spaces of the spiritual realm ruled by any other law ?—that can contemplate the picture of a soul pausing in the career of its misdeeds, prostrating itself before the Infinite, and with tears imploring forgiveness for its ingratitude, and vowing a dedication to the perfect

One, and believe that the eternal breast is steel to the petition, and discards the proffered service with the indignant condemnation, "You have once slighted my law; appease it, or you are lost." We know of no other "honor" possible for a law, than that its penalties and promises be so adjusted as to induce obedience; no other "interest" which it can know than that, by its agency, the best state of things is brought about. If penitence and obedience are better states than alienation from God and service of evil, the honor and interest of the law are most splendidly upheld, when through its complex influences upon the soul, they are produced; and any system of government, of which repentance for evil, and moral consecration, are not the supreme objects, and which does not relax its terrors as the better mood is born, exemplifies a selfish despotism, and profanes the sacred equity which it professes to enthrone.

We are aware that it will be objected to this, that human governments do not pardon, on the simple repentance of the criminal, and that utter confusion would come of any such principle. Yes, and here is exactly the point where all human government is a miserable parody on the divine. The primal purpose of human statutes is, not to perfect character, but to preserve external order; they denounce penalties, but offer no rewards; and a thousand instances of absolute moral injustice are a portion of the price we must pay for the rigid and unpitying general rules that enable us to live in social peace and safety. God's government is internal and invisible, and the penitent man, who has felt the lash of law, will never plead God's mercy exhibited on repentance as a motive for new transgression. True to its instinct, the vicarious logic fastens upon the weakness and moral imperfection of the social economy, for an analogy to prop the frail timbers of its spiritual architecture. Would it not be wiser to seek a type of divine order and justice in a family ruled by serious affection, and then test the scheme of unrelaxing disapproval, by asking whether a wise and Christian father feels it wrong or dangerous to forgive the child, who, after a long course of transgression, confesses his bitter sorrow, and proffers anew his service and love.

It would be impossible for us to follow Mr. M'Cosh

point by point through his treatment of the "Reconciliation of God and man." The radical idea, of course, is this: that God cannot receive man to his favor, or deal with him on any terms but those of rigid legal justice, until satisfaction is made to his dishonored law, and the righteousness of his government vindicated before men and angels.¹⁰ Without enlarging our comments upon this principle, we will simply point out the praiseworthy and admirable denial of it, which our author himself has given. His book contains one chapter on the "Symptoms of Intended Restoration" which God's natural providence supplies; and among these are classed "the numberless *bounties* which mankind enjoy, showing that, in spite of human sinfulness, God can be their benefactor." How infinite and remorseless Justice can show these favors to a guilty race, independently of satisfaction to His law, we are not informed. Nay, how God can manifest these mercies *unconditionally* to the guilty, which are surely tokens of his goodness, and yet, when they *repent*, and offer back their love, thus doing the best act which a creature can perform, be so fettered by his justice that He cannot listen and welcome their return, is an anomaly which our Trinitarian brethren would do well to consider. He cannot give men his love when they do all they can to invite its flow towards them,—he can only damn them for penitence; but the inexorable statute offers no hindrance to a shower of benefits, in the natural sphere of his providence, even upon those who have never felt a throb of sorrow for transgression. What must the angels say to this feature of the Heavenly government? We greatly fear that such a principle will excite indignant clamor among the prying critics of providence that people the zodiac.

For ourselves, we have never been able to admire the character which orthodoxy affixes to our angelic superiors. It was in great part on their account, we are assured, that the awful sacrifice was needed. So feeble is the principle of holiness or the love of God rooted in them, that such an intense and conspicuous vindication of eternal law was needed; lest the laxity that would permit Deity to pardon on simple repentance should induce them to despise his sway, or give them free rein to follow the fallen Son of the Morning into the dainty pleasures of the pit. A writer

¹⁰ p. 470.

in one of the prominent Trinitarian journals of our country recently maintained, in defence of the vicarious scheme, that if the transaction were between God and a single soul, pardon might be safely granted on the terms of penitence, but since the compact cannot be made with each soul in secret,—as the scheme included other men, and is surveyed by the heavenly hierarchy, such leniency will not do. We do not think that our own race will complain of all the mildness and charity which Mr. M'Cosh attributes to the Divine government, but how must the suspicious and exacting angelic host regard the impartial distribution of natural bounties upon our globe? Must we not imagine that they complain bitterly, saying—“How is this? God is *giving* something to the guilty dwellers on the planet that rolls next inside of Mars. The common sunlight goes to the bad and good; the same soft air delights the sinner as the saint; the same winds prosper the ships of the ungrateful, that sweep the missionary on his course; the rains that swell the harvests of the righteous, cover the fields of the impenitent with golden grain. Plainly the terms of law which God promised to keep with rebels are broken. Confusion has begun,—‘He hath not dealt with them after their sins, nor rewarded them according to their iniquities.’ Where is the advantage or distinction of allegiance? go to, now, let us also sin.” If such a critical temper pervade the heavenly hierarchy, can we help believing that the picture of the elder brother in the parable of the prodigal, who complained so of the father’s lavish bounty, was drawn to describe and satirize them?

We must here take leave of Mr. M'Cosh’s volume. It is brilliant and diffuse, liberal, able, and inconsistent. Nowhere have we met clearer expositions of the separate points of sacrificial Christianity,—expositions not in the usual dry terms of metaphysical analysis, but in natural symbols and the illustrations of fancy. It often fascinates where the error or the sophistry is transparent. We have read it with much pleasure and some profit; and whatever value our written comments may have, we leave it with satisfaction, that a man so cultured and equipped for his task, has been able to say so little to disturb our confidence in the nobler faith which he assails.

T. S. K.

ART. XXXIV.

Literary Notices.

1. The Theory of Human Progression, and natural probability of a Reign of Justice, &c. Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey & Co., 29 Cornhill. 1851. 12mo. pp. 528.

Designed apparently for American use, but wearing the guise of an English production, and aiming its remarks at American affairs, while seeming to illustrate its positions by the state of things in England. This artifice gives the work, in many places, a character of *double-entendre*, which we cannot say is altogether favorable to the effect of a professedly philosophical treatise on such a subject. It makes the reader conscious that a sort of game is carried on along with the argument; and it will be apt, we think, to suggest doubts of the writer's ingenuousness on some points on which he speaks with an earnest and positive tone.

The work appears to be the beginning of a proposed series on the general science of Politics. The present volume, though nominally confined to one department only of the subject, takes a pretty wide range into questions that would not, at first thought, be supposed to belong immediately to the theory of human progress. The author's aim, however, is to go to the bottom of the inquiry; and this obliged him to discuss the abstract principles of our individual and social developement, and to determine our rights, as well as our actual possessions. His treatise is evidently the result of much thought and reading, and it shows considerable power at acute discrimination. Many valuable suggestions may be gathered from it. But, taking it as a whole, we must acknowledge that it appears to us, on a cursory perusal, to abound with crudities, and that the philosophy often wants practical soundness. If we mistake not, it is founded on an incomplete and one-sided induction of premises.

2. The Popular Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature condensed from the larger work. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A., assisted by Rev. James Taylor, D. D., of Glasgow. Illustrated by numerous engravings. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1851.

We have used Kitto's great work for several years, and believe that it is the best of the Biblical Cyclopædias. It was prepared, as all such comprehensive works, demanding such various and accurate learning, should be, not by one man, but by an associa-

tion of theological scholars, to each of whom a special department was assigned. The list of contributions contains the names of some of the most eminent Evangelical critics and theologians of Germany. In the present edition, those portions are omitted which are valuable only to those who are acquainted with the modern neological controversies about the origin, authenticity, and dates of the Scriptural books. Its value as a reference book and dictionary for families, Bible-classes, and those wishing to understand *the Bible*, more than discussions about the Bible, is not lessened by the abridgement.

3. *The History of the United States of America, from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the end of the Sixteenth Congress.* By Richard Hildreth. In three volumes. Vol. 2. John Adams and Jefferson. 8vo. pp. 686. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1851.

Let those persons who doubt whether our own history furnishes material for essays and portraiture as brilliant as any of the Macaulay papers, read this volume. It covers the ground that has long been the field of contest between men of conservative habits of thought and those with swift progressive tendencies. Mr. Hildreth leans to the federal party, but he is not a narrow minded or ill-tempered partizan. And notwithstanding the great abilities of Mr. Jefferson, the services which his ideas and efforts have done his country, and the fact that the triumph of his policy over that of his opponents has been fortunate for this continent, one cannot close this volume with any deep feeling of admiration for the man. Mr. Hildreth's style is simple, perspicuous and pure. The native and absorbing interest of the story finds a fitting conductor in his modest yet masculine pen. We are glad to see attention directed to the too long neglected treasures of our history.

4. *The Life and Writings of the Rev. George Herbert: With the Synagogue in Imitation of Herbert.* Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1851.

This is a very beautifully printed volume of the works of one whom Coleridge characterized as "the model of a man, a gentleman and a clergyman." The style is quaint, not by affectation, but by reason of the natural quaintness of the author's thought. His great poem, "the Temple," illustrates and quickens most of the elements and virtues of a Christian life under some analogy of church architecture and service. Of course, with such a plan, the poems must be very unequal, but so deep and pure was Herbert's piety, that all of them are redolent of the highest spirit, and many of them exquisite in form and fragrance. The biography by Izaak Walton is a fitting prelude to the sweet symphony

ANNUAL REPORT

PRESENTED BY

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

BIBLE SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS,

AT THEIR ANNUAL MEETING,

B O S T O N ,

MAY 24, 1852, BEING THE XLIII. ANNIVERSARY.

Published by Order of the Trustees.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON & SON,

22, SCHOOL STREET.

1852.

OFFICERS

OF THE

Massachusetts Bible Society for 1852-3.

HON. SIMON GREENLEAF, LL.D.	<i>President.</i>
REV. FRANCIS PARKMAN, D.D.	<i>Vice-President.</i>
REV. NATHANIEL L. FROTHINGHAM, D.D. . .	<i>Cor. Secretary.</i>
REV. DANIEL BUTLER	<i>Rec. Secretary.</i>
GEORGE R. SAMPSON, Esq.	<i>Treasurer.</i>
SAMUEL MAY, Esq.	<i>Auditor.</i>

Trustees.

REV. WILLIAM JENKS, D.D.	HEMAN LINCOLN,
REV. CHARLES LOWELL, D.D.	SAMUEL MAY,
REV. DANIEL SHARP, D.D.	AMOS A. LAWRENCE,
Right Rev. MANTON EASTBURN, D.D.	JACOB SLEEPER,
REV. GEORGE RICHARDS.	CHARLES T. RUSSELL,
REV. GEORGE W. BLAGDEN.	FRANCIS O. WATTS,
JOHN TAPPAN,	T. R. MARVIN,
WILLIAM WORTHINGTON,	STEPHEN FAIRBANKS,
ALBERT FEARING,	WILLIAM APPLETON, Esqs.

Executive Committee,

TO WHOM APPLICATIONS ARE TO BE MADE FOR BIBLES.

REV. FRANCIS PARKMAN, D.D.; REV. GEORGE RICHARDS;
and GEORGE R. SAMPSON, Esq.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FROM 1809 TO 1852.

Presidents.

Hon. William Phillips	1809—27		Rev. John Pierce, D.D.	1828—49
Hon. Simon Greenleaf, LL.D.				1849

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. John Lathrop, D.D.	1809—16		Rev. John Codman, D.D.	1844—48
Rev. John T. Kirkland, D.D.	1816—28		Hon. Simon Greenleaf, LL.D.	1848—49
Rev. Henry Ware, D.D.	1828—44		Rev. Francis Parkman, D.D.	1849

Corresponding Secretaries.

Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster	1809—12		Rev. Francis Parkman, D.D.	1818—49
Rev. Samuel C. Thacher	1813—17		Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D.	1849
Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D.	1817—18			

Recording Secretaries.

Rev. John Pierce, D.D.	1809—28		Rev. George W. Blagden	1839—44
Rev. Daniel Sharp, D.D.	1828—30		Rev. William M. Rogers	1844—45
Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor	1830—31		Rev. George W. Blagden	1845—49
Rev. James D. Knowles	1831—32		Rev. George Richards	1849—52
Rev. William Jenks, D.D.	1832—39		Rev. Daniel Butler	1852

Treasurers.

Samuel H. Walley, Esq.	1809—11		Henry Edwards, Esq.	1835—49
Hon. Peter O. Thacher	1811—12		George R. Sampson, Esq.	1849
John Tappan, Esq.	1812—35			

Executive Committees.

Rev. William Channing, D.D.	1809—18		Rev. John G. Palfrey, D.D. LL.D.	1830—32
Hon. Jonathan Phillips	1809—16		Charles Tappan, Esq.	1830—40
Stephen Higginson, Esq.	1809—15		Rev. Francis Parkman, D.D.	1832
Rev. Francis Parkman, D.D.	1815—18		Rev. George W. Blagden	1835—49
Edward Tuckerman, Esq.	1816—30		Henry Edwards, Esq.	1840—49
Rev. Henry Ware, jun. D.D.	1818—30		Rev. George Richards	1849
Rev. Benjamin Wisner, D.D.	1821—35		George R. Sampson, Esq.	1849

R E P O R T.

SINCE we were last assembled here, it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from these scenes of earth two of our associates in this sacred cause, and to call them, as we trust, to higher services. The Rev. William M. Rogers, senior Pastor of the Church in which we now are gathered, was for a short period one of our Secretaries, and for several years a Trustee. Yet more recently, within the lapse of a few weeks, Thomas Tarbell, Esq., was by a sudden stroke — emphatically teaching us that in the very midst of life we are in death, — taken away. Each of these, our respected fellow-laborers, was honored in his place: the one for his mild and unobtrusive virtues, for the fidelity and disinterestedness with which he fulfilled the various trusts which public confidence reposed in him, and, as especially by us to be noted, for the punctuality and constancy with which he was ever found in his place as one of our

Trustees; and the other, the Rev. Mr. Rogers, exerting, in a wider sphere, an important influence; and by his intellectual and moral endowments, by the marked energy of his character, and his devotion to his sacred calling, acquiring a just claim to the respect of the community, of which he was an honored member.

The Committee advert with satisfaction to the increasing interest exhibited in the sacred objects of the Society, during the past year, within the Commonwealth, as exhibited in the reports of our agent, the Rev. D. Butler;* in the demands from new and various quarters upon our Depository, and in the interest visibly expressed in these our returning anniversaries. We have reason to rejoice, that the Society has resumed, and now so honorably sustains, the place which, for many years after its establishment, and until the organization of the American Bible Society, it occupied as the Society of Massachusetts.

As additional and substantial tokens of this advancing interest in its cause, we are also gratified in stating, that there have been received by our Trea-

* In a communication to the Committee, Mr. Butler remarks: "The number of congregations that regularly aid the Bible cause enlarges from year to year; while they who say, and do not, though unhappily still numerous, are less commonly found. The receipts of the year, it will be seen, have exceeded those of the year preceding; and there is a steady advance towards the point, which our position as the friends of the Bible and the wants of the world are calling us to occupy."

surer from the executors of Dr. Zadok Howe, of Billerica, three thousand dollars; from the heirs of Jason Mixter, of Hardwick, six hundred dollars; and, as your Committee take pleasure in stating, five hundred dollars from the hands of Thomas Parsons, Esq., in filial deference to the recommendation of his father, the late Charles Chauncy Parsons, verbally expressed on his death-bed, but submitted wholly to the choice or judgment of his son.*

From the Report of the agent of our Depository, it appears that there have been issued since May 15, 1851, nine thousand five hundred and seventy-eight Bibles, and twenty-four thousand six hundred Testaments; making a total of thirty-four thousand one hundred and seventy-eight. Of these, thirty-two thousand eight hundred and sixty-one were in the English, and thirteen hundred and seventeen were in seventeen foreign languages.

The gratuitous issue included in the above are three thousand three hundred and ninety-five Bibles, and three thousand six hundred and twenty Testaments; making a total of seven thousand and fifteen Bibles and Testaments. Of these, six thousand five hundred and twenty-eight were in the English, and four hundred and eighty-seven in foreign languages.

* There has also been received a legacy of one hundred dollars, bequeathed by Miss Ann Bryant, of Medford.

And there have been distributed among seamen, two thousand four hundred and forty-one; to City Missions, one thousand one hundred and fourteen; to Sunday and other Schools, one thousand and thirty-two; to Public Institutions, and public houses, seven hundred and twenty-one; to destitute families and individuals in Massachusetts, one thousand two hundred and forty-four; and the remaining four hundred and sixty-three abroad.

While we render just acknowledgments to those who have labored with an earnest diligence in the distribution of the Holy Scriptures, and through successive years, within our own land and in other lands, have thus provided for the destitute “the Bread of Life,” we cannot be unmindful of our deep obligations, in common with the whole Christian world, to those who, with the lights of human and divine learning, have translated or illustrated the sacred volume, have restored or preserved, by their critical skill, the purity of its text, or made clear its sacred meaning. The reflection brings into view a numerous host of devout and learned men, who have consecrated their gifts to sacred literature, and have honored God by their faithful study of his word. It carries us back to times long past, even to the days of Ezra, the priest, of whom, with his associate scribes, it is written, that he read out of the book of the law distinctly,

and caused the people to understand its meaning. To these follow that faithful company of the Seventy, who, under the directions of an enlightened monarch, made known the Old Testament in the language of the Greeks. And, passing the early Fathers, some of whom “knew not all things,” and, like Origen, mingled their own fancies with the clear instructions of the written word, we descend at once to latter times, to Wickliffe, the first Reformer; the first to assert the sufficiency of Scripture, and to vindicate the right of all to read and to interpret it. “They are not to be heard,” said he, “who tell us that the people are not to read the word of God for themselves; for the more they read it, the better.” And, following him, there is a host, too numerous here to be mentioned, such as Tindal and Walton, Pococke and Lightfoot, Kennicott and Newcome, Porson and Wakefield, of the nation whence we sprung; while, on the continent of Europe, in Germany, France, and Holland, is a yet greater company, of whom are Erasmus and Luther, Wetstein and Le Clerc, Griesbach and Michaelis, Gesenius and De Wette, with others whom your memories may at once recall.

In our own country, and within our favored Commonwealth, there have been not a few Christian scribes and Christian men, who, by their patient

studies, their critical skill, and their faithful versions, have disclosed to us new treasures in the sacred oracles; have enabled us to read the sure word of prophecy, the books of Moses, and, yet more, the words of grace and truth by Jesus Christ, with a clearer discernment of their divine instructions, with a livelier sense of their unequalled beauties, and thence, it may be hoped, with a deeper and more intimate experience of their enlightening and sanctifying power.

To this work, of translating or elucidating the sacred word, Cambridge and Andover have yielded large contributions. And of these, the true friends of the Bible, and effectual helpers in the cause of Bible Societies, many remain to this day; while others, even within a few short months, have fallen asleep, having passed from the light of the written word to the yet brighter light of heaven. Of those who yet live, our honored co-evals and friends, we may not speak; for we remember, "that it was a custom with the ancients not to sacrifice to heroes till sun-set." * And we can only hope, that for them who live, the fit season for such sacrifices may be far distant. But of those who, since our last anniversary, have been removed, we may be permitted to say, that they have left enduring monuments of a

* See Jortin's Ecclesiastical History.

learning sanctified by piety, and of gifts consecrated, with the untiring industry of their whole lives, to the interests, for the promotion of which the Bible itself was bestowed. We are certain, that, in such a connection, the names of the venerable Moses Stuart and of the lamented Professor Edwards will, by many here present, be at once recalled.

It belongs not to the purpose of an annual Report — which should exhibit palpable facts rather than general illustrations, and of which your Committee are not forgetful, that brevity, if not a heavenly, is yet an attractive grace — to dwell upon the satisfaction and delight attending these sacred studies, as have been once and again declared to be the experience of those who, like the individuals to whom we have referred, have been devoted to them. “Happier hours,” says a devout and ingenious expositor of the Psalms, “than those which have been spent in these meditations, I expect not to enjoy on this side heaven. Very pleasantly did they pass, and have left a sweet fragrance behind them.” “Rejoice with me,” said another, who was at once a careful student and an eloquent preacher of the gospel; “for I think I have found the meaning of a text which I never understood before.” And it is recorded of one of our own biblical scholars, whose distinction and felicity it was to combine the very spirit of criticism and

exact verbal investigation with the graces of a refined literature,* that he acknowledged to a friend he was fast losing his taste for all other studies, much as he had before delighted in them, for the biblical inquiries belonging to his profession.

And we have only to remark, in conclusion, as we do with high satisfaction, that the pursuits and interests of the profoundest critics and of the most secluded students of divine truth, if not identical, are, in a large measure, congenial with those of the humblest and least enlightened. For all essential purposes they tend to the same great results, since the true end of all wise investigation and critical research of the sacred volume, even as pursued by the profoundest scholars, is to open the truths that "make wise to salvation." "The most learned Christians," said Dr. Watts, "when they come to die, have only the same plain promises of the gospel for their support as the common and unlearned; and I bless God that they are plain promises, that do not require much labor or pains to understand them." And we are told that when Bishop Butler, the immortal author of the "Analogy of Religion," which has given or restored faith to many unbelieving

* The Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster, who, beside other valuable contributions to biblical science, was editor, in 1809, of an accurate and elegant edition of Griesbach's New Testament.

hearts, was on his death-bed, he requested a friend to repeat to him a plain but pregnant passage of the Gospel of St. John, which he that runs might understand;* and professed that he derived from its full yet simple instruction more for his strength and solace at that hour than he could ever have derived from the most elaborate treatises.

Thus it is, that in the beautiful provisions of the inspired word, adapted to the various conditions of mankind, — to the endless diversities of gifts, opportunities, and tastes among men, — the ignorant and the learned, the great and the humble, the prince and the peasant, meet together; and, drawing from the same fountains of living waters, find their spiritual wants alike supplied. Thus, too, it is, that “the cottager, who only knows her Bible true,” has within her heart the treasures of celestial wisdom; while the philosopher, who surveys the whole region of human science, comes at last, in the wants of his soul, which his highest intellectual attainments cannot satisfy, to the simple truth as it is in Jesus. And it is in this beautiful adaptation of the gospel, even in its sublimest revelations, to the humblest mind, when there is with it “the treasure of the good and honest heart,” that the promise of the great Teacher is fulfilled, that “if a man will do the will of God,

* John iii. 16.

he shall know of the doctrine." The humblest that obeys, shall know it better than the highest that obeys it not ; and " the same," says the Master, " shall be greatest in the kingdom of heaven."

Which is respectfully submitted.

FRANCIS PARKMAN,

For the Committee.

Boston, May 24, 1852.

A P P E N D I X.

THE Forty-third Anniversary of the Bible Society of Massachusetts was held in the Central Church, Winter-street, on Monday, May 24. After the usual meeting for business, at which the Report of the Treasurer was presented and accepted, and Officers for the ensuing year elected, the Members of the Society proceeded to the Church, where a large assembly was collected. Select passages of Scripture were read, and appropriate prayers were offered by the Rev. Mr. HOLDRICH, of the Methodist Church, and one of the Secretaries of the American Bible Society. The President, Hon. SIMON GREENLEAF, then addressed the assembly as follows:—

In celebrating another anniversary of this Society, our renewed gratitude is due to God, for the continued privilege of spreading his truth among our fellow-men, and for the increased success with which our labors have been crowned.

If it is a privilege to be engaged in other works of beneficence, much more is it to distribute this *Book of books*, replete with the precepts of divine wisdom, and bearing to men the tidings of eternal life. It is the book for *all men, of all nations*, under *all circumstances*, and in *all time*. It is the only foundation on which our institutions can securely rest, whether political, social, or religious. Our Government can stand only so long as the people are obedient to law. We have no other permanent restraint than this; no security for the peace of society, but in a deep reverence of the principles inculcated in the Bible. It is here that rulers

learn the source of their authority, and the great objects for which it is entrusted to them ; and here also the people are taught both the wide extent and the just limit of their rights.

Amid the fluctuations to which all free institutions are exposed, and especially ours, with a population, many of whom are unaccustomed to liberty, and but faintly imbued with Bible truths, the Word of God is the only anchor of safety. In proportion as men feel the restraints of religion, derived from this source, the coercion of government becomes less necessary, and liberty may be more freely enjoyed. Men may safely be permitted to do as they please, only so far as they are pleased to govern themselves by the precepts of Christianity.

If we would extend the blessing of free government to other nations, it is the Bible alone that can prepare them to receive it,—the Bible opened wide to the people by Protestant hands. For it is this alone that exhibits the true and vital principle of free government,—I mean the inseparable union of liberty with law. Law without liberty is the distinctive feature of despotism. Liberty without law marks the mad career of an atheistical republic. Wherever the Holy Scriptures are freely circulated, these truths are proportionately understood, and the people enjoy the blessings of freedom, whatever may be the form of their government. The truth of this is seen in the present condition of Europe. In despotic governments, the circulation of the Bible is studiously prevented ; while, in the constitutional monarchies and republics, it is free.

In promoting this cause, we also give substantial aid to all other benevolent enterprises. No warfare can be successfully waged against any form of vice, but by the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. Wherever the gospel of the Prince of Peace is made known, and its principles are truly received, the effect is “peace on earth, and good will toward men.” It is by the operation of these principles only that intemperance can be effectually restrained, and the blessings of freedom be imparted to the oppressed and the slave. It is this that teaches us the inestimable worth of the soul, and the unspeakable love of the Saviour in its redemption. It is this that sheds new light into the benighted mind of man, and implants in his heart the new principle of all-controlling love to God, and to his brother also ;

elevating his character on earth, and fitting him for the society of heaven.

In the glorious work of distributing this book among all the families of the earth, let not our hands grow weary, nor our hearts faint. Each revolving year brings increasing encouragement for its vigorous prosecution; and the promise of the Master is sure to the laborers, as they are successively called to his rest.

The Annual Report was read by Rev. Dr. PARKMAN, Chairman of the Executive Committee; and Rev. Dr. VINTON, of St. Paul's Church, in Boston, rising to propose its acceptance, offered the following remarks:—

Mr. President, — There is a certain propriety in beginning this week of anniversaries with the meeting of the Bible Society. The various objects of religious and social benevolence which are to engage the ear and heart of this community on the coming days all find a common platform in the Bible. Each of those objects is a sort of practical commentary upon some one portion of Divine truth. But ours is the exhibition of the whole body of truth at once; and, as you have said, sir, to all men, everywhere. This, then, is a universal Society, and for the obvious reason, that the Bible is a universal book. This is, in fact, its grand characteristic. It is fitted for all men, in every place, at all times. Let this suggestion give the key-note to my remarks in proposing the acceptance of the Report which has just been read.

In considering the world-wide aims of this Society, we look for the qualities which give to the Bible its character of universality. It is not that the Holy Scriptures are replete with rich and beautiful thought, with the finest conceptions of poetry, with admirable rhetoric, with true history. These are qualities of only partial interest, attractive to the student and the man of thought, but not adapted to all men, because all men are not adapted to these. To be a universal book, the Bible must address itself to the common heart and the universal mind of humanity. It must discourse of themes in which all men are interested, and with a force that all men can feel. I need not say in this presence that the Bible has this power, but will call your attention to two qualities, in which, I think, are found the elements of its uni-

versality, These are, first, its authority; and, next, its truth. The Bible is a universal book, the Book of books, because in these attributes of authority and truth it meets a universal want. I might better define it, perhaps, in the parallel words of St. Paul, by saying, that it is "the power and the wisdom of God."

A moral power it is, exerted over the moral nature of man, and having the sanction of Divine authority. And wisdom it is, because it is *the truth* of all those relations which are nearest and dearest to man, and divinely conveyed. Let us consider first, then, its authority, which is the source of its moral power.

God has enthroned in the human breast one faculty which wields a supremacy over all the other faculties of our nature. That faculty is *conscience*. It is a universal faculty. There never was a human being without it; there never was a human nature in which it did not bear the character of supremacy. It was evidently designed by our great Maker to be the governing power. It is the royal function of humanity. It is a kingly power; and it never loses its regal quality, whether enthroned or dethroned. We recognize its beautiful divinity by every act of our willing obedience; and we are made to feel its formidable superiority in every act of wrong and sin. Yes, it is kingly even in its degradation; for it subsidizes every other power of the soul to vindicate its right and avenge its downfall. Its very writhings are terrible; and, when it can only frown, that frown is kingly. Such is conscience, sir, the supreme faculty of human nature. Whatever is superior to it must be superhuman.

Now, sir, it is in its power over the conscience that the Bible attests itself as a universal book. Its whole authority was meant to constrain this governing faculty. It speaks to the conscience with a voice more kingly than its own; and to the "Thus saith the Lord," which confirms all its precepts, conscience instinctively responds and owns its rightful monarch. This inspired book, so adapted to regulate the moral nature, is fitted for the race; fitted, if any thing is, to bring back this world of moral beings, flung from its orbit to gravitate once more to God. Show me a book whose word, preached or private, cuts its way to man's heart of hearts, touches the very pith of his moral nature, makes him tremble for his sins, and bow down to the unseen majesty of moral right and purity, and you show me a book just adapted

to a race of sinful creatures ; you show me a universal book ; you show me God's book, the Holy Bible.

I said, sir, that another element of universality in the Bible is its *truth*. It is Divine wisdom and instruction on all the great themes which are interesting to all men alike.

Every man is interested to know something of the great Being who created him, of the world he lives in, of his own origin and character and history and destiny. Of all these the Bible gives the truest, and, in some instances, the only interpretation.

The book of nature, without the Bible, utters only dark oracles, suggests only pregnant doubt, and leaves us groping in a world-wide guess. Instead of looking through nature up to nature's God, unevangelized man has always stopped short, and made a deity of nature itself.

The book of Providence, as we call it, what is it without this inspired interpretation but a chance medley of events, thrown together without order or combination ?

And the book of history, from which ingenious and speculative minds have endeavored to extract the true philosophy of the world, how equivocal are all its theories, supported by equal evidence, and all confounded by equal difficulties ! Now let the Bible interpret these other books, and how a meaning of truth and wisdom glances out from them ! Then "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy work." Then "day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge." Then the voice of nature, spread through "all lands, and her words to the ends of the world," give one testimony of truth and wisdom both divine. And then Providence, instead of a confusion of accidents, becomes the order of a grand moral government. And then we read the true philosophy of history ; how this world is the great theatre of a Divine mediatorship ; how all its events centre in that one truth ; how through the whole texture of history there runs that golden thread ; and how, at last, all other truths develop themselves, and terminate in the one glorious fact of eternity, *redemption*.

This is knowledge for all men, and the best knowledge. That is not knowledge on which the mind cannot repose. That is not truth which does not terminate and satisfy inquiry. And this knowledge imparted by the Bible has the advantage of being a

revelation, not a discovery. It brings in with its instruction the sanction of authority, and with it the assurance of certainty. It comes from Him who knows. It lifts up the mind to him, and makes it religious as well as wise. This is what no other knowledge ever does. All the products of human intelligence — inventions in the arts the most ingenious, discoveries in science the most brilliant, theories in philosophy the most sagacious and successful — are still regarded by the mind as its *creatures*. It assumes a position of superiority over them, treats them as inferiors, and feels at liberty to mould and modify them at pleasure. They are all employed to aggrandize man, not God. Even the most far-reaching speculations on the grandest themes, on the Infinite, on Deity, instead of being received as divine revelations, are treated as the productions of intellect. Instead of nourishing devotion and inspiring reverence, they are made tributary to that self-idolatry which is the world's first, last, and universal sin. Thus, mingling authority with its knowledge, the Bible pours out instruction on universal themes, and becomes a universal book.

Now, Mr. President, from this sketch of the subject let me draw one or two practical inferences. If such be the character of the Bible, not only are we justified in giving it a world-wide circulation, penetrating every nook and corner of the world, but especially does it behove us to make its influence felt intensely here in our own land and in our age. From its combined authority and truth it should have a post above all other learning. If ever there was an age when such instruction was needed, it is this age, when the mind of man is leaping from one discovery to another, and science and philosophy have grown so arrogant as to aim at superseding the Bible. Yes, sir, I would not scruple to place the Bible above science. For, so long as science glories in being progressive, its boasting is only an indirect confession of imperfection. Until philosophers have rectified each other's blunders and shaken hands in universal consent, philosophy may be contented to be taught from above. The Bible, therefore, should be the Book of books in our schools; not merely tolerated — tolerated, sir! it should be cherished, revered, and made chief.

I said, too, that the Bible is specially needed *in our land*, and for another reason; not only as the educator of the mind, but as

the regulator of the moral faculty. Its power over the individual conscience is capable of repeating itself until it shall form a great national conscience, loyal always to righteousness and God. It is a sentiment which you have already expressed, sir, in your opening remarks, that, as law without liberty is despotism, so liberty without law is anarchy and virtual atheism. With this great people, whose will is the only law, it is a matter of profoundest moment that there should be a great national conscience overruling the great national will, to bring it to its allegiance to God, and keep it there. The Bible should be the text-book of our legislators, its morality the high reason of state, and piety the chief policy. Let this be, and the aim of the Bible Society will be, if only partially, yet gloriously met.

And, sir, we are not without a reason for looking to this result, and more than this. We are taught by the Inspired Word itself that it shall be universal in fact, as it is in nature and capacity. We are taught that the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and that the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. We look for the time, therefore, when, as the poet has prophetically described it, —

“The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
Shout to each other, and the mountain-tops
From distant mountains catch the flying joy;
Till, nation after nation taught the strain,
Earth rolls the rapturous hosanna round!”

We look for this, sir; and, looking for it, we are encouraged with high hopes for the universal aims of this Society.

Rev. EDMUND S. JANES, of the Methodist Church, seconded the motion for acceptance of the Report, and spoke, in substance, as follows: —

Mr. President, — By your courtesy I have been invited to second the resolution just offered, and make a few remarks on the subject that has convened us at this time. This Christian courtesy I appreciate and accept. Believing that the nature of the Bible cause is understood and its importance felt by this enlightened audience, my remarks will be hortatory in their character. I am

persuaded that the highest office of this anniversary is to stir up our pure minds by way of remembrance. Many are the considerations calculated to enlist and enliven our interest in this enterprise. The character of the Bible is an all-sufficient motive to zeal and perseverance in its dissemination. The attributes of the Bible are supreme; its characteristics are transcendent. Your Report has declared it to be older than "the fathers;" it is also truer than tradition, more learned than universities, more infallible than popes, more authoritative than priests, more orthodox than creeds, more powerful than ceremonies, more mighty than any other instrument the church of God can employ to bring the wickedness of the wicked to an end, and to establish the universal reign of Messiah.

The Bible is the want of the world. The reverend speaker who has just preceded me has well said, that it is the want of our country, and that it is needed in every nook and corner of the land. The declaration is well worth repeating. We need the Bible to lay its solemn obligation upon the consciences of the rulers of the land; to clothe the magistracy of the land with its high authority; to give a religious sanction to the marriage covenant and ceremony; to give sacredness and security to the domestic circle; to give decency and delicacy to social intercourse; to give a "Thus saith the Lord" to every evangelical sermon; to give wisdom and topic to the Sabbath-school teacher; to give vitality and success to all the charitable and Christian institutions of the day.

Besides these and other general uses of the Holy Scriptures, we need the Bible in this country for a *specific* purpose. Mr. President, there may be wheels within wheels, but there cannot be nations within nations. We cannot have a France and a Germany and an Italy and an Ireland in these United States. And yet, if the tide of emigration to this country continues to flow in upon us, how long will it be before we have French, German, Italian, and Irish nations among us? How shall we denationalize them, and assimilate them together in sentiment, in taste, and in life? What agency can effect this most essential but difficult result? Can education do it? Can patriotism do it? Can our political institutions do it? No, verily. These agencies have no such potency. Yet, Mr. President, we do not despair. There is a divine solvent that can so dissolve them, that, like

kindred drops, they will “mingle into one.” That power is the HOLY BIBLE. If we can bring all these hearts and minds under the transforming power of divine truth, we shall inspire them with a common sentiment, a common sympathy, and a common life. Then they will think and speak and live alike; then will they constitute a brotherhood, a Christian fraternity, united by ties as tender and indissoluble as the cementing love of Christ can make them; then shall our country be safe; then shall our liberty, our virtue, and our religion, be preserved and perpetuated. I therefore appeal to the patriotism as well as the piety of this audience in behalf of the Bible cause.

The Bible is the need of the heathen world. What is their condition? How dark, how deplorable! Look at it in contrast with ours. How different! how pitiable! Who maketh us to differ? God. How? By blessing us with his holy word. What would be the effect of giving to the heathen the Holy Scriptures in their vernacular languages, with such teachings as will enable them to read and understand the same? Why, sir, thus give them the Bible, and you give to them the blessings and the blandishments of civilization, — our civilization. Thus give them the Bible, and you give them a God. But you do not multiply their idols; you give to them the one true and living God; the King eternal, immortal, invisible; our God, whom we love, worship, and adore. Thus give them the Bible, and you give them a Saviour, — a Saviour who is able to save to the uttermost those who come unto God by him, — our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ. Thus give them the Bible, and you give them a heaven: not an Indian hunting-ground, not a Mohammedan elysium, but a spiritual, a divine, an eternal heaven; the heaven for which we hope, and to which we aspire. Oh, sir! the benefits of the Holy Scriptures thus furnished to the heathen would be immense, inconceivable! Consequently the enterprise of furnishing to them the sacred volume is one of transcendent grandeur and interest. O sir! whenever I call it up before my mind, it breaks upon me like the breaking of the morning, shining brighter, spreading wider, and glowing warmer; so that I soon find myself, like the mote at noonday, basking in a tide of effulgent glory, which I am utterly incapable of presenting to others because of its immensity.

With these sentiments and feelings, sir, I cordially second the motion to accept the Report, and commit the further advocacy of the subject to other and abler hands.

REV. THOMAS STARR KING, of the Hollis-street Church, Boston, was then introduced to the meeting, and spoke as follows :—

Mr. President,— It is my privilege, in rising to address this assembly, to offer the following Resolution, by which the remarks I shall make will be guided :—

“Resolved, That the Bible, in its character as an historical book and a collection of biographies of saints and apostles, is to be regarded not only as an invaluable contribution to the world’s literature, but also as a treasury of power for the illustration and enforcement of its doctrines of life.”

We usually speak of the Bible, sir, as “the Book of life,” giving to those words the widest and deepest sense of which they are capable. It does not need that I should say any thing at this time upon its character in this respect. Rather let me use the little time that is allotted to each speaker here in dwelling upon the point, that the Bible is the book of life in a sense, which, if lower than the one I have referred to, is still very interesting and worthy of our consideration, for the reason that so much of the influence of the Bible is connected with it. As to its form, it is the Book of life. Among the subordinate reasons for its power over men, a most important one is, that there is so little which is abstract in it. Are we aware how little of it is so? Not more than one-sixth part of its volume can take that title; and, if we omit the Psalms from the list, which are prayers and hymns that gushed from private hearts to relieve the actual burden of joyous and troubled breasts, and if we strike out the Epistles of Paul, which give us theology steeped in the experience of a great soul, not nearly so much as one-sixth part of it can be accounted abstract. Taken as a whole, in respect of form, the Scriptures are a history, stretching along forty centuries, and weaving into a connected story the annals of one race from Adam to the last downfall of Jerusalem.

The revelation we get in the Bible comes always through an historical framework, and in constant relation to human life. In

all the great objects which the Bible proposes, it has the influence of living experience in its own records to help it. One prominent office of the Scriptures is to preach the law of God, the principles of righteousness, and the retributions of evil, to the nations of the earth. I love to dwell upon its sublime character as the teacher of states and the prophet of empires. It is a book, as you, Mr. President, have said, for rulers as well as private men. It should be in every cabinet, as well as in every cottage. It will be the royal book in a national library, as well as in the study or the parlor. For it does not content itself with relations to persons. It unfolds the law of unity of life; it shows how society is woven in together as one living thing, responsible to the Supreme Equity; it unveils the truth that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children; and, with thrones and courts and congresses for its audience, it proclaims that righteousness alone exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people.

But not alone by the utterance of the abstract law does the Bible fulfil this office of public advocate of providential rule, and apostle of justice to the nations. By nothing less than actual national fortunes does God preach his watchful and retributive supremacy through the pages of the Bible. Its message to every licentious city is lighted by the fire-storm that swept Sodom from the plain; and its public statute, that the wages of sin is death, is written, as by the finger of God, in the ashes of Gomorrah. The warning it utters to every commercial people, that idolatrous wealth is no title to long prosperity, is pictured out in the prophetic sermon to Tyre and the sad fulfilment of it. Every careful student of the Bible has been surprised by the richness of its historical annals as a treasury of parallels and illustrations for all the emergencies that occur in society. It should seem that no crisis can happen for which its pages do not furnish the fitting instruction, no social sin for which the precise description and penalty cannot be copied from its records. We are almost forced to adopt the theory of correspondences and a double sense, and to believe that its history is not only local, but typical; the provided language for the application of religious truth to the whole flow and all the peculiarities of the world's experience. If history is philosophy teaching by example, the Bible may be called religion teaching and warning by example. Its denunciations of abso-

lute power, and its majestic counsel and hope to down-trodden people, flame before the eyes and flash upon the bayonets of every dissolute court in Europe now, from that scroll upon the walls of Belshazzar's palace. If the great Republic desires to know whether any confederacy of human device can stand against the deliberate denial of heavenly rule, or the enervating influence of luxury, the Bible points to the dissolution of the Union in Palestine under Solomon's successor, on account of popular sin and misrule in the capital; and, through the whole experience of the Hebrew people, it sets forth the truth, that the favor or the vengeance of Providence follows in the footsteps of national fidelity or national vice.

Is it not a sublime thing that the Bible thus weaves pages of history together into such connections that they become a sermon, and illumines the long annals of a nation's experience by the solemn back lights of providential sway and holiness, so that it unrolls as a panoramic gospel to the ages, showing every fruitful field, and happy home, and thriving village, and prosperous reign, as the benignant sequence of social righteousness; and revealing every horror of war, and ravage of pestilence, and wreck of intemperance, and jealousy of neighborhoods, and crumbling temples, and decay of vigor, and sad march into distant bondage, as the direct and miserable lineage of civil idolatry, license, and crime! To nations as to persons the Bible unveils the principles and the way of life, and the more powerfully and the more successfully because it gives its message in the dialect of life, brandishing over the guilty world the experience of Babylon, Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea.

The Bible also is filled with pictures of persons; and, by means of the life-element thus contained in it, its moral principles have gained great power to enforce themselves as supreme, and to smite and wrench the torpid conscience and guilty will. The resolution, sir, does not refer to the sinners of the sacred history; but I think that we shall do wrong to pass them by. Besides declaring to us the demands of the pure law of Heaven upon life; besides setting forth, in statute and proverb and precept and sermon, the necessity of obedience to the worthiness and the peace of the soul; besides depicting in words the misery and the repulsiveness of evil, the Biblical records contain pictures of men who

illustrate by their visible ugliness and torment the sure play of the retributive laws, and the folly of trifling with them. Not long since, in conversing with a clergyman who is remarkable for his power to produce deep practical impressions by his sermons, I asked him for the secret, if it was one that could be imparted. He replied that there were several characters in his congregation whom he dissected for the benefit of his people and their own instruction also, and said that he found nothing more useful than clear delineations of worldly and selfish lives. It certainly is to be hoped, that preachers, as a general thing, do not have abundant material of this kind in the pews that face their pulpits; but we may believe that nothing makes a deeper impression upon men than the clear portraiture to them of a foul character and a base experience. Then the principles of virtue and the statements of depravity, which seemed hazy and moved them little when put abstractly, become real and solid; and, however comfortably they may bear the verbal assurance that they are in the wrong way, it startles them to feel that they are in fellowship with these characters, which they cannot but loathe.

Now, the Bible, as a Book of life, reveals the worldly and wicked heart to itself, and enables the pulpit also to hold up the mirror before it by the various forms in which disloyalty to God is shown forth in real life, and made hateful. The Hebrew monarch Saul little thought, when he was persecuting the friends that had placed him on his throne or saved his realm, and while he oppressed the land by his wild tyranny, that he was to be part of revelation; that his desperate crimes and inward turmoil were to be inworked with the pages of the world's spiritual literature. But God took his boisterous experience as a powerful chapter for His word. He held him up, the gigantic Biblical Macbeth, to show, by the wretchedness and despair ploughed into his face by his fierce passions, and the slow crush of his hopes and heart in the coil of relentless law, that no genius is nimble enough and no station is high enough to elude and escape the scourge of retribution. Herod of Galilee, the sensualist, the moral coward, the guilty keeper of a sinful oath, the murderer of the faithful prophet, little imagined, when he started in his palace at the news of our Saviour's ministry and miracles, and said, "It is John!" (supposing that holy man had risen from the grave,) that he and his crimes and his exclamation

were to be part of the Christian religion. But God set his coarse, animal, and superstitious face among the pure precepts and solemn warnings of the New Testament, as a dark hieroglyphic of the repulsiveness and the instinctive fears of a guilty and imbruted soul.

Many persons that are present have, no doubt, read a little treatise, published a few years since, called "The Stars and the Earth," which contained many fine fancies founded on the laws of light. Among other speculations was this, — that, if God would give to any soul miraculous powers of vision, and enable it to travel away from the earth with the speed of light, the most evanescent phenomena that might take place at the moment of its departure, such as the flitting of a butterfly over a flower, or a flash of lightning from a cloud, might be seen and studied by that soul as permanent facts, and continue to be seen so long as it could travel back in space with the exact rapidity of the solar beams. Something like this has proved true with some characters and scenes reported in the Bible. How could the abandoned Felix suppose, when he trembled at Paul's sermon on righteousness and retribution, that he was to sit on that throne and tremble so for ages, as a witness to the power of the apostolic preaching, and the depravity of his own life? How could he imagine that he was to be known to every generation of mankind by that circumstance of his career, and in that momentary attitude, which perhaps did not remain in his own memory a week? Or what should have led the courtly Agrippa to suspect, when he blunted the edge of the same apostle's appeal by a sneer, that Providence would petrify him in that posture, and hold him up before all after-times, carved into the enduring substance of the Christian records as a symbol of the sad sculpturing of sin? If we visit some medical colleges, we shall find in their halls, for the instruction of students, artistic images of the distortions and deformities which the most terrible diseases work in the human frame. God has done something like this in the line of inspiration. He has made the denunciations of sin, and the descriptions of the wrong it does the soul, with which the Scriptures are so eloquent, visible to the eye in the Scripture. He has literally given us a Revelation with *plates*, and pressed the very villains that once stood in the way of the triumph of his truth into organs and illustrations of it, using their lives to

give emphasis to its warning and rebuke. Thus, by its historical form, the Bible has enriched immensely the science of human nature, and put into every preacher's hand a magic mirror, which shows, in these distorted and consummate instances of godlessness and evil loves, the tendency of every base passion and all self-seeking, if unchecked, in every unconsecrated breast.

In the mixed characters, too, Mr. President, which the Bible brings to our notice, invaluable contribution is made to the efficacy of its own precepts, and the treasury of power at the disposal of its ministers. A great deal of needless trouble has been experienced by some people, lest the appearance of questionable characters in the Biblical records compromises the moral integrity of revelation. They know that the Scriptures are revered as an inspired book, and they see that much favor was shown to some men whom we cannot fully endorse, and that they were entrusted with important missions. They read in one place that David was a man after God's own heart; they find that the glory of the reign of Solomon casts a golden hue over all the later history; and, in the New Testament, they find the name of Samson among the worthies of faith. And so the question addresses itself to them, How is it possible, if Providence has openly shown favor to these men,—Peter, who lied profanely; Solomon, the epicurean Sultan; and David, who fell into the lowest depths of guilt,—how is it possible to justify its purity and impartial holiness? This question is made practical to us here; for objection has sometimes been made to the free circulation of the Scriptures, as a whole, because the records of these characters are in them; and it has been feared that by such a circulation the moral reverence of people will be impaired. It is strange that such persons do not see that in just these cases the serene equity is manifest, showing that, indeed, there is no respect of persons with God. Instead of difficulty, there is incalculable power in them to produce the deepest impressions of the evil of sin and the justice of God. Was there any interference of providential law to save the kingdom of Solomon from rotting, and his last years from misery, because in his early life he had prayed for heavenly wisdom and his prayer had been blessed? Were the stern laws of retribution forbidden to seek him and to coil about him in his palace, as something too sacred for their sway? If he had possessed all the

powers of enchantment which fabulous tradition has attributed to him, could any art of his sorcery have availed to keep off the vengeance which was executed upon his kingdom and his soul for his profligacy and his pagan compromise? Or, when we see poor Samson, blind, feeble, and toiling in the mill of the foes from whom he might have saved his land, does it seem as though the vigor of God's moral law has been slackened, although he seemed appointed at his birth to a providential mission? And, when Peter turns and weeps bitterly after his falsehood, does the divine sanction and patronage of truthfulness seem any less intense because he was an apostle when he broke his faith? Or consider David, when the prophet Nathan has spoken to him and touched the quick of his conscience; or after the prophet has left him, and he is overwhelmed by his guilt, hardly daring to murmur the penitent accents of the fifty-first Psalm. Does the record intimate that he was in any such sense the favorite of God as to save him from the choicest whips and stings which the insulted law could wield, or his sensitive and poetic spirit feel? Were these men favorites of Heaven? So much the better. For then in their lives we read, more impressively than in any abstract precepts which the Holy Book contains, the justice of Heaven; the truth that the moral law has no favorites, but will render to every man — priest, prophet, hero, apostle — according to his work; and that, though the love of God embraces all, yet the only ascent into the consciousness of his favor is by the steps of obedience, in the spirit of faith.

What shall we say, sir, of the beauty and power of the Bible, as a Book of life, when the good characters it contains invite our notice? By the delineations of holy men, and radiant excellence which its pages bear, it has done a vast deal, a service which we cannot measure, towards the redemption of character. Nothing is so attractive to the living eye and the living heart, or to the imagination of men, as the beauty of holiness. It would be impossible to save the world by abstractions, even though they be Christian abstractions. If we should go into an art-room, and see upon the walls written descriptions of faces which are said to be striking and lovely, giving us the exact dimensions of them, and stating the precise hues which they show; and if we should read also theories of lovely landscapes, telling what combinations of light

and foliage, hill and meadow, house and stream, will make a perfect picture, I do not think we should be moved much, however as critics we might be trained in the science of beauty. But, instead of these descriptions and theories, or by the side of them, put the pictures themselves; let the actual faces look out through colors upon us, and the landscapes themselves gem the walls, and we shall be thrilled with a sense of beauty, and better educated also in its ideas. And so God educates us to the knowledge and the love of goodness through the Bible by the great characters of the Bible. It is the Divine Picture Gallery, the saintly Athenæum. We are invited into it, and pointed to the beauty of the face of Enoch, who did not need the preparation of death to fit him for heaven. We see there the simple trustfulness of Abraham, looking fresh through the fading and misty colors of centuries. We look up to the prophetic, regal, and unbending countenance of Moses, invested with something of the awe of Sinai, luminous, too, with a mystic depth, as if the light shed from the heavenly vision lingers upon his eyes, and with lips that are firm with the persistence and fidelity of forty years. We see there the sweet, feminine grace of Ruth, antetype of the Madonna's tenderness. We stand before the colossal proportions of the virtue of Samuel, priest, patriot, prophet, judge, — the Hebrew Washington, if we should not rather call our own hero the American Samuel. The Group of the Prophets is there for our study, — the fiery and uncompromising Elijah; the mysterious Isaiah, with his harp that has one string, whose melody melts the eyes, and the majestic harmonies of whose chords are like the chorus of cherubim; the sad Jeremiah, the lyric Habakkuk, the tender Micah, and wise Daniel, and moral Ezekiel. Our eyes are directed to the aggressive sanctity of the Baptist, and the impetuous loyalty of Peter; to the sweet intensity of devotion in the face of the apostolic John, and the serene domestic piety of Mary of Bethany; to the ethical gravity of the stainless James, and the modest worth of Luke the Physician; and the rapt face of Stephen the Martyr, radiant in the beams from the open heaven and his Master's benediction; and, last of all, him whose name crowns the catalogue of merely human greatness, in whose character the power and the peace of Christian faith were intertwined, — the cultured, the mystic, the ardent, the loving, the tried, the victorious Paul.

In these ways, through acquaintance with lives like these, does the Bible invite us to appreciate the varied charms of goodness; and thus does it buttress its moral principles and commands. Who can tell what redeeming force its truths have gained by being interpreted through their careers; how the steady effluence from their faith and faithfulness has conspired with the agency of the spirit to arouse worldly affections, and consecrate disloyal hands? The beatitudes of our Saviour are interpreted and made to glow by the pictured demonstration of them which the holy lives of the Bible furnish; and these lives, in turn, wear new tints of beauty from the light which paints them, falling from those opening blessings of the Sermon on the Mount.

If we read the Gospels, too, we shall find them crowded with records of life. The proportion of precept and abstract statement is very slight. Most of the great doctrines contained there spring forth to answer the need of some conscience, the demand of some hour; and thus almost all the principles of the gospel gain directness and intensity from the peculiar circumstances in which they first appeared, and the manner in which they converged to a burning focal point upon some soul. The way to conquer temptation, and the joy that comes after the conquest, stream upon us through the experience in the desert, and the descending angels with the sweet refreshment of their sympathy. The spirit of forgiveness is impressed upon us in the answer to Peter's question, "I say unto thee until seventy times seven." The rebuke of the revengeful temper falls with solemn precision upon every ear, through the reply of Jesus to his disciples that would burn the Samaritan village which refused them entrance, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." The appeal for charitable judgment of the erring steals from that group that surrounded the sinful woman in the temple, and the words which scatter them, "He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone." Christ's call for consecration to all men is more definite as uttered through that instance of it, when he asked the young lawyer to lay his possessions upon the altar; and the law of sympathy and devotion is for ever branded into the conscience of Christendom, in the lineaments of the suffering Jew and the beneficent Samaritan, which were drawn to teach the cold, hard, pharisaic heart, who his neighbor was. The tones of Christian

morality and truth do not wander down to us in abstract utterance through the spaces of the sky: they were meant for man in society, and the revelation of them to man is from society. The Gospels are a mosaic from human experience, showing us by the difficulties which beset our Lord, and the obstacles in the way of his truth on its first passage to the human heart, the precise need which human nature has of that truth, and the best way to make it practical now. Yes, the whole mission and relations of the Saviour to the world, — what is it but the crowning testimony to the truth that God's redeeming influences must come to the world through life? The glory and power of our religion lie in this, that it is not a succession of spiritual paragraphs, but the Word made flesh; that all the rays of truth and holiness and mercy, streaming from the heavens, have centred and woven themselves into one form, made in the likeness of our humanity, which visited the earth and shed its rays into the darkness, its life into the human conscience, and its love into human degradation, and towards which we may turn our eyes and behold the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and the brightness of the Father's glory.

I have far exceeded the time to which I was entitled, Sir, and can only now allude to the duty laid upon us to respect the Bible more, seeing how nicely it is adapted by its form, as well as by its spirit, to human needs. It is, in every sense, the word of life; and, at this moment, every other force of civilization might better be spared from the world than the streams of regenerative influence which are steadily pouring in upon society from its truths and from its illustrative history.

The Rev. Dr. SEARS, Secretary of the Board of Education, offered the following remarks:—

The resolution just passed spoke of the Bible as a history. I wish, as that general subject has been exhausted, to speak more specifically of the Scriptures as the only firm basis of an historical Christianity. I admit that the original exposition of Christianity was oral; and that, for more than a century, the church relied mainly on the oral instructions of Christ and the apostles. So long as inspired men were living, and even for a considerable time longer, there was no great danger of a general defection from

the spirit of Christianity. But, when deep and earnest pagan minds began to be influenced in their speculations by the teachings of Christ, there arose a wild confusion of opinions, that threatened to disturb and confound the church itself. Almost every possible diversity of belief, from the extreme opposites of a pure Christianity and a dreamy oriental philosophy, found more or less favor among the people. The only sure test of all this variety of opinions was the positive teachings of Christ and of his inspired followers. As the traditions, orally handed down, of their teachings became variable, it was necessary to resort to their written words, — to the Gospels and Epistles. Thus the New Testament Scriptures were sought out and collected about the second century, just when their necessity was universally felt; and by them the speculative corruptions of Christianity were so far corrected as to preserve the church from being swept away by them. This new collection of inspired writings proved an infant Hercules.

A thousand years passed away. Europe, meanwhile, had become, for the most part at least, nominally Christian. But the Christianity of that age was the Christianity of nations newly converted, often, alas! but externally converted. Every thing about it, though it gave to the age almost its only interesting feature, bore the marks of the state of society and of the human mind at that time. It should be remarked, that Christianity, after the apostolic age, suddenly dropped to the level of the general mind. A new career was then commenced, in which uninspired and inexperienced men, — men, I mean, untaught by the experience of Christian nations, — starting from their own intellectual position, were to strive age after age to realize, unfold, and represent the true spirit of the Christian revelation.

That there was at the very beginning such a chasm between the primitive type of Christianity and that next succeeding it, will be quite apparent to those who carefully read the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, and then read and compare with them the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament. I do not now speak of the testimony of the Fathers, or of the historical value of their writings (which is very great), but of their individual power in comprehending and applying Christian truth. Under Christ and the apostles, Christianity, in the form of *inspiration*, was mature.

Immediately after them, as represented by the *human* intellect, undeveloped by historical experience, it was in its infancy. It is the work of ages to receive Christianity into the intellect, and digest it, and give it out again truly in its application to the ever-varying wants of society. The chief peculiarity of the Middle Ages is the amazing excitement and activity created by Christianity, on the one hand, and the barbaric crudeness of the people, and their want of wisdom and practical skill in the use and direction of their gigantic powers, on the other. All this is seen in their holy wars, their church organization, their philosophy and theology, their universities, and, to some extent, their very architecture. Every thing was done with an elephant's tread. It was an age of ardent passion, of splendid dreams, and of stupendous but misguided intellectual and physical action. It wanted experience, maturity, and the fruits of that wisdom which is usually the growth of ages.

The church, feeling secure in her predominant power in Europe, trusted too much in her rulers and professed guides, and lived in an ignorance of spiritual things that placed her at as great a remove from pure Christianity as Pharisaism was from Mosaism. Now what was the *Reformation*? It was, or at least professed to be, the *revival of a Bible Christianity*. It substituted the Bible for the sentences of the scholastic doctors. It is this that has made Protestantism what it is; and so the Bible a second time saved the church from a radical degeneracy and decay.

Another age succeeded, in the first century of which the Reformers and early Protestant theologians were, in some degree, by a second feebler generation, put in the place of the Bible. In the next century, science, as daring as it was imperfect, arrayed itself against the Bible. In the present century, especially on the continent of Europe, philosophy, in the form of bold speculation, has left the Bible far behind, as a second Judaism, and presented what is regarded as a broader system of truth for a higher development of society.

The Reformers and great theologians are still honored; but their *authority* is now as nothing compared with that of the Bible, *as interpreted by ourselves*. The Bible has again saved us from the authority of *men*, — even of great and good men. In respect to science, things are beginning to be better understood. A broad

distinction is now made between science and the pretensions and conjectures of its votaries, between the Bible and its interpreters. Every new age brings with it some scientific discoveries, and some more correct interpretations of Scripture. Both of these are now in progress, and we have not yet the means of declaring the final results of either. Let the scientific investigator and the Biblical interpreter each prosecute his work fearlessly. What either nature or revelation, rightly interpreted, may say, will stand for ever; and that, too, without being bolstered up by us. Neither is to conquer the other. They are to have an harmonious co-existence, as they will of themselves in due time demonstrate.

As to the new speculative philosophy, if we may judge from the past, we may affirm that all the revolutions of speculative opinion will, in the end, directly or indirectly, contribute something towards arriving at the true philosophy. In some instances, they will give great prominence to some subordinate but new principle, or new application of an old principle, which nothing but a new state of society could bring clearly to light. Its exaggerations and distortions will pass away; and the grain of truth, which gave plausibility to a false system, will be separated from the rubbish, and add so much to the permanent amount, which must enter, more or less, as an ingredient into all future systems. In other instances, the *method* of a new philosophy will furnish good gymnastics for the mind, and contribute to the improvement of the *instruments* of knowledge, which, in other hands, may do good service. In this way the German thinkers have advanced the science of system-making, which will ultimately, when applied to what is true, give greater scope and logical consistency to Christian philosophy; and the coincidence of this with the spirit of the Bible will be the chief test of its truth. All truth will at last appear like a luminous universe of systems, with the Bible in the centre.

Rev. Mr. WHITING, of Reading, being then called upon, without the formality of a resolution, made a brief closing address:—

It has, said he, ever been a favorite pursuit of wise men to determine the main causes of those events which have most en-

gaged the attention of their generation. By so doing, the true sources of the power of the generation are known, and much endeavor rescued from waste. This assemblage, this report, and the narratives given, declare and predict events of commanding consequence. We feel entitled here to assume, that great things have been done, are now doing, in the progress of religion, civilization, and in the general amendment of man's condition. Summon any past generation for comparison ; and we mean to say, that, in all the main essentials of human advancement, this day shows more completeness than any which have gone before it. More work is done ; better work is done ; the table of the world is better spread ; its wardrobe is better filled ; more minds are free ; more souls are at peace with God ; *more truth is lived out* in a single generation now, than in three or four, a few centuries back. Human life is worth more — *is more* — than at any former period.

This we set up as a grand result, — the conspicuous consequence of causes peculiar to this generation. Now, what are the causes ? *where* are the causes achieving these results ? “ Ah ! it is no one thing,” pertly replies the job-taker in reforms, the man of many philosophies and of almost no philosophy ; “ no one thing accomplishes these acknowledged results. Our agitations — various reforms — these many modern agencies, they divide the glory of this grand reformation.” *No one thing !* pardon the contradiction ; we mean to declare that there *is one cause*, or agent, transcending all others, — the grand cause of all other causes, — co-working the world's external renovation ; and that cause is God's glorious revelation, — the *Word* spoken “ by holy men of old as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” “ But nay,” rejoins some veteran in commerce, in wide-spread foreign trade ; “ think of my part in dispersing civilization through the nations, by direct and indirect commerce. My schemes have sent abroad the bold hosts of merchantmen, whose prows have fretted every sea and ocean. My plans have led the quivering, tremulous needle — significant emblem of the fate of those following it — over every known water accessible to the laden keel. The world had scarce known civilization or its boundless benefits but for the assiduous, tireless toil of commerce.” True, you have done all this ; we freely confess the claim. But the question to-day is, Out of what was commerce born ? and how has it got this stature and strength ?

Have not the diffusion and knowledge of the lively oracles of God and the world's civilization gone on from the first till now, together; rather, one leading the other, like the ancient pillar of cloud and the following Hebrew host; and, as then, the pillar that led, descending from heaven; the host that followed, of the earth? What agency but this has tamed warlike tribes and blended the sympathies of nations, turning them from perpetual carnage to pursuits of peace, by which the material for commerce, and all its forms, have been created? Did Indian canoes pour New World wealth upon the banks of the Mersey two hundred years ago? or did Hindoo junks crowd the Thames before the days of Queen Elizabeth? Does commerce owe its existence to civilization, and the world owe its civilization to the Bible? or is it in reverse order, — *the Bible from civilization, and that from commerce?*

The apostle of popular education approaches with a more courageous claim. Let us hearken to it: "Have not we sent the world to school, and by letters, by study, and by culture, displaced barbarism for civilization; paganism for Christianity?"

True. Popular education, in its widest sense, meaning all studies and the diffusion of written truth, ranks justly among the chief of secondary agencies for changing the character of the world. It has mapped the mountains and the rivers; it has measured the earth and the sea; has given to nature and her phenomena a speech for communion with man. To the dumb rocks, science lends a tongue; and the sullen earth opens, at its bidding, her mouldy pages, on which the world's story is written in fossil lettering. It does, indeed, surround man with ennobling, rich, and almost redemptive knowledges. *Grant it.* Let the claim be honored; let the power be revealed. — But now relate the ancestry of learning; tell its descent; show the hidings of its power. *What is the parent knowledge?* What volume, what embodiment of thought, has been the schoolmaster for the world, — the grand preceptor, at whose feet genius and learning have got their commissions to teach the race? Is it the BOOK OF HEAVEN, or is it a *book of earth*? Has education ever progressed, yea, ever got a place, where the Word of God had no place? Do Sumatra, Nubia, and Polynesia found universities, maintain magazines and common schools? Has the home of the truest education ever been anywhere else but where the Word of God enriched each fireside, and dwelt in every mind?

The relation of education to the Bible has been like that of the luxuriant grains which wave upon the banks of Egypt's deified river, to the river itself. That vegetation feeds and enriches all that land; but the fertilizing river feeds and nourishes all the vegetation. So, upon the banks of this stream of life, the precious growths of all knowledge spring up and flourish, while only the dismal desert is found afar from its course. Thus, if need was, all other agencies, co-working the world's visible renovation, could be shown to be mere derivations from, or tributaries to, this great Book of Heaven. Wherever it goes, a retinue of influences follow it, reaching from the renovation of the soul to the renovation of all that makes a world. It is like that river, told of in its closing pages, on whose banks grew "twelve manner of fruits;" and our vain clamor about the culture and fruit of this tree, or of that tree, but diverts us from the stream divine, by which all the trees exist.

This Society thus pleads with us for help in its work, through our interest in every movement helping the world onward to its final glory. *Herein* springs their vitality. Power here is power at the vital centre. Strength in the Bible cause is a strength which infuses, invigorates, vitalizes every beneficent force, around which the hopes of a fallen, but redeemed, world imploringly wait.

The usual Doxology having been sung and the Benediction offered, the meeting was dissolved.

DONATIONS AND LEGACIES

Received from May 15, 1851, to May 1, 1852.

DONATIONS.

Abington . . .	North Parish	\$13.02
„ . . .	South Cong. Church and Society .	22.50
„ . . .	Centre Cong. Church and Society, \$25; do. (1 L. M. A. B. S. in part), \$24.50	49.50
Acton	Society of Rev. Mr. Woodbury . .	4.75
Acworth, N.H. .	Miss Hannah Ware	5.00
Amesbury and Salisbury Cong. Church and Society . .		20.00
Amherst . . .	Society of Rev. Mr. Cook	24.28
„ . . .	Contribution in the College . . .	23.50
Andover . . .	Old South Church	60.11
„ . . .	Rev. Joseph Emerson (L. M. A. B. S.)	30.00
Ashby	Congregational Church and Society (L. M. A. B. S. in part)	22.00
Attleborough . .	Bible Society, by Mr. Albert Carpenter, Treasurer (on Bible account, \$5)	31.00
„ . .	Mrs. Leprillette Sweet (L. M. A. B. S.)	30.00
„ West	Society of Rev. S. B. Moreley . .	8.13
Auburndale . .	Congregational Church and Society	60.00
Barnstable County	Bible Society (on Bible account, \$46)	
Belchertown . .	Congregational Church and Society (1 L. M. A. B. S.)	78.00
Bennington, N.H.	Mrs. Deborah Whittemore (balance for L. M. A. B. S.)	15.00
Beverly	Dane-street Congregational Church and Society	33.93

Boston	Soc. of Rev. Mr. Stone, Park-street	\$119.00
„	„ „ „ Dr. Adams, Essex-street	115.01
„	„ „ „ Dr. Blagden, Old South	114.15
„	„ „ „ Dr. Waterbury, Bow- doin-street	105.85
„	Soc. of Rev. Mr. Kirk, Mt. Vernon	187.00
„	Phillips Church and Society . . .	52.68
„	Bromfield-street M. E. Church . .	60.25
„	Church-street M. E. Church . . .	60.00
„	North Russell-street M. E. Church	6.79
„	Hedding M. E. Church	8.20
„	Seamen's Epis. Chapel, Ann-street	9.33
„	William R. Laurence, M.D., for A. B. S.	125.00
„	Deacon Nathaniel Willis (1 L. M. A. B. S.)	30.00
„	Mrs. Charles Emery	2.00
„	A Foreign Missionary, by H. Hill, Esq.	10.00
„	Mrs. M'Loud	1.00
„	I. H. Waterbury	0.28
„	A Friend, \$20; do., \$10; do., \$3; do., \$1; do., \$1; do., \$1; do., \$1	37.00
„	Annual Subscriptions of Members .	864.00
Bradford . . .	Society of Rev. Mr. Munroe . . .	63.63
Braintree . . .	„ „ „ Dr. Storrs	21.17
Bridgewater . .	„ „ „ Mr. Couch, balance	2.50
Brighton . . .	„ „ „ Mr. Swasey	31.85
Brookline . . .	Harvard Cong. Soc. (1 L. M. A. B. S.)	72.00
Charlestown . .	First Parish	32.00
„ . . .	Winthrop Church	89.55
„ . . .	Union M. E. Church	6.00
„ . . .	Mrs. Lois Brown (1 L. M. A. B. S.) .	30.00
Chatham . . .	Congregational Church and Society	15.85
Cohasset . . .	Congregational Church and Society	6.75
Concord . . .	Union Bible Society, \$140; Juvenile Society, \$10 (5 L. M. A. B. S.) .	150.00
Clinton . . .	A Friend	15.00
Danvers . . .	North Village Cong. Church . . .	8.00

Dedham . . .	Society of Rev. Dr. Burgess . . .	\$62.23
Dorchester . . .	Second Church	114.55
„ . . .	Village Church	37.53
Dunstable . . .	First Evan. Cong. Church and Soc.	10.65
Easthampton . .	Mr. Edward Smith	20.00
Essex	First Cong. Church and Society .	35.00
Fall River . . .	Central Cong. Church and Society .	52.50
Falmouth . . .	First Cong. Church and Society (on Bible account, \$11.25)	19.96
Fitchburg . . .	Religious Charitable Society (2 L. M. A. B. S.)	69.71
„ . . .	Mr. Samuel Burnap (1 L. M. A. B. S.)	30.00
Franklin County Bible Society, Mr. William Elliot, Greenfield, Treasurer : —		
East Hawley . .	A Friend, \$2; do., \$0.50 . .	\$2.50
Gill	Cong. Church and Society . .	15.50
Greenfield . . .	First Church and Society . .	30.93
„	Second Church and Society . .	64.13
Heath	Cong. Church and Society (1 L. M. A. B. S.)	31.00
Montague . . .	Gent.'s Association, \$19.37; Ladies' do., \$14.19	33.56
Northfield . . .	Trinitarian Society	1.00
Shelburne . . .	Gent.'s Association, \$28.25; Ladies' do., \$25.75 (2 L. M. A. B. S.)	54.00
South Deerfield	First Cong. Church and Soc.	24.70
Sunderland . . .	Cong. Church and Society (2 L. M. A. B. S. in part) . .	45.91
Warwick	Trinitarian Society	1.00
	H. L. H.	1.00
		\$305.23
Less amount credited to Bible account		45.23
		260.00
Franklin	Mrs. Harriet C. Phipps and her Sabbath School Class	3.00
Georgetown . . .	Congregational Church and Society	53.50
Hadley	Monthly Concert in Plainville School	

	District, \$7; Class in N. Hadley	
	Sabbath School, \$1	\$8.00
Hadley	Miss Susan E. Porter (1 L. M. A. B.	
	s. in part)	10.00
„ North . .	Society of Rev. Warren H. Beaman	25.00
Hampden County Bible Society, Mr. James Brewer, 2d,	Springfield, Treasurer, Donations	
	(on Bible account, \$630.73) . . .	1,162.00
Hardwick . . .	Miss Susan Mixter	25.00
Haverhill . . .	Mr. Nathaniel K. Harriman, de-	
	ceased (1 L. M. A. B. S.) . . .	30.00
„ . . .	Centre Church (3 L. M. A. B. S.) . .	89.61
Holliston . . .	Society of Rev. Mr. Tucker . . .	56.44
„ . . .	George Batchelder (1 L. M. A. B. S.) .	30.00
Hopkinton . . .	Society of Rev. J. C. Webster . . .	25.00
Hubbardston . .	Calvinistic Congregational Church .	9.00
Ipswich	First Congregational Church and	
	Society	69.63
„	Society of Rev. Mr. Fitz (of which	
	\$15 by Nathaniel Lord, jun. Esq.	
	in part for L. M. A. B. S.)	45.00
Lowell	Sarah M. Bealey	0.50
Lynn	Sabbath Gift Society	151.70
„	Sumner-street M. E. Church . . .	30.00
Marlborough . .	Union Church	20.00
Medfield . . .	Society of Rev. T. T. Richmond . .	10.00
„	Miss Eliza Basteen	1.00
Middleborough .	First Cong. Church and Society . .	22.62
„	Central Church	13.00
Milan, N.H. . .	Rev. L. D. Peabody	1.00
Milton	First Evan. Church and Society . .	16.00
Natick	First Congregational Church and	
	Society	24.82
Newton	Society of Rev. Dr. Gilbert . . .	22.00
Northbridge . .	Congregational Church and Society	12.15
North Bridgewater	Porter Evangelical Society . . .	58.34
Norton	Congregational Church and Society	26.76
Pembroke . . .	A Friend	1.00
Phillipston . . .	Society of Rev. Mr. Perkins . . .	51.59

Plymouth County Bible Society, Mr. J. H. Loud, Treasurer : —

Duxbury . . .	Seth Sprague, Esq. . . .	\$1.00
„ . . .	George P. Richardson, Esq. . . .	1.00
„ . . .	Rev. Mr. Dunham	1.00
Hingham . . .	Evangelical Society	4.50
Kingston . . .	Second Cong. Society	22.37
Middleborough . . .	Central „ „	23.00
N. Bridgewater . . .	Soc. of Rev. Mr. Huntington	32.49
„ . . .	A Gentleman, by hand of Rev. Mr. Huntington	38.00
Plymouth . . .	Society of the Pilgrims	14.88
„ . . .	William S. Russell, Esq. . . .	1.00
„ . . .	Rev. Dr. Kendall, for Testa- ments sold	1.68
		— \$140.92
Quincy	Evangelical Cong. Society	9.00
Randolph	Society of Rev. Mr. Cordley (1 L. M. A. B. S.)	46.78
„ . . East . . .	Society of Rev. Mr. Russell	50.16
Religious Charitable Society, Middlesex, North, and Vicinity ; Deacon Curtis Law- rence, Groton, Treasurer : —		
Groton	Association (2 L. M. A. B. S.)	80.43
Harvard	„	39.41
Leominster	„	10.07
Littleton	„	6.20
Lunenburg	„	9.16
Westford	„	17.86
Roxbury	Eliot Church	144.00
Royalston	Rev. Norman Hazen (1 L. M.)	35.00
„ . . South . . .	Congregational Church and Society	11.00
Saco, Maine	Benevolent Soc. in the First Parish	34.00
Sherburne	Female Reading and Benevolent Society (1 L. M. A. B. S. in part)	22.00
„	Miss Lucy Coolidge, deceased (1 L. M. A. B. S.)	30.00
Southborough	Pilgrim Church	9.80
Topsfield	Congregational Church and Society	26.68

Townsend . . .	Congregational Church and Society	\$16.58
Uxbridge . . .	Evangelical Congregational Church and Society (1 L. M. A. B. S.) . .	34.00
Warren, Maine .	From the late Mrs. Frances Head, by Mr. J. C. Brooks, Portland (A. B. S.)	100.00
Waterford, Me. .	Marion Lyle Douglass, a child's dying bequest	0.05
Wendell . . .	Ladies' Benevolent Circle (1 L. M. A. B. S.)	30.00
Wenham . . .	Society of Rev. Mr. Taylor . . .	19.00
„ . . .	Mr. Moses Mildram	1.00
Westford . . .	A Lady, by Rev. Leonard Luce .	5.00
West Brookfield .	Congregational Church and Society	13.00
Westborough . .	Evan. Church (1 L. D. A. B. S. in part)	107.05
Westminster . .	A Friend (1 L. M. A. B. S.) . . .	30.00
West Needham . .	Society of Rev. A. Bigelow . . .	5.00
Weymouth, North	Miss Jane W. Whitmarsh (1 L. M. A. B. S.)	30.00
„ South	Young Ladies' Charitable Society, in Rev. Mr. Terry's Parish . . .	16.50
„ „	Miss Elizabeth Blanchard (1 L. M. A. B. S.)	30.00
Whitinsville . .	Congregational Church and Society	103.63
White Pigeon, } Mich. }	Mr. Adolphus Chapin (1 L. M. A. B. s. balance)	25.00
Winchendon . .	North Cong. Church and Society .	40.95
Woburn, North .	Christian Gift Society	3.00
Wrentham . . .	Society of Rev. Mr. James . . .	12.00

LEGACIES.

Billerica, Mass. .	Late Zadock Howe . . .	3,000.00
Brookline, Mass.	„ C. C. Parsons . . .	500.00
Hardwick, Mass.	„ Jason Mixter . . .	600.00
Medford, Mass. .	„ Miss Ann Bryant . .	100.00
Northumberland, } Pa. }	„ Rev. James Kay . .	10.00
		———— 4,210.00

Whole amount acknowledged in the preceding list, \$11,352.58.

SCHEDULE OF PROPERTY

BELONGING TO

THE MASSACHUSETTS BIBLE SOCIETY,

The evidences of which were exhibited to the Auditor, May 20, 1852.

Six Shares in Massachusetts Bank	\$1,500.00	
Four Shares in City Bank	400.00	
Sixteen Shares in Granite Bank	1,600.00	
Ten Shares in Boston Bank	500.00	
		4,000.00
Five Shares in Marblehead Marine Insurance Co. .	500.00	
Loan to the American Bible Society . . .	\$5,000.00	
" " " " " " " "	3,000.00	
" " " " " " " "	1,470.00	
		9,470.00
		13,970.00
Books on hand in the Depository	\$1,723.95	
Bills due and collectable	209.43	
		\$1,933.38
Less amount due sundry Auxiliary Socie-		
ties, payable in books	298.30	
		\$1,635.08
Cash on hand	5,131.57	
		6,766.65
		\$20,736.65

N.B. The Depository is kept in the charge of S. T. Farwell, Esq., at No. 15, Cornhill, where will be found a large variety of Bibles and Testaments, both in English and foreign languages.

A

S E R M O N

PREACHED TO THE CONGREGATION

AT THE

Essex Street Church, October 31, 1852,

THE SABBATH AFTER THE INTERMENT OF

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER.

BY NEHEMIAH ADAMS, D.D.

PASTOR OF ESSEX STREET CHURCH, BOSTON.

Printed by the Young Men of the Congregation, for their Private Use.

BOSTON:

PRESS OF GEO. C. RAND, CORNHILL.

1852.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1852,
By THOMAS J. LEE and FRANCIS F. EMERY,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Boston, November 2, 1852.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:—

At a meeting of the Young Men of the Essex Street Congregational Society, held in the Vestry on Monday evening, the first instant, the undersigned were appointed a committee to request of you, for publication, a copy of the discourse delivered by you, on Sabbath morning last, on the decease of the Hon. Daniel Webster.

In performing this pleasant duty, allow us to express individually our earnest desire, that you will be pleased to comply with the urgent request of your young parishioners.

It is our sincere prayer to our Heavenly Father, that you may be spared yet many years to your flock; and we assure you, that we shall at all times delight to assist and cheer you in your labors.

Very truly and respectfully,

THOMAS J. LEE,	} Committee.
MILAN HULBERT,	
EDWARD P. DUTTON,	
FRANCIS F. EMERY,	
W. R. BROUGHTON,	

To REV. N. ADAMS, D.D.

To MESSRS. THOMAS J. LEE,
MILAN HULBERT,
EDWARD P. DUTTON,
FRANCIS F. EMERY,
WM. R. BROUGHTON,

Committee of the Young Men of the Essex Street Society.

MY DEAR FRIENDS :—

In complying with your renewed request, and with solicitations from other members of our Society, to furnish a copy of my last Sabbath morning's Sermon for the press, I forego my personal preferences, and commit the manuscript to your disposal, for the private use of yourselves and friends.

Very affectionately,

Your Pastor and friend,

N. ADAMS.

Boston, Nov. 6, 1852.

S E R M O N .

I. SAMUEL, XXV. 1.

AND SAMUEL DIED : AND ALL THE ISRAELITES WERE GATHERED TOGETHER,
AND LAMENTED HIM, AND BURIED HIM IN HIS HOUSE AT RAMAH.

THE past week has been to this community a week of unparalleled interest. Since the death of Washington, the decease of no man has produced such an effect upon the hearts of the American people as that which is now the subject of public lamentation. The general grief is unaffected. Words and signs of sorrow do not, and cannot, increase it, but only serve to give it utterance. There is a depth of love in this grief which few men (indeed, a child might write them,) have ever occasioned. There is secret weeping, and sadness of heart, and feelings which can never be expressed.

The origin and early history of this great man; the first steps of his professional career, marked with such success and honors; his statesmanship; his great national services; his power as an orator; the unsurpassed excellence of his writings; his influence as a public teacher; the wonderful combination, in his thoughts, of the explanatory and illustrative with

the sublime and elevating, gratifying the common apprehension with the consciousness of understanding him, and yet making us respect him in his unattainable power of statement and argument ; his failure to receive the nominal reward of our republican gratitude ; his death, succeeding rapidly the recent and final decision that he never should be the Chief Magistrate of the nation ; and the sublime and touching incidents of his last hours, combine to make this man the subject of an interest which falls short of idolatry by a less degree than that awakened by the decease of any excepting Moses, and Samuel, and the few, since their day, in the history of the old nations, and the very few of this young republic.

Were the language of mere eulogy required or expected, the pulpit would not be the place, nor the Sabbath the time, nor ministers of the Gospel the men for such service. This great man is above all praise in all that made him truly great. There are some, but they are few, that can approach to describe or measure that greatness, who do not, thereby, place themselves in the position of men at the bottom of pictured pyramids or giant trees.

But reflections which the most common mind will suggest in connection with a great event, such as words cannot adequately express, not unfrequently convey instruction, and satisfy the wish that labors to feel and speak upon the subject justly. By this thought, I am encouraged to contribute a humble offering, not to the memory of our distinguished friend, but, as becomes me better, to your reflections, in making a profitable use of our bereavement.

I. WE HAVE LOST A GREAT PUBLIC BENEFACTOR.

One of the distinguished blessings which the God of nations bestows upon a people in the persons of great and useful men, is taken away.

A truly great lawyer at the bar is an eminent blessing. The rights of persons and property find in him one of those great safeguards which free governments provide for us,—not in the arbitrary judgment, right or wrong, of a Sovereign, nor of the Judiciary, but in reason, employed to elicit truth and commend the cause on trial to the enlightened judgment of the community, whose sober, settled opinion is of the first importance in free states. A truly great and just lawyer, rising above artifice, and resting his cause on truth, is one whom the people of such countries as ours should honor and cherish as among the best defences of those private interests which make up the sum of public safety and happiness. Our departed friend was such a man. Whether defending chartered rights in behalf of a literary corporation ; or helping one of our towns to convict and punish the assassin ; or merchants to recover the insurance on their property ; or the underwriters to defend themselves against fraud, he has rendered invaluable services to his generation.

He has finished his professional career, and his brethren, in doing homage to his talents and worth as a member of the bar, while they deepen our sorrow at the loss of him, comfort us, by the assurance which we have in them, that his example and influence not only survive, but will not be wholly without compeers.

Our nation has not lost a greater benefactor since the death of its founders. He has preserved us, under God, from foreign wars ; and when we say this, we say more than imagination can represent. There have been times during his various administration of affairs when we have all felt as when we stand upon the deck of a powerful ship, with our eye upon the man at the wheel, and see how, by a skilful motion, he makes the ship pass more easily over a swelling billow, and go with safety over sunken rocks where the dimpling waters reveal, to the experienced eye, the extremest peril.

This man has done as much, by his various influence, for this union of great States, as any other since that " Farewell Address " was written, which he had so faithfully learned, and which he has taught us to consider. We look upon him, in this respect, as an instrument in the hands of God, who has not ceased, and, we trust, will not cease, to use him for this great purpose, to keep us as a nation from dismemberment. You will do me the justice to believe that I do not speak from party feeling, as I never have done here, when I express the belief that posterity, and not a very distant generation, will adjudge him to have been disinterested and patriotic in his compromise measures with relation to Slavery in the United States. Posterity will not look at those acts of his, as we do, in near connection with an elevation to the Chief Magistracy, but will have the advantage of distance in looking at other acts of his life to interpret his feelings and motives here. A man who spoke as he did to South Carolina and the South in his second speech in the Senate of the United States on

Mr. Foot's resolutions, could not afterward have cringed to chaffer with her for her votes, falsifying the whole spirit and many of the principles of that speech, without doing a greater degree of violence, I will not say to his nature, but, to human nature, than impartial judges will hereafter believe to have been possible. Nor will posterity, I venture to assert, suffer him long to lie under the imputation of seeking to aid and abet the system of slavery by any thing which he did in connection with the Fugitive Slave Law, whatever effect that law may have to perpetuate slavery. I do not seek to express an opinion here with regard to the exciting and controverted topics of the day, but to utter the strong convictions of my own mind with regard to the uprightness of this lamented public servant, in his connection with them.

Were I speaking, as I think I am not, to any who are politically his enemies on account of his influence in the re-enactment of a former statute relating to domestic slavery, I would pray them, by the conciliating influences of his death, to consider this: Whether Mr. Webster, in dealing with this great moral and political evil, may not have regarded himself in some such position as that of Franklin when he provided the lightning conductors. The comparison does not admit of an extended application, and I do not wish to extend it, but merely to suggest that Mr. Webster's avowed principles and political services warrant the belief that, seeing the North and the South marshalling their angry forces in the heavens over our heads, he sought to apply a means of protection and safety to the whole land, to save the country from events by which not only freemen,

but slaves themselves, would be involved in calamities more direful, in his view, even than slavery. In these measures, I must express my persuasion, he acted from a disinterested love to his whole country, and did that which he considered essential to the highest good, whatever the result may be. I would not exaggerate his influence in keeping us from disunion, but, the sun that went down on the day of his funeral left this nation, still, the United States of America, and did not veil himself from the sight of "broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious union ; States dissevered, discordant, belligerent ; a land rent with civil feuds and drenched in fraternal blood." * When our advocate for union uttered these words in the Senate of the United States, he did not know that God would make him, as we believe He has done, one of the principal instruments to fulfil, thus far, his own great wish, to answer his mighty prayer. May the benign influence of supreme love to God in Christ soon enable us to approach every subject of national difficulty with the spirit of peace and good will. And now, as we sail away together in our national bark from the sea-girt tomb of our pilot, O that we might all agree, North, South, East, and West, to throw into the waves, as a sacrifice, our unkind feelings, our bitter words, on the subject of American Slavery. Let the land have a Sabbath with regard to this subject, and let that Sabbath be the long, long days of our mourning for this great patriot, our country's friend.†

* Second Speech on Mr. Foot's Resolution, at the close.

† In confirmation of the conviction expressed in the foregoing paragraph, I will state the following anecdote : A clergyman, well known to my hearers,

II. WE CANNOT BUT NOTICE THE HAND OF GOD IN APPOINTING THIS DEATH JUST AT THE EVE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

After all, it is of very little consequence, in one point of view, who fill the thrones and seats of power in this world. The blessed and only Potentate has designs with regard to this nation, which we and the men of our choice will fulfil, in perfect ignorance, however, at the time, of the use which is made of us. The result of this next Presidential election will be hailed as the triumph of a party; but they who look upon it from the world of light, where every thing is judged of in connection with God's great plan in human affairs, will see in it a step toward some important purpose in the mind of God, with whom the tumult of the people, in their elections and political victories, is like the measured tramp of a host obeying the word of command in a well appointed evolution. The past forbids any thing but hope and confidence in God with regard to our coming history; but we are in the hands of One to whom a nation is an individual thing, to be preserved or broken, prospered or afflicted, in his merciful providence or righteous judgment. Foreign wars may await us; entanglement with the concerns of other nations, either to our own hurt, if not perdition, or, to spread

says, that having occasion not long since to meet Mr. Webster on some official business, the conversation turned upon the compromise measures, and Mr. Webster's connection with them. Mr. Webster said, "It seemed to me at the time, that the country demanded the sacrifice of a human victim, and I saw no reason why the victim should not be myself." The clergyman says that Mr. W.'s manner evinced such sincerity and deep patriotic disinterestedness, that he was moved to tears, which do not cease to start at every recollection of the interview.

the principles of political freedom, and thus advance the kingdom of Christ. Measures may be taken to give the Roman Catholic influence a greater predominance here, or to fortify our institutions against it. Industry and the useful arts, inventions and discoveries, may be greatly stimulated or palsied; good morals and religion may receive countenance; the righteous may flourish in the abundance of peace, or the wicked may walk on every side. There is no such thing as pause or rest in our destiny for years to come. For good or ill, we shall move round the orbit where the great Builder's hand has launched us, either avoiding, by the help of that same hand, those bodies which cross our track, or receiving damage. Whatever happens to us, our rulers, our parties, our individual votes will have produced it, instrumentally; and will fulfil the decrees of the great God. We cannot doubt that the removal of our distinguished fellow citizen, just at this time, will have an important influence, but we know not how, upon the event of the coming election. He who knows times and seasons, (and the number of our months is with Him,) has ordered this decease in such a manner that its powerful effect is felt in season to influence the feelings, and the opinions, and the votes of so many, as will, perhaps, decide our political destiny for another presidential term. We cannot fail to notice and to feel the power of this coincidence. This great man dies and goes to his long home. A Sabbath ensues, and the nation in her temples is weeping and praying over this great decease. The week days resume their round, and twenty-three millions of people choose their rulers, and change their national administration.

It is done in a day, but the end is with God. The hand of God is in this thing, preparing the way for such a result as He shall choose. It was through the agency of another Daniel, in former days, that a heathen king was compelled to utter these words, which may instruct us, and appropriately dwell upon our hearts and upon our lips: — “And at the end of the days, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the Most High, and I praised and honored him that liveth forever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation; and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing; and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?”

Suppose that Mr. Webster had received the nomination for the presidency by the late Baltimore Convention, as many of us desired and expected. What a day the coming second of November would have been to one of the great political parties throughout the land. What would they have done? What could they have done? Distracted with disappointment and sorrow, with no time for concerted action, their hearts would have melted, their knees would have smitten together, their faces would have gathered blackness. I speak to you who are members of that party, not as a politician, but as a believer in God's providence, and ask you to see the hand of God in your affairs. Could the Almighty have spoken to you with an audible voice at Baltimore, disclosing his purposes, He might have said to you

respecting this candidate: "Seeing his days are determined, the number of his months is with me, I have appointed his bounds that he cannot pass, turn from him that he may rest, till he shall accomplish as an hireling his day." When you or your representatives were at Baltimore, God was there, and there were many devices in men's hearts; "but the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand."

The great fault of our age is, low views of God. The Almighty has now reached down his hand; He is almost as impressively present with us as he was when he stood on the top of Nebo, and called Moses thither to die, and Israel saw the form of their leader disappear into that presence which no man can see and live. Is this great departure, one week preceding an election, an accident? "Verily there is a God that ruleth in the earth!" "Not a sparrow falleth to the ground without Him." This great man, in the time and manner of his fall, was, in the purposes of God, of more value than many sparrows. May the fear of this ever present God fall on you, and his excellency make you afraid.

III. THE LAST DAYS AND HOURS OF THIS DISTINGUISHED MAN ARE EMINENTLY INSTRUCTIVE.

Jesus Christ and his religion disdain no man's love and advocacy, while they are beholden to no man for his acceptance of them. We should not rest our confidence in the Bible upon the opinions and feelings of men; still, we are confirmed in our faith when wise and great men are of our opinion. Irreligion, sceptical opinions with regard to the Scriptures, transcendental views of Christ and the

Apostles, are rebuked by the testimony of this pre-eminent human intellect. Modern unbelief had, in its own conceit, fixed a great stone at the door where it had buried our Saviour and his religion. God has raised up a man of your own city and people, whose countenance is, to you, like lightning, and he has rolled away that stone and sat upon it. As defenders of the credibility of the christian faith, we feel that henceforth our labors with some of our fellow men are greatly lessened. Spiritual religion cannot, indeed, be attested by any who are not themselves spiritually enlightened by the Holy Spirit ; but the evidences of christianity can be appreciated by the human understanding, and have been maintained by the wisest and greatest of men in every age, whom, however, unbelievers regard only as professional writers, and employed advocates of religion. Now, God has raised up among us one to whose calling and to whose death-bed it did not belong, professionally, to assert the truth of the christian religion. He died in the firm belief that the Holy Scriptures are the word of God, and that there is salvation only through Jesus Christ.

It is creditable to the state of the public conscience on the subject of religion, that, during the two or three days when it was known that Mr. Webster must die, the great concern seemed to be, to know something with respect to his religious preparation for death. Every thing which was reported on this point was read and remarked upon with no common interest. All wished and prayed that this beloved man might die the death of the righteous, and his last end be like his. And there is a general gratification

in the community at the serious feelings and religious expressions which gave character to his last hours. It is, then, an established truth among us, never more fully received or durably impressed upon the minds of all than now, that religion alone can prepare a man to meet his God and his judge. In many companies of a confidential nature, you have no doubt heard the question considered with the deepest kindness and tenderness, May we not hope that Mr. Webster is a true Christian? His peculiar exposures to temptation, on the dangerous summit which he occupied before the country, and in the scenes of exciting interest through which, as a statesman and a politician, he was called to pass, and from the unmeasured admiration with which he was surrounded, must have required more than unaided mortal strength to pass through them without delinquency. How far he succeeded, or whether any of us, in his circumstances, would have needed more charity in the judgment of others concerning us, than he, it is not useful or suitable to inquire. Is there any thing in his writings, from first to last, that betrays a corrupt mind, a vicious imagination, or a disposition to trifle with serious things?

He was in the habit of praying with his family, in doing which, surely no worldly motive could play its part. Great interest has been expressed to know how he spent the hours of the Sabbath, as indicating whether he had that spiritual mind which loves the day, because it loves the God who made it, and the things which it is set to promote. We all know, without being told, that, like us, he was a sinner before God, and could not be saved for being

a great man, or an eloquent man, or a useful man; but, like Paul, must have been “found in Christ, not having his own righteousness, but the righteousness which is of God through faith.” The same essential truths were as appropriate at his dying bed as they will be at yours; it was needful for him, as for you, to repent and believe in Christ, “in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins;” and when his spirit stood before his God, he left behind him, as he left his mortal part, every thing which could constitute a claim upon the divine favor, and only for his heartfelt trust in the Saviour of the world, could he, with the rest of the sinful race, be justified and saved. The throng of great and just men made perfect who were moved at his coming, looked at him, not as some of them saw him on Plymouth Rock, and Bunker Hill, in the Senate chamber, and in the Court room, but, as a fallen son of Adam, who, by his sins, had, like other men, lost heaven; and the question there, and the only question, was, Has he accepted Jesus Christ as He was offered to him in the Gospel? The gate was no more strait, nor the way more narrow, for him, to enter into life, nor was it a jot or tittle easier, or in any respect otherwise, than it is for you. For there is salvation in Christ for all, and not “in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved.”

He loved the christian religion. He loved and cherished the christian ministry; and the clergy throughout the christian world are indebted to him for his feelings and expressions with regard to them. They, in their turn, have loved and revered him in

a measure not exceeded by their feelings toward any cotemporary.

We all know that death enshrines every one who, by any exercise of hope, we can believe is saved ; that great faults, and even known sins and bad habits, are regarded as atoned for by dying ; the piteous looks and tones on the death bed being inconsistent, in our minds, with any thing but compassion and mercy. There is always much false theology lurking in affectionate or complaisant sentiments at such a time as this, and we must be careful not to contradict established truths, and our avowal of them, when we are under the influence of popular enthusiasm. If we declare our belief that a soul is saved, justice and kindness to ourselves and others demand that we rest our belief on scriptural reasons. We must not be deceived, nor deceive others, with regard to the conditions of pardon and salvation. There is not one Gospel for the living, and another for the dying. The warnings and threatenings, the promises and consolations, which you read in the Bible and hear from the pulpit in your health and strength, are as true, they are the same, when you are dying, as ever. We say of our beloved friend that which you will say of each other, and of each of us, ministers of the Gospel : If he repented of his sins, and believed on the Saviour of the world, we, if we do the same, shall meet him in heaven. If you feel sure that he is safe, prepare to die with christian faith and hope ; if you still inquire for more information, containing evidence to satisfy you that he died a regenerated man, see that you yourself experience and do those things which you deem satisfactory evidence of acceptance with God.

What a subject death found, when it approached him. How hard a task to conquer his life. Such a vitalized death, we never knew. He speaks, in the very act of dissolution, and says, "I still live." Could the king of terrors have relented and trailed again his dart, this was the man for him to spare. Inexorable sentence! "passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Who can claim or expect exemption now? Our Presidents, our Senators, our Counsellors, our Judges, our Ministers of the Gospel, the chief Captains, and the Kings of the earth, who slew all these? If sin destroys the body, if it defiles every thing honorable and beautiful in the outward man by death, what must its ravages be in the soul, which is its proper seat!

And now he has "lain still, and is quiet, and sleeps, and is at rest, with kings and counsellors of the earth, which built desolate places for themselves." Who will be the President of the United States for the next four years, is a question whose interest with him has been absorbed, and, for the time, forgotten, in a question personal to himself, which has now been settled for eternity. He once made a public profession of his faith in Christ, before a christian Church in a New England village. That day and that transaction now seem more important to him, than this bauble,—the Presidential chair. Could he return, I cannot resist the conviction, he would think more of the Church of Christ, of its devotional privileges and opportunities, and the spread of the Gospel of Christ in the earth; as no doubt all in heaven would, could they enjoy the privilege, which we still have, of living and of serving Christ in a world like this.

One thing even he might find it hard to do ; and that is, to improve the moral tone, and the intellectual power and beauty, of his writings. He has left the world a rich legacy in his works, and if some one will add to them a volume of the eloquent and impressive words which his death has occasioned, and shall occasion, at the bar and in the assemblies of the nation, the measure of his ability to instruct the world will be full.

His death makes us all love one another. It makes it easy for these hard, cold hearts of ours, which the world rifles of their affections, it makes it easy for them to show feeling and not be ashamed. We love those who, by their touching emblems of sorrow in their windows and places of business, have helped our weeping. Our country, if our sins do not prevent, will be more one country than before ; our Presidents will strive to rule over the whole nation, and not serve a party ; our public men will remember that they must die, and live more like dying men. They called him, in the language of the great poet of nature, “the foremost man of all the world.” He was the rearmost of an age in our history, which nothing but hope and cheerful trust in God prevents us from calling our golden age. The men who have conducted the country hitherto on her high career, are now all gone. Young men, see before you the path to honorable distinction and usefulness, and to the gratitude of a great nation, at least at your decease, and to the attainment of a name which is more precious than rubies. Remember the testimony which this man has given you, that “the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.”

In the borrowed language of this great orator, in Fanueil Hall, just after the receipt of some disastrous tidings in an election, we say, as we now return from burying him in his house in Ramah, "All is not lost." Even he is not lost to us. His influence is ten-fold greater than ever. Who made this man, and gave him to this nation? Who is the Prince of the kings of the earth? HE lays his right hand upon our nation, and says, "Fear not, I am the first and the last; I am he that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore, and have the keys of hell and of death." This past week, in reading the works of this great man, and the beautiful and touching anecdotes of his early life, and the skilful and pathetic portraiture of his character, and seeing the tokens of the deepest universal sorrow which our land has felt for, at least, one generation, and in thinking of him now, in the house appointed for all living, I have felt the need of some man, some fellow man, whom I can love and not lose, as we have lost him. I "have found Him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth," "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." "And his name shall be called," — and never more appropriately than now, — "Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace." All that was great, beautiful, good, in this departed friend, was derived from Jesus Christ, by whom all things were created, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers. He Himself "is fairer than the children of men."

In the October sunlight of a declining day, not long since, I saw the trees of the wood, beautiful in the melancholy change of their leaves, which a rising

wind was showering to the ground. The rays of the sun fell upon a tall pine of fresh and brilliant green; and wondering at it for a moment, as out of season, I was reminded that the evergreens put forth fresh spires in autumn, when the leaves of other trees fall. As the evergreen never seems so beautiful and striking as when the other trees are stripped of their foliage, so when friends and great and useful men die, there is One, born for adversity, who makes even decay and desolation cheerful, in being, himself, the pledge of immortality, the Resurrection and the Life.

Fellow citizens, fellow sinners, fellow travellers to eternity, love "Immanuel, God with us," your Saviour and friend, with the love and zeal with which you regard your great earthly brother and friend, and your interests for eternity are safe. Open the New Testament, read any chapter in the life of Christ, and you will find far more to love and praise, than in all the words and deeds of men. When our fellow countrymen shall love and worship Christ, according to the injunctions of the second Psalm, and, in consequence, shall be consistent members of christian Churches, in such numbers as to create a public religious sentiment, then the country will be safe. Then we can discuss and settle political and moral questions without danger or serious difficulty. Supreme love to Jesus Christ is not a mere frame of mind for private devotion, an experience pertinent only to the secret life of a believer; it must pervade the public mind, it must influence the spirit and principles of the rulers and of the citizens. Let no one say, "This is too much to expect." For is not this the religion foretold by Prophets as destined to be universal? At the name of

Jesus is not every knee to bow, and every tongue to confess him to be Lord? Jesus Christ, upon whose head are many crowns, and at whose feet our Webster now sees that there is no crown, in earth or in heaven, that should not be laid, claims your supreme love. While you appreciate the excellence, and almost worship the memory, of one, who, after all, is only a nobler worm than you, remember that there is One who made you, and died for you, and will be your final Judge, who says, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me." This claim is either presumption, or, it implies infinite obligations on our part. This week has proved that men can love intensely. It has, in the same connection, witnessed an enforcement of those words; "Cease ye from man whose breath is in his nostrils, for wherewith is he to be accounted of?" The Saviour of the world claims your highest and best affections. We will not be ashamed of Him, nor of his words, in the midst of this generation. We shall one day see Him coming in his glory, and all his holy angels with Him; the small and great will be at his bar; He will "separate them one from another;" his awards will have reference to their feelings and conduct toward Him. Remember, then, his commandment, and his gracious words: "IF ANY MAN SERVE ME, LET HIM FOLLOW ME; AND WHERE I AM, THERE SHALL ALSO MY SERVANT BE; IF ANY MAN SERVE ME, HIM SHALL MY FATHER HONOR."

The Death of Mr. Webster:

A

S E R M O N

PREACHED IN

HOLLIS-STREET MEETING-HOUSE,

ON SUNDAY, OCT. 31, 1852.

BY THOMAS STARR KING,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.

Second Edition.

BOSTON:

BENJAMIN H. GREENE, 124, WASHINGTON STREET.

CHARLESTOWN: MCKIM & CUTTER,

62, MAIN STREET.

1852.

B O S T O N :
PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON AND SON,
No. 22, SCHOOL STREET.

S E R M O N.

DANIEL vi. 3 : — “ THEN THIS DANIEL WAS PREFERRED ABOVE THE PRESIDENTS AND PRINCES, BECAUSE AN EXCELLENT SPIRIT WAS IN HIM; AND THE KING THOUGHT TO SET HIM OVER THE WHOLE REALM.”

THERE is but one subject that can engage our thoughts in the church to-day. A great sorrow pervades the air. The solemn sense of irreparable loss weighs down the spirits of the American people. Out from the heart of the land has burst a grief, of which the official symbols—the dreary tones of the cannon, the mourning drapery, the lowered flags, the public resolutions—are, for once, the honest and feeble signs. The whole feeling of the nation, like a conscious weeping willow, arches its vast respect, and droops its sensitive foliage over one new-made grave.

The words I have selected from the Old Testament are perfectly applicable as an expression of the greatness which has recently been stricken from the living forces of our country. He was preferred above all presidents and princes. The highest office would have been nothing but the proper pedestal, to set the proportions of his greatness in their appropriate position and relief. The largest honors would have been only the natural drapery of his broad shoulders. If all the great men of this generation could have been collected from all nations, it is probable that no one would

have been found to deserve the pre-eminent place for massiveness and majesty of mind, and to stand forth, by honorable election, as "the foremost man of all this world," so much as he whose mortal life has recently been quenched.

But, however this may be, it cannot be questioned that the crown of our national genius has been snatched away by death. By common consent of the most eminent in our land,—the orators, the lawyers, the statesmen,—he was their leader, whose supremacy they cheerfully allowed. His brow was, for more than a generation, a prominent part of our natural scenery. His was the great granite face, like that on the Franconia Mountain in New Hampshire, standing out from the solid ridges of our New England intellect and character, and overlooking the land. Him and the great cataract of the lakes, we boasted of to other states as the chief glories of our country. It would have been grand, if, in the fulness of his vigor, and before any controversies of his political honor arose, he could have stood in the most eminent place of our country,—the magnificent entablature, dignifying and completing the various columns of its genius. He did not have this proper setting for his powers; but he did stand highest by his native sublimity. In the regard of those whose opinion is lasting fame, in the respect of foreign eyes, he stood, as he will stand in history, preferred, for mental greatness, above all the presidents and princes that were more distinguished by office.

"Pygmies are pygmies still, though perched on Alps;
And pyramids are pyramids in vales."

How can it be otherwise than that the sudden disappearance of this colossal greatness from the moral landscape of the world should shock all hearts with emotions that affect the lowest strata of our sensibility! If the tidings had been borne to us that some of the permanent

wonders of nature had been obliterated, that an earthquake had shaken down the great range of the Himalayas, or ingulfed the majesty of Mont Blanc in its black bosom, or had levelled the rock over which Niagara has roared for ages, our minds could not have been so startled with a feeling of the mysterious power that envelopes us, as now that we learn —

“ This mighty spirit is eclipsed; this power
Hath passed from day to darkness; to whose hour
Of light no likeness is bequeathed, no name, —
Focus at once of all the rays of fame ! ”

What visitation of Providence can thrill the citizens of our country, especially of New England, with more solemn thoughts than to know that the majestic presence — “ how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god!” — is never more to be seen of men; that the greatest nature our land has reared since Washington was born is never more to guide our councils and ennoble our Capitol; that the book of his activity is sealed; and that he is now to be a treasure of memory, a silent grandeur, in the quiet halls of history, — a force and an ornament belonging to the past?

This is not the place, of course, for any eulogy, or even an analysis of the powers, of the departed statesman. That which would be extravagance if said of most great men is the simple statement of his intellectual power. And yet, in speaking of his genius, we should be careful not to weaken our eulogium by doing injustice to the breadth of the field of genius. There are kinds of greatness of which his mental constitution did not largely partake. To the rank of explorers and discoverers, — men who anticipate history and hasten destiny, and who stand far ahead of the vanguard of humanity, holding up the flame of a new truth, which their intellectual fire had kindled, that flashes

light into the unexplored pathway of the future,—he did not belong. He was made to be an institutionalist, rather than a prophet. His mission was to comprehend, purify, conserve, and strengthen the good structures which society has already gained, to widen and confirm their possible blessings for the race, rather than to meditate a new order, even though it might be a higher one, which could be reached only by disruption of established ties, and through the turmoil of revolution. The natural attitude of his mind was reverence for the beneficent truth and institutions which the past bequeathed. He was the profound interpreter of the practical wisdom embodied in political systems, and the potent defender of it against the misapprehension of ignorance, the perversion of party interests, and the hand of heedless innovation. He estimated the positive social good which rooted institutions disburse, even though many evils were incidental to them, of really more account than the ghastly theories of perfect good, which beckon away so many flighty and adventurous intellects from the solid road of slow and steady progress.

He had the combination of powers, temper, and discipline, that make a safe and successful administrative statesman; and his intellect was just the ally which our system of government most needed, at the time when he entered public life, to set forth its wisdom, to unfold the beautiful symmetry of its structure and powers, and to hold it up to the admiration and gratitude of the country, that the affections of the people might fasten upon it, like the tendrils of the ivy upon the solid castle-wall.

The whole structure of our Constitution; the grandeur and marvel of its combinations, as relieved against the miserable patchwork of the old confederation; its originality among the political edifices of history; the skill with which its forces are balanced, and the ease of their working,—were comprehended in his intellect as the mind of a me-

chanic comprehends the idea of a machine which his genius has invented. He was the epic poet of the Convention of 1787. His sympathies were less with the Revolution than with the builders and the erection of our present national polity. Our whole governmental America; the bands that connect the State forces with the vivifying power of the central administration; the complex harmony of judiciary and executive, military and legislative powers; the ligaments that could sustain the greatest strain, and the delicate tendons where it needed the most tender handling and the most permanent safeguards; the safe vents supplied in it for popular passion, and the cylinders that must constantly condense the force of unrelenting law,—all played in his brain as a vital and complicated conception, whose magnificence he revered, and whose beauty was the constant inspiration of his heart. The work of the great Convention that framed our government seems nobler as reflected in his capacious understanding, and as its ideal rods and beams and valves worked without friction in the bright medium of his imagination, than it probably seemed to the hot intellects of those who had just completed their task, and left it outlined on immortal parchment.

The idea of the Union, which to many minds is an abstraction, and too often is the customary expletive of a demagogue's vile morality and feeble thought, was with him the vivid and adequate symbol of the greatness and the privileges, the power and the peace, of the republic. It seemed as though his eye always took in the moral and civil scenery of the country,—its thousands of happy homes, its schools and churches, its factories and workshops, the vast fleets of its commerce, and the widening line of civilization, before which the wilderness was falling; and then, when he spoke, made the word *Union* embody all the gladness and grandeur which so much prosperity and plenty, so much order and happiness, awakened in his breast.

For this reason it was, we must believe, that he called on his countrymen to cherish the sentiments that should make that word sacred. For this reason he used continually the awful imagery of the breaking up of constellations, and of anarchy in the firmament, to state the terrors and the woes that would attend an explosion of the forces that bind our States together. His intellect appreciated the wisdom of their combination, and felt, too, the delicacy of their poise. Not that he was indifferent to the evils which are covered and partially maintained by our great national bond; but he would not look at the evils exclusively or minutely. He saw an immense overbalance of good,—benefits more various, more substantial, and more precious, than any polity on earth had ever secured to men. These the word Union represented; these, to his mind, the blotting of that word annihilated, and in their place introduced discord, contention, and bloody strife.

Add to this, that the great future of America (if explosive passions could only be kept down) charmed his imagination. He comprehended what the country would be, centuries hence. In swelling speech he bade future generations hail; and there were times when he seemed to see the upturned faces of the Saxon millions yet to come, beseeching him, by their looks and by their prayers, to pledge all the resources of his intellect and his influence to preserve the unity and peace of a nation, upon which their fortunes and their happiness were cast. It may be a sign of the secondary grade of his genius, that the idea of right, in its abstract holiness and majesty, did not burn constantly before him. But no abstract principle or sentiment withdrew him from a careful measure of the good which an actual system would secure to men in the long run. He was not led away by any enthusiasm for liberty as an unbodied idea, but rejoiced in the liberties which the Constitution steadily secured to a continent; and, no doubt, felt

that the law of right commanded him to defend and perpetuate that charter, in the hope that the evils it sheltered would die out in time, while its good would widen and be everlasting.

The prophetic men, who stand above all systems in immediate communion with eternal truth and justice, command the deepest gratitude and worship of after-times. But God has a use for these Herculean heroes of society. And among the crowds of legislators who have no larger vision than sectional and partisan passions disclose, and the swarms of politicians that act only with reference to self, let us gratefully confess the eminence of this man, on whose brain were stamped the features of an empire, whose imagination personified a government, and who felt that he spoke and voted for the interests of millions and the hopes of posterity.

Mr. Webster was a statesman. His greatness did not consist in a capacity of concentrating and leading the passions of large bodies of people. Clay and Chatham were eminent for this power. But he was a philosophical statesman. He had a clear and vigorous comprehension of truth in the domain of public affairs. When he succeeded, it was by the force of his statement in the senate or the cabinet; and his power over the people resulted from the majesty with which he robed the truth, by his argument and utterance, and by the dominion which he made it exercise over their reason and heart. His ample mind was a spiritual state-house or capitol, rich with the annals of constitutional history, filled with the stately lore of national and civil law, studded with apartments that were crowded with records of diplomatic wisdom, freighted with the principles and statistics of public economy. His eye was constructed to see the truth and proprieties of national relations. He knew the coasts, the shoals, and the soundings of the ocean of national experience; and his arm had the vigor to grasp

and guide the helm of a state. His eloquence, too, had the serious and self-assured strength that made it competent to the utterance of a nation's thought and purpose. It was fit in language and manner for a congress of kings. Even in his simplest passages, the power of a great personality was manifest. His common sense was ponderous and sublime, by the momentum which his arm gave it, and the dignity which his diction imparted to it. Within the limits of his genius, his powers were unsounded. No triumph that he ever won seemed to require the whole of his resources, or to drain the hiding-places of his strength. The movement of his mind was like the sluggish might of the sea. His genius has thrown up into literature the most brilliant spray of rhetoric and imagination; but its natural manifestation was the majestic ground-swell of a resistless, undeveloped, unfathomable power.

Other elements and indications of his wonderful greatness would arrest our notice in any thing like a full treatment of the theme,—the truthfulness of nature and sincerity of spirit which hindered even his reason from being a powerful advocate in a bad cause; the dignity of his speech and bearing in all public scenes, and the strenuous influence of his example against the vulgar degradations of congressional debate; the strong moral and religious reverence that pervaded his public words; the fast fidelity to his friends; and the tenderness which made the majesty of his presence sweet and cheering in his home. But we cannot critically measure the outline and bulk of his nature, standing so near his new-made grave. In what I have thus far said, I have kept you too long from the grateful and practical religious lessons that are unveiled by such a life and such a death.

The great Teacher has said, "He that is greatest among you, let him be your servant." We are called on now devoutly to recognize the beneficent ordering of Providence,

that makes all true wisdom and greatness generous, and compels it to be a public advantage. Selfishness is in the heart of the world; but the best portion of the power of pre-eminent genius is saved, by a law of Providence, from the control of selfishness, even if that temper is in the heart of the possessor. The thoughts of a large reason, the creations of a rich imagination, the heroic activity of a great patriotism, are for the people, for mankind, for all time. What gratitude is due from us to Heaven that it is so! A mind like Bacon's burns with the passion for truth, and braces up its brain to the strenuous search and careful demonstration of new principles that rule the domain of science. But he cannot keep those principles for his exclusive use. He cannot put a price upon them, and say, "I will sell them only to the rich, only to feed my purse and my pride." The moment he proves and utters them in his intellectual joy, the air bears them on its wings, and makes them universal. It turns out that the toils and victories of that intellect in its library were for the benefit of humbler men, for the advancement of knowledge and the improvement of civilization. In his desire to satisfy the thirst of his own intellect, Bacon harnessed himself to the whole fabric of society, and strained his sinews to start the world on the path of progress. The greatest of all, he was the servant of all.

So, too, Shakespeare cannot patent his creations, and say, "Those only shall enjoy the fruits of my genius who will pay my price for the great luxury." The all-merciful God will not suffer that, but admits the poor to enjoy them, and scatters the leaves that bear them into almost every home. Newton does not think of the sailor, or the interests of navigation, when he toils till he lifts the moon by the muscles of his logic and weighs it, and proves on what pillars of law the sky-roof is upheld; but he is the intellectual attorney of future ages and the human race, in all

those wearisome labors to unlock the hieroglyphic cipher of celestial law; and the pay he gets is gratitude, and a name printed in star-type on the firmament. The patriot, when he resolves to resist oppression, and peril his life rather than bear the finger-weight of tyranny upon his soul, lifts up the heavy mesh that holds a people in its toils, in his struggles to free himself, and so becomes the saviour of a land.

Every magnificent brain scatters light like the sun. The ample intellect that has just been withdrawn from us, illustrated, in its way, the beneficence of God. The nation is bereaved; the people mourn; for the nation has lost a great servant, the people a majestic friend. God gave him a glorious mind, fit to do national service; and it is compelled to do that service. Whatever interests or desires might draw him towards a strictly professional or private life, he cannot stay there. He rises, by the natural upsoaring of his powers, to the Capitol. The whole land has the benefit of his private discipline, his thought, his speech. Countless farms, workshops, counting-rooms, and homes, that have the deepest interest in peace, have the benefit of his insight, his knowledge of public law, and his cool, just temper, to save them and civilization from the detriment of war with our mother-land. The Greeks, struggling for liberty, catch the inspiration of his eloquence, which strengthens the public opinion of the world in their behalf. His fellows, that need justice, have the aid of his understanding and his lips in the solemn precincts of the temple of law. The whole North has the advantage of his mature powers to silence the malice and the taunts of Southern envy. Public order, that has been shocked by a barbarous midnight murder, has the aid of his arm to tear the accomplices of an assassin from the subtle technicalities that seem to hide them from the reach of justice, and drag them to their doom. And the moral sense of humanity possesses his

frame, and breaks out through his lips, to impeach the Czar for his cruelty to Hungary, and arraign him for trial at the bar of the civilized world.

His work is a public one. With a hero's strength he must do the hero's labor. The ambition which he felt, the desire to stand eminent in the world's history that was in his heart, the noble emulation that stirred him, were the intellectual thongs and traces by which Providence kept him fastened to the great public burdens which it required his strength to draw.

There is nothing in public life to attract the eyes and the heart of one that would taste the purest and constant pleasures of life. How much did the great statesman enjoy of that privacy, those relaxations, the satisfactions of those agricultural pursuits, the affections and repose of home, which most attracted his heart? How slight the opportunities granted to him to retreat from the national arena, and taste the happiness of life!

"He who ascends to mountain-tops shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapped in clouds and snow;
He who surpasses or subdues mankind
Must look down on the hate of those below.
Though high *above* the sun of glory glow,
And far *beneath* the earth and ocean spread,
Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
Contending tempests on his naked head,
And thus reward the toils which to those summits led."

The tax is so severe upon political greatness that no man would pay it,—the world would be deprived of the benefit of such greatness, if the Almighty had not provided that it cannot escape the toils by which its service may accrue to the human race. On the score of pleasure, the powerful servant of the country, whom we mourn, would not have looked a moment upon all the pecuniary recompense he gained for his devotion to public life; but fortunately there were providential motives constantly weighing down the

yearnings of the heart, and keeping him pledged to the service of society.

And then think of the detractions and slanders, the open defamation and insult, which public character must bear from partisan hostility and malice. What but the order of God, demanding great service from great talents, could keep a man in public life against this terrible warning,—the certainty of the shower of arrows, many of them poisoned arrows, against which he must stand?

“The secret enemy, whose sleepless eye
 Stands sentinel, accuser, judge, and spy;
 The foe, the fool, the jealous, and the vain;
 The envious, who but breathe in other’s pain;
 Behold the host ! delighting to deprave,
 Who track the steps of Glory to the grave,
 Watch every fault that daring Genius owes
 Half to the ardor which its birth bestows,
 Distort the truth, accumulate the lie,
 And pile the Pyramid of Calumny ! ”

With what fearful accuracy does this describe what the eminent man we deplore was compelled to endure! The foulest ink has been cast at him in his latter years. And so much of it by reformers too,—men that stood forth as the patrons of virtue, humanity, and the sacred law of God! We all know the chief and the sad occasion for most of these attacks. We know how many good men were forced to withdraw their sympathies from the great statesman by his speech and course towards the close of his senatorial career. But is the warfare of a pirate upon a prominent man’s motives the natural expression of virtuous dissent? Is it essential that a reformer in opposition shall be the assassin of character? Is it necessary that all dignity of temper and charity of criticism shall die out of the nature that holds an advance-idea, and that the cause of humanity must be defended in the disposition of a fiend? We are gathered in a church dedicated to God; and his law is

supreme over the highest genius, as over the humblest man. Let us not hesitate to say, that, if at the time I allude to, the great man, now gone, did bow his magnificent brain unworthily to the Slave-power, which he had always opposed, from the dictate of a personal ambition, forgetting the awful trusts of genius and the service it owes to humanity, he fell ; and his intellectual greatness only darkens his degradation. But who has demonstrated this hypothesis ? Who has looked into that large heart, and found such black treason there ? What if he did feel *all* the trusts of senatorial office and intellectual power ; if he felt that the preservation of his country from the imminent danger of disruption was the comprehensive duty of a statesman, and the best permanent legacy to all races in our borders ? I prefer to believe this theory. It accords with the principles that always governed him. Then his action was conscientious and heroic ; and although it may fail to commend itself to the conscience and wisdom of many, although they find it impossible as Christians to obey the statute which he defended, let them remember, in justice to him, that he was placed in the Capitol to act, not from their light, but from his own. Let the passions of politics be silent, let the heats of hatred cool, at his grave. He went with religious calmness to meet Him who judges with blended charity and justice. And as we bow before the mystery of the vast Providence, let us unite in adoration of his ordinance, that the most gifted of his creatures shall be the servants of all.

The allusion just made to the religious majesty and calmness of Mr. Webster's death, suggests the second point which the contemplation of his career should impress upon us, — the strength and support which religion derives from the convictions and loyalty of such an intellect. I put out of the question here every thing that concerns loyalty of life and religiousness of character. It is not our province

to search for and put together the proofs or the disproofs of that. But it cannot be denied that we have buried a great man, whose heart was alive with religious feeling, and whose mind was reverent in its recognition of religious truth. If proof is needed to establish the chief ideas of religion,—the existence of God, the supremacy of moral principles, and a future life,—we may turn for it with equal confidence to the mystic intimations of nature, or to the faith and the convictions which the greatest men of the world have cherished and expressed. The pre-eminent men of the world have not been atheists or doubters, but reverent believers and worshippers. Where, O atheist! where, O scoffer! will you point us to the large-limbed nature, the encyclopedic soul, that dignifies your miserable creed? Some slender, cold-hearted, third-rate, or perhaps second-rate man, here and there in history, has babbled some skeptical folly, or darkened his name by the shadow of atheistic thought; but, when we look up to the first rank of genius,—to Socrates and Plato and Pythagoras, to Paul and Luther, to Bacon and Leibnitz and Newton,—we find they are men who bow before the infinite sanctities which their souls discern.

You have heard of the great reflecting telescope, built by a nobleman of Great Britain, whose tube, by the aid of ponderous machinery, is pointed towards the night-sky. What if it threw doubt upon the reports which our eyesight and ordinary glasses make concerning the glories of the sky? What if it scattered the stars into mist, made Sirius nothing but a huge heap of fog, and banished all our associations of grandeur and glorious law that have been connected with the heavens? But it confirms all the visions of the ordinary instruments that search the upper space; and, besides that, it breaks up the misty light of the *nebulæ* into sand-heaps of suns, and reports firmaments, far in the depths above us, which other lenses cannot reach.

Thus the greatest souls of the race confirm the views and faith of ordinary minds ; reflect more of the glories of God ; disclose, by their more searching vision, fresh galaxies of mystery ; and make our thoughts of the Providence that embraces us, and comprehends all things, more reverent and profound.

What a shock it would give the world's order, if such minds as Mr. Webster's saw no proofs of the divine existence, felt the strain of no law of duty, thrilled with no emotions of worship, but found the thoughts of their own genius sufficient company for their loneliness ; lifting their proud and flinty summits above the superstitions that shade the valleys of human nature, into a bleak, atheistic air ! It is not so. Religion is commended with the more earnestness to men by their consciousness of its truth. There was a fitting commentary on the glorious eighth Psalm of David, when our statesman stood under the elm, at night, on his estate in Marshfield, and, lifting his solemn eyes to the light that blazed on the firmament, said, " When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and stars which thou hast ordained, Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him ? " That is the soul's astronomy. Oversweeping the skeptical chatter of irreverent mathematicians, there was an echo of the truth that sprang, ages ago, out of a great Hebrew heart. Jura answered to the voice of the Alps.

We do not mean to say, or to hint, that a taste for the literature and elegance of the Scriptures is a saving grace of character ; but we have a right to rejoice in all the unprofessional veneration which is offered to the sacred writings. It is well for the world to have eminent witnesses, that it is not an interested and a clerical taste alone that bows to the sublimity of the great book. Is it not proof of the majesty of Job and Isaiah and Habbakuk, that they

were the chosen teachers of such a mind ; that he retreated from care and sorrow into their society, and was strengthened and softened by their lofty and mystic speech ? It is sufficient testimony to the greatness of these biblical geniuses, that the largest natures seek inspiration from them : it is equal proof of the loftiness of an intellect, that it rises into near acquaintance with these eminent souls. What if a great man does not always live in harmony with the truth he venerates ? What if the stern characters he invites to his library sometimes rebuke him with their prophetic austerity, and the truths spoken from the sacred mount, to which he lifts adoring eyes, flash warning upon his infidelity ? Is not this a still more impressive revelation of their supremacy ? and does not the great man's reverence, which their occasional denunciation does not impair, point to their royalty over conscience, which we should hasten practically to confess ?

We have a right, therefore, to ask, Is the Bible, which such men as Mr. Webster and President Adams revered and made a constant study, a shallow book ? Is the Christian faith which such men as they adored as the supreme truth, and the only regenerative power of the world, a secondary matter ? Are the religious relations of the soul, which such men affirmed were of first importance, and which no levity of their speech, at least, ever slighted, matters which we may safely disregard ? The answer we shall be forced to give these questions makes the most solemn truth practical, and sheds a searching ray into our hearts. The supreme benefaction to humanity of such an intellect as we have lost is the testimony it bears to the reality and the necessity of religion. Now that he is gone, in the momentary gloom of his departure, I know not but these words stand out the most luminous of all the great words he uttered,—these words so simple but sublime : “Religion is necessary and indispensable in any great human

character. There is no living without it. Religion is the tie which connects man with his Creator, and holds him to his throne. If that tie be all sundered, all broken, he floats away, a worthless atom in the universe ; its proper attractions all gone, its destiny thwarted, and its whole future nothing but darkness, desolation, and death. A man with no sense of religious duty is he whom the Scriptures describe in such terse, but terrific language as living ‘without God in the world.’ Such a man is out of his proper being, out of the circle of all his duties, out of the circle of all his happiness, and away, far, far away, from the purposes of his creation.”

It is worthy of remark in this connection, that so comprehensive and reverent a student of the Scriptures as Mr. Webster was not the partisan of any intricate and narrow theological theories. The broad, plain, primary truths of religion were sufficient for his reverence and his conscience. I have heard it said that he disliked the word “Christianity,” and preferred the simple phrase, “the religion of Jesus.” The spirit of penitence, faith, and love, and a reverential gratitude for the mission of Christ as the channel of redeeming truth and life to the world,—these were the outlines of his theology ; these were the definitions of Christian character which satisfied his mind. The report which a friend has made of his last hours assures the world, that there was nothing in his utterances of faith and hope “of a technical character. No expression escaped him which would mark him as of this or that theology, or of any church save the universal church of Christ.” Thus his life and death give us an original illustration of the difference between theology and religion. What the smallest satellite of our system needs is the controlling force of the sun, and its bounteous heat and light ; and the majestic Jupiter, as he ploughs his grand orbit, needs no more. Whatever system of astronomy be true, the regal planet requires nothing

more than the check and the charity of the central orb, and the smallest asteroid receives no less. So the feeblest and the mightiest minds require alike the central and simple forces of religion, and find their strength, not in artful theologies, but in the common and generous light and influence from God that fall equally upon all.

And without the solemn light of religion around it, and the great background of religious truth to relieve it, how utterly must the last hours of Mr. Webster have lost the majesty which was upon them! If he had died simply a worn-out and disappointed man, looking with sadness at the blighted hopes of the earth, and lifting no thought to scenes beyond, how sad the last days would have seemed, — the wreck of a noble and weather-stained bark upon the rocks of death! But now, what a grandeur in the close of his career! The deepening feeling that he was floating out beyond the reckonings of earth and the outline of human charts; the calm fulfilment of every duty, and the reining up of every faculty to obey the mastery of the will; the solemn tones of prayer, laden with the riches of his language, and humble with penitence; the majestic and tender farewell to family and friends; and then, after the broken ejaculations of the psalm for the divine rod and staff, the silent close! — not a wreck on the desolate coasts of mortality, but the fading of a noble ship into the mists that curtain the horizon, its sails all set, bearing one great and serene form beyond our gaze into the everlasting light! The spirit of such grandeur there should be in every death. Are we prepared thus to gather our robes about us; thus to look up to Heaven for help; thus to express our confidence in the truth of the Bible, and the divine mission of Christ; thus to feel the support of the rod and the staff which the feeblest need, and which does not bend under the weight of the mightiest arm?

I must ask you to bear with me while I refer to one more

impressive lesson of such a life and death: I mean the solemn truth of immortality. When the news of such a loss breaks upon society, the first feeling is that of the mystery of death itself. It is as though we had never before realized it. And then it opens anew the problem of eternal life. It seems as if the departure of such a spirit must break the monotonous silence,— must open for the moment some rift in the cloud, and let in a beam from the all-surrounding day. We ought to reflect upon this death in regard to that question of immortality. If such a faith is not a fixed habit of our mind, we ought to pause, and set the vastness of his powers in our thought, and seriously ask the question, “What has become of them? whither are they gone?” This life cannot be what it ought to be,— man cannot be what he ought to be,— duty cannot be as sacred as it should be, unless we have convictions, settled as those which Christ had and which he would inspire, of the everlasting duration of our souls. And now is the time for us to think on that point. God calls on us to meditate. When he removes from the earth such men as Washington and Webster, his providence puts the question to every unsettled mind, “Do you believe that they are annihilated, swallowed up by the dark?” There is not a particle less to-day of the substance that made up the noble frame of Washington, than there was when he dignified the capital. Ages hence, the matter that clothed his spirit will still exist, unwasted by a grain. And does the mind, the virtue, the character, die, while not a hair of his bodily substance is suffered to slip out of the treasury of matter? Of that great brow, which was laid recently in the sepulchre, not a particle will ever drop from the grasp of physical law. It may moulder, but it cannot be destroyed. And do you believe that the reason, of which it was the fortress, and from which it played the lightnings of argument and eloquence, will be less permanent? Does

God think more of such a brain than of the understanding that made its arch sublime? Was that soul an ephemeral thing of threescore years and ten, while the body is beyond the possibility of destruction? It must be a darkened mind that can believe that,—a mind not quickened with a proper sense of God. Death is visibly defeated, to the eye of every reflective mind, when it drags into its darkness such a nature as that. The prey is too great. His hunger is not suffered to appease itself, even on the matter which the spirit inhabited; and we know that the soul cannot slip into his jaws. Over the mystery of that tomb near which the ocean moans, we may hear the chant of nature, according with that of revelation,—“O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory?”

This is no mere speculative question, but the most practical of all questions. For, if we answer the question of immortality aright for this man, we answer it for all men. If we feel that it is proved by his genius, then we lift the whole race, with which he was kindred, into the light and the responsibilities of an infinite existence. Then human life is not a mean thing, not a trivial thing, but a solemn grant, a moral trust. Then we are all living with the eye of God upon us, and an eternal future before us, the conditions of whose fortunes our own habits are deciding now; and it behooves each of us to ask ourselves before the tomb that has just opened, “In what spirit am I working? Is it one I am willing to carry into the light of eternity, and submit to the scrutiny of God?”

A friend said, when the news of the great death reached us, that it seemed to him as though such a brain should have had two bodies to wear out. I believe that the limits of its earthly frame were not the limits of its existence. I should believe, on evidence independent of revelation, that there are mysteries in the universe for such a mind to revere eternally; great studies to engage its interest; profounder

laws than were opened here for it to grasp ; divine splendors to kindle deeper faculties than were here developed. If there were heroic virtues which were not appreciated or rewarded fully in his mortal career, I believe that he is gone into a state where the recompense is not affected by human injustice. If there were great errors and violation of trusts committed here, I believe that he has gone into the dominion of a justice that executes searching and righteous judgment on every soul, in view of the spirit's final welfare. And so, let us lift our thoughts from that grave to God and eternity. Let us be grateful to the Providence that sends great genius to us, and bids it work in our service ; that reveals truths to us which the mightiest minds adore with the humility of children ; and that intimates, through the death of such, the great destiny and privilege of every soul. In the light of that Providence and that eternity, let us pray that we may be faithful ; let us resolve to redeem our time.

A
S E R M O N
OF THE
PUBLIC FUNCTION OF WOMAN,

PREACHED AT THE MUSIC HALL, MARCH 27, 1853.

BY
THEODORE PARKER,
MINISTER OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY.

PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON AND RUFUS LEIGHTON.

B O S T O N :
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, 21 CORNHILL.
1 8 5 3 .

J. B. YERRINTON & SON,
PRINTERS,
21 CORNHILL, BOSTON.

P R E F A C E .

THE following Sermon is part of a long course of Sermons on the Spiritual Development of the Human Race. One Chapter in that series treated of WOMAN, and consisted of four Sermons :

I. Of the historical Formation of the popular Idea of Woman, and of her consequent Position in the world past and present ;

II. Of the peculiar Characteristics and the true Idea of Woman ;

III. Of the Ideal Domestic Function of Woman ;

IV. Of the Ideal Public Function of Woman.

These four make a whole by themselves, which I would gladly print, had I not already other matters in hand which demand more immediate attention. But I have been repeatedly asked to print the fourth of the series ; and in such a manner that I cannot reasonably refuse. The two accomplished reporters, named on the title page, have furnished me with their manuscript ; and, with a few additions, of things omitted for want of time at the delivery, I send it forth to the larger public.

THEODORE PARKER.

BOSTON, APRIL 4, 1853.

S E R M O N .

PSALM CXLIV : 12. — “THAT OUR DAUGHTERS MAY BE AS CORNER-STONES.”

LAST Sunday, I spoke of the Domestic Function of Woman — what she may do for the higher development of the human race at home. To-day, I ask your attention to a sermon of the Ideal Public Function of Woman, and the Economy thereof, in the higher development of the Human Race.

The domestic function of woman, as a housekeeper, wife and mother, does not exhaust her powers. Woman's function, like charity, begins at home ; then, like charity, goes every where. To make one half of the human race consume all their energies in the functions of housekeeper, wife and mother, is a monstrous waste of the most precious material that God ever made.

I. In the present constitution of society, there are some unmarried women, to whom the domestic function is little, or is nothing ; women who are not mothers, not wives, not housekeepers. I mean, those who are permanently unmarried. It is a great defect in the Christian civilization, that so many women and men are never married. There may be three women in a thousand to whom marriage would be disagreeable, under any possible circumstances ; perhaps thirty more to whom it would be disagreeable, under the actual circumstances—in the present condition of the family and the community. But there is a large number of women who continue unmarried for no reason in their nature, from no conscious dislike of the present domestic and social condition of mankind, and from no disinclination to marriage under existing circumstances. This is a deplorable evil—alike a misfortune to man and to woman. The Catholic Church has elevated celibacy to the rank of a theological virtue, consecrating an unnatural evil : on a small scale, the results thereof are writ in the obscene faces of many a priest, false to his human nature, while faithful to his priestly vow ; and on a large scale, in the vice, the infamy and degradation of woman in almost all Catholic lands.

The classic civilization of Greece and Rome had the same vice with the Christian civilization. Other forms of religion have sought to get rid of this evil by polygamy; and thereby they degraded woman still further. The Mormons are repeating the same experiment, based, not on philanthropy, but on tyranny, and are still further debasing woman under their feet. In Classic and in Christian civilization alone has there been a large class of women permanently unmarried—not united or even subordinated to man in the normal marriage of one to one, or in the abnormal conjunction of one to many. This class of unmarried women is increasing in all Christian countries, especially in those that are old and rich.

Practically speaking, to this class of women the domestic function is very little; to some of them, it is nothing at all. I do not think that this condition is to last,—marriage is writ in the soul of man, as in his body,—but it indicates a transition, it is a step forward. Womankind is advancing from that period when every woman was a slave, and marriage of some sort was guarantied to every woman, because she was dependent on man,—I say, woman is advancing from that, to a state of independence, where woman shall not be subordinated to man, but the two coördinated together. The evil that I deplore is transient in its nature, and God grant it may soon pass away!

II. That is not all. For the housekeeper, the wife and the mother, the domestic is not the only function—it is not function enough for the woman, for the human-being, more than it would be function enough for the father, for the man. After women have done all which pertains to housekeeping as a trade, to housekeeping as one of the fine arts, in their relation as wife and mother,—after they have done all for the order of the house, for the order of the husband, and the order of the children, they have still energies to spare—a reserved power for yet other work.

There are three classes of women:

First, domestic Drudges, who are wholly taken up in the material details of their housekeeping, husband-keeping, child-keeping. Their housekeeping is a trade, and no more; and after they have done that, there is no more which they can do. In New England, it is a small class, getting less every year.

Next, there are domestic Dolls, wholly taken up with the vain show which delights the eye and the ear. They are ornaments of the estate. Similar toys, I suppose, will one day be more cheaply manufactured at Paris and Nürnberg, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and other toy shops of Europe, out of wax and papier maché, and sold in Boston at the haberdasher's, by the dozen. These ask nothing beyond their function as dolls, and hate all attempts to elevate womankind.

But there are domestic Women, who order a house and are not mere drudges, adorn it, and are not mere dolls, but Women. Some of these—a great many of them—conjoin the useful of the drudge and the beautiful of

the doll into one Womanhood, and have a great deal left besides. They are not wholly taken up with their function as housekeeper, wife and mother.

In the progress of mankind, and the application of masculine science to what was once only feminine work,—whereby so much time is saved from the wheel and the loom, the oven and the spit,—with the consequent increase of riches, the saving of time, and the intellectual education which comes in consequence thereof, this class of women is continually enlarging. With us in New England, in all the North, it is a very large class.

Well, what shall these domestic women do with their spare energies and superfluous power? Once, a malicious proverb said—"The shoemaker must not go beyond his last." Every shoemaker looks on that proverb with appropriate contempt. He is a shoemaker; but he was a man first, a shoemaker next. Shoemaking is an accident of his manhood, not manhood an accident of his shoemaking. You know what haughty scorn the writer of the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus pours out on every farmer, "who glorieth in the goad"—every carpenter and blacksmith, every jeweller and potter. They shall not be sought for, says this aristocrat, in the public councils; they shall not sit high in the congregation; they shall not sit in the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment; they cannot declare justice. Aristotle and Cicero thought no better of the merchants; they were only busy in trading. Miserable people! quoth these great men, what have they to do with affairs of state—merchants, mechanics, farmers? It is only for kings, nobles, and famous rich men, who do no business, but keep slaves! Still, a great many men at this day have just the same esteem for women that those haughty persons of whom I have spoken had for mechanics and for merchants. A great many sour proverbs there are, which look the same way. But, just now, such is the intellectual education of women of the richer class in all our large towns, that these sour proverbs will not go down so well as of old. Even in Boston, spite of the attempts of the city government to prevent the higher public education of women—diligently persisted in for many years—the young women of wealthy families get a better education than the young men of wealthy families do; and that fact is going to report itself presently. The best educated young men are commonly poor men's sons; but the best educated young women are quite uniformly rich men's daughters.

A well-educated young woman, fond of Goethe, and Dante, and Shakspeare, and Cervantes, marrying an ill-educated young man, who cares for nothing but his horse, his cigar and his bottle—who only knows how to sleep after dinner, a "great heap of husband," curled up on the sofa, and in the evening can only laugh at a play, and not understand the Italian words of an opera, which his wife knows by heart;—she, I say, marrying him, will not accept the idea that he is her natural lord and master; she cannot look up to him, but rather down. The domestic function does not consume all her time or talent. She knows how to perform much of her household work as a manufacturer weaves cotton, or spins hemp, or forges iron, with other machin-

ery, by other hands. She is the housekeeping head ; and after she has kept house as wife and as mother, and has done all, she has still energies to spare.

That is a large class of women ; it is a great deal larger than men commonly think it is. It is continually enlarging, and you see why. When all manufactures were domestic,—when every garment was made at home, every web wove at home, every thread spun at home, every fleece dyed at home—when the husband provided the wool or the sheepskin, and the wife made it a coat—when the husband brought home a sack of corn on a mule's back, and the wife pounded it in a mortar, or ground it between two stones, as in the Old Testament—then the domestic function might well consume all the time of a very able-headed woman. But now-a-days, when so much work is done abroad—when the flour mills of Rochester and Boston take the place of the pestle and mortar, and the hand-mill of the Old Testament—when Lowell and Lawrence are two enormous Old Testament women, spinning and weaving year out and year in, day and night both—when so much of woman's work is done by the butcher and the baker, by the tailor and the cook and the gas-maker, and she is no longer obliged to dip or mould with her own hands every candle that “goeth not out by night,” as in the Old Testament woman's housekeeping—you see how very much of woman's time is left for other functions. This will become yet more the case. Ere long, a great deal of lofty science will be applied to house-keeping, and work be done by other than human hands, in the house, as out of it. And accordingly, you see that the class of women not wholly taken up by the domestic function will get larger and larger.

III. Then, there is a third class of women, who have no taste and no talent for the domestic function. Perhaps these are exceptional women ; some of them exceptional by redundancy—they have talents not needed in this function ; others are exceptional by defect—with only a common talent, they have none for housekeeping. It is as cruel a lot to set these persons to such work, as it would be to take a born sailor and make him a farmer, or to take a man who is born to drive oxen, delights to give the kine fodder, and has a genius for it, and shut him up in the fore-castle of a ship. Who would think of making Jenny Lind nothing but a housekeeper ? or of devoting Madame de Stael or Miss Dix wholly to that function ? or a dozen other women that any man can name.

IV. Then there is another class of women—those who are not married yet, but are to be married. They, likewise, have spare time on their hands, which they know not what to do with. Women of this latter class have sometimes asked me what there was for them to do ? I could not tell.

All these four put together, make up a large class of women, who need some other function beside the domestic. What shall it be ? In the middle

ages, when the Catholic Church held its iron hand over the world, these women went into the Church. The permanently unmarried, getting dissatisfied, became nuns ; — often calling that a virtue which was only a necessity, — making a religious principle out of an involuntary measure. Others voluntarily went thither. The attempt is making anew in England, by some of the most pious people, to revive the scheme. It failed a thousand years ago, and the experiment brought a curse on man. It will always fail ; and it ought to fail. Human nature cries out against it.

Let us look, and see what women may do here.

First, there are Intellectual Pursuits — devotion to science, art, literature, and the like.

Well, in the first place, that is not popular. Learned women are met with ridicule ; they are bid to mend their husband's garments, or their own ; they are treated with scorn. Foolish young man number one, in a liquor shop, of a morning, knocks off the ashes from the end of his cigar, and says to foolish young man number two, who is taking soda to wash off the effect of last night's debauch, or preparing for a similar necessity to-morrow morning — in the presence of foolish young man number three, four, five, six, and so on indefinitely — “ I do not like learned young women ; they puzzle me.” So they do ; puzzle him very much. I once heard a foolish young man, full of self-conceit and his father's claret, say, — “ I had rather have a young woman ask me to waltz, than to explain an allusion in Dante.” Very likely ; he had studied waltzing, and not Dante. And his mother, full of conceit and her own hyson, said, — “ I perfectly agree with you. My father said that women had nothing to do with learning.” Accordingly, he gave her none, and that explained the counsel.

Then, too, foolish men, no longer young, say the same thing, and seek to bring down their wives and daughters to their own poor mediocrity of wit and inferiority of culture.

I say, this intellectual calling is not popular. I am sorry it is not ; but even if it were, it is not wholly satisfactory — it suits but a few. In the present stage of human development, there are not many men who are satisfied with a merely intellectual calling ; they want something practical, as well as speculative. There are a thousand practical shoemakers to every speculative botanist. It will be so for many years to come. There are ten thousand carpenters to a single poet or philosopher, who dignifies his nature with song or with science. See how dissatisfied our most eminent intellectual men become with science and literature. A Professor of Greek is sorry he was not a Surveyor or Engineer ; the President of a College longs to be a Member of Congress ; the most accomplished scholars, historians, romancers, — they wish to be Collectors at Boston, Consuls at Liverpool, and the like, — longing for some practical calling, where they can make their thought a thing. Of the intellectual men whom I know, I can count on the fingers of a single hand all that are satisfied with pure science, pure art, pure literature.

Woman, like man, wants to make her thought a thing ; at least, wants

things to work her pattern of thought upon. Still, as the world grows older, and wiser, and better, more persons will find an abiding satisfaction in these lofty pursuits. I am rejoiced to see women thus attracted thitherward. Some women there are who find an abiding satisfaction in literature; it fills up their leisure. I rejoice that it is so.

Then there are next, the various Philanthropies of the age. In these, the spare energies of woman have always found a congenial sphere. It is amazing to see how woman's charity, which "never faileth," palliates the injustice of man, which never has failed yet. Men fight battles; women heal the wounds of the sick:

"Forgot are hatred, wrongs, and fears,
The plaintive voice alone she hears,
Sees but the dying man,"—

and does not ask if foe or friend. Messrs. Pinchem & Peelem organize an establishment, wherein the sweat and tears and blood of the poor turn the wheels; every pivot and every shaft rolls on quivering human flesh. The wealthy capitalists,

"Half ignorant, they turn an easy wheel,
Which sets sharp racks at work, to pinch and peel."

The wives and daughters of the wealthy house go out to "undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free;" to heal the sick and teach the ignorant, whom their fathers, their husbands, their lovers have made sick, oppressed and ignorant. Ask Manchester, in Old England and in New, if this is not so; ask London, ask Boston.

The moral, affectional and religious feelings of woman fit her for this work. Her patience, her gentleness, her power to conciliate, her sympathy with man, her trust in God, beautifully prepare her for this; and accordingly, she comes in the face of what man calls justice as an angel of mercy—before his hate as an angel of love—between his victim and his selfishness with the self-denial of Paul and the self-sacrifice of Jesus. Look at any village in New England and in Old England, at the Sacs and Foxes, at the Hottentots and the Esquimaux—it is the same thing; it is so in all ages, in all climes, in all stages of civilization; in all ranks of society,—the highest and the lowest; in all forms of religion, all sects of Christianity. It has been so, from DORCAS, in the Acts of the Apostles, who made coats and garments for the poor, down to Miss DIX, in our day, who visits jails and houses of correction, and leads Mr. Fillmore to let Capt. DRAYTON out of jail, where he was placed for the noblest act of his life.

But these philanthropies are not enough for the employment of women; and if all the spare energies of womankind were set to this work,—to palliate the consequences of man's injustice,—it would not be exactly the work which woman wants. There are some women who take no special interest in this. For woman is not all philanthropy, though very much; she has other faculties which want to be developed besides the heart to feel. Still more, that is not the only thing which mankind wants. We need the justice

which removes causes, as well as the charity that palliates effects; and woman, standing continually between the victim and the sabre which would cleave him through, is not performing her only function, not her highest; high as that is, it is not her highest. If the feminine swallow drives away the flies from a poor fox struggling for life, another set of flies light upon him, and suck every remaining drop of blood out of his veins, as in the old fable. Besides, if the fox finds that a womanly swallow comes to drive off the flies, he depends on her wing and not on his own brush, and becomes less of a fox. If a miser, or any base man, sees that a woman constantly picks up the man whom he knocks down with the left hand of Usury, or the right hand of Rum, he will go on with his extortion or his grog, because, he says, "I should have done the man harm, but a woman picked him up, and money comes into my pocket, and no harm to the man!" The evils of society would become worse and worse, just as they are increased by indiscriminate alms-giving. That is not enough.

Then there are various Practical Works left by common consent to woman.

First, there is Domestic Service, — woman working as an appendage to some household; a hired hand, or a hired head, to help the housekeeper.

Then there is Mechanical Labor in a factory, or a shop, — spinning, weaving, setting type, binding books, making shoes, coloring maps, and a hundred other things.

Next, there is Trade in a small way, from the basket-woman, with her apples at every street corner, up to the confectioner and haberdasher, with their well-filled shops. In a few retail shops which venture to brave popular opinion, woman is employed at the counter.

As a fourth thing, there is the business of Public and Private Teaching, in various departments. All these are well; they are unavoidable, they are absolutely necessary; they furnish employment to many women, and are a blessed resource.

I rejoice that the Field-work of the farmer is not done by woman's hand in the free portions of America. It imbrutes women in Ireland, in France, and in Spain. I am glad that the complicated machinery of life furnishes so much more work for the light and delicate hand of woman. But I confess I mourn that where her work is as profitable as man's, her pay is not half so much. A woman who should teach a public school well, would be paid four or six dollars a week; while a man who should teach no better, would be paid two, three, four or six times that sum. It is so in all departments of woman's work that I am acquainted with.

These employments are very well, but still they are not enough.

Rich women do not engage in these callings. For rich women, there is no profession left except marriage. After school time, woman has nothing to do till she is married; I mean, almost nothing; nothing that is adequate. Accordingly, she must choose betwixt a husband and nothing, — and sometimes, that is choosing between two nothings. There are spare energies which seek employment before marriage, and after marriage.

These callings are not all that the race of woman needs ; not all that her human nature requires. She has the same human nature which man has, and of course, the same natural human rights. Woman's natural right for its rightfulness does not depend on the bodily or mental power to assert and to maintain it—on the great arm or on the great head ; it depends only on human nature itself, which God made the same in the frailest woman as in the biggest giant.

If woman is a human being, first, she has the Nature of a human being ; next, she has the Right of a human being ; third, she has the Duty of a human being. The Nature is the capacity to possess, to use, to develop, and to enjoy every human faculty ; the Right is the right to enjoy, develop, and use every human faculty ; and the Duty is to make use of the Right, and make her human nature human history. She is here to develop her human nature, enjoy her human rights, perform her human duty. Woman-kind is to do this for herself, as much as mankind for himself. A woman has the same human nature that a man has, the same human rights, — to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, — the same human duties ; and they are as unalienable in a woman as in a man.

Each man has the natural right to the normal development of his nature, so far as it is general-human, neither man nor woman, but human. Each woman has the natural right to the normal development of her nature, so far as it is general-human, neither woman nor man. But each man has also a natural and unalienable right to the normal development of his peculiar nature as man, where he differs from woman. Each woman has just the same natural and unalienable right to the normal development of her peculiar nature as woman, and not man. All that is undeniable.

Now see what follows. Woman has the same individual right to determine her aim in life, and to follow it ; has the same individual rights of body and of spirit, — of mind and conscience, and heart and soul ; the same physical rights, the same intellectual, moral, affectional and religious rights, that man has. That is true of womankind as a whole ; it is true of Jane, Ellen and Sally, and each special woman that can be named.

Every person, man or woman, is an integer, an individual, a whole person, and also a portion of the race, and so a fraction of humankind. Well, the rights of individualism are not to be possessed, developed, used and enjoyed by a life in solitude, but by joint action. Accordingly, to complete and perfect the individual man or woman, and give each an opportunity to possess, use, develop and enjoy these rights, there must be concerted and joint action : else individuality is only a possibility, not a reality. So the individual rights of woman carry with them the same domestic, social, ecclesiastical and political rights as those of man.

The Family, Community, Church and State, are four modes of action which have grown out of human nature in its historical development ; they are all necessary for the development of mankind—machines which the human race has devised, in order to possess, use, develop and enjoy their rights as human beings, their rights also as men.

These are just as necessary for the development of woman as of man, and as she has the same Nature, Right and Duty as man, it follows that she has the same right to use, shape and control these four institutions, for her general human purpose and for her special feminine purpose, that man has to control them for his general human purpose, and his special masculine purpose. All that is as undeniable as any thing in metaphysics or mathematics.

So, then, woman has the same natural rights as man. In Domestic Affairs, she is to determine her own sphere as much as man, and say where her function is to begin, when it shall begin, with whom it shall begin; where it shall end, when it shall end, and what it shall comprise.

Then she has the same right to Freedom of Industry that man has. I do not believe that the hard callings of life will ever suit woman. It is not little boys who go out as lumberers, but great men, with sinewy, brawny arms. I doubt that laborious callings, like navigation, engineering, lumbering and the like, will ever be agreeable to woman. Her feminine body and feminine spirit naturally turn away from such occupations. I have seen women gathering the filth of the streets in Liverpool, sawing stone in a mason's yard in Paris, carrying earth in baskets on their heads for a railway embankment at Naples; but they were obviously out of place, and only consented to this drudgery when driven by Poverty's iron whip. But there are many employments in the departments of mechanical work, of trade, little and extended, where woman could go, and properly go. Some women have a good deal of talent for trade — this in a small way, that on the largest scale. Why should not they exercise their commercial talents in competition with man? Is it right for woman to be a domestic manufacturer in the family of Solomon or Priam, and of every thrifty husband, and wrong for her to be a public manufacturer on her own account? She might spin when the motive power was a wheel-pin of wood in her hand — may she not use the Merrimack and the Connecticut for her wheel-pin; or must she be only the manufacturing servant of man, never her own master?

Much of the business of education already falls to the hands of woman. In the last twenty years, there has been a great progress in the education of women, in Massachusetts, in all New England. The High Schools for girls, — and still better, those for Girls and Boys — have been of great service. Almost all the large towns of this Commonwealth have honored themselves with these blessed institutions; in Boston, only the daughters of the rich can possess such an education as hundreds of noble girls long to acquire. With this enhancement of culture, women have been continually rising higher and higher as teachers. The State Normal Schools have helped in this movement. It used to be thought that only an able-bodied man could manage the large boys of a country or a city School. Even he was sometimes thrust out at the door or the window of "his noisy mansion," by his rough pupils. An able-headed woman has commonly succeeded better than men merely able-bodied. She has tried conciliation rather than violence, and appealed to

something a little deeper than aught which force could ever touch. The women-teachers are now doing an important work for the elevation of their race and all human kind. But it is commonly thought woman must not engage in the higher departments thereof. I once knew a woman, wife, and mother, and housekeeper, who taught the severest disciplines of our highest college, and instructed young men while she rocked the cradle with her foot, and mended garments with her hands,—one of the most accomplished scholars of New England. Not long ago, the daughter of a poor widowed seamstress was seen reading the Koran in Arabic. There was but one man in the town who could do the same, and he was a “Learned Blacksmith.” Women not able to teach in these things! He must be rather a confident professor who thinks a woman cannot do what he can. I rejoice at the introduction of women into common schools, academies, and high schools; and I thank God that the man who has done so much for public education in Massachusetts, is presently to be the head of a college in Ohio, where women and men are to study together, and where a woman is to be professor of Latin and Natural History. These are good signs.

The business of public lecturing, also, is quite important in New England, and I am glad to see that woman presses into that,—not without success.

The work of conducting a journal, daily, weekly, or quarterly, woman proves that she can attend to quite as decently, and as strongly, too, as most men.

Then there are what are called the Professions,—Medicine, Law, and Theology.

The profession of Medicine seems to belong peculiarly to woman by nature; part of it, exclusively. She is a nurse, and half a doctor, by nature. It is quite encouraging that medical schools are beginning to instruct women, and special schools get founded for the use of women; that sagacious men are beginning to employ women as their physicians. Great good is to be expected from that.

As yet, I believe no woman acts as a Lawyer. But I see no reason why the profession of Law might not be followed by women as well as by men. He must be rather an uncommon lawyer who thinks no feminine head could compete with him. Most lawyers that I have known are rather mechanics at law, than attorneys or scholars at law; and in the mechanical part, woman could do as well as man—could be as good a conveyancer, could follow precedents as carefully, and copy forms as nicely. And in the higher departments of legal work, they who have read the plea which Lady Alice Lille made in England, when she could not speak by attorney, must remember there is some eloquence in woman’s tongue which courts find it rather hard to resist. I think her presence would mend the manners of the court—of the bench, not less than of the bar.

In the business of Theology, I could never see why a woman, if she wished, should not preach, as well as men. It would be hard, in the present condition of the pulpit, to say she had not intellect enough for *that*! I am glad to find, now and then, women preachers, and rejoice at their success. A year

ago, I introduced to you the Reverend Miss Brown, educated at an Orthodox Theological Seminary ; — you smiled at the name of *Reverend Miss*. She has since been invited to settle by several congregations of unblemished orthodoxy, and has passed on, looking further.

It seems to me that woman, by her peculiar constitution, is better qualified to teach religion than any merely intellectual discipline. The Quakers have always recognised the natural right of woman to perform the same ecclesiastical function as man. At this day, the most distinguished preacher of that denomination is a woman, who adorns her domestic calling as house-keeper, wife and mother, with the same womanly dignity and sweetness which mark her public deportment.

If woman had been consulted, it seems to me Theology would have been in a vastly better state than it is now. I do not think that any woman would ever have preached the damnation of babies new-born ; and “hell, paved with the skulls of infants not a span long,” would be a region yet to be discovered in Theology. A celibate monk—with God’s curse writ on his face, which knew no child, no wife, no sister, and blushed that he had a mother—might well dream of such a thing : he had been through the preliminary studies. Consider the ghastly attributes which are commonly put upon God in the popular Theology, the idea of infinite wrath, of infinite damnation, and total depravity, and all that,—why, you could not get a woman that had intellect enough to open her mouth to preach these things any where. Women *think* they think that they believe them ; but they do not. Celibate priests, who never knew marriage, or what paternity was, who thought woman was “a pollution,” they invented those ghastly doctrines ; and when I have heard the Athanasian Creed and the Dies Iræ chanted by monks, with the necks of bulls and the lips of donkeys,—why, I have understood where the doctrine came from, and have felt the appropriateness of their braying out the damnation hymns : woman could not do it. We shut her out of the choir, out of the priest’s house, out of the pulpit, and then the priest, with unnatural vows, came in, and taught these “doctrines of devils.” Could you find a woman who would read to a congregation, as words of truth, Jonathan Edwards’s Sermon on a Future State — “Sinners in the hands of an Angry God,” “the Justice of God in the damnation of Sinners,” “Wrath upon the Wicked to the uttermost,” “the future punishment of the Wicked,” and other things of that sort ? Nay, can you find a worthy woman, of any considerable culture, who will read the fourteenth chapter of Numbers, and declare that a true picture of the God she worships ? Only a she-dragon could do it, in our day.

The popular Theology leaves us nothing feminine in the character of God. How could it be otherwise, when so much of the popular Theology is the work of men who thought woman was a “pollution,” and barred her out of all the high places of the church ? If women had had their place in ecclesiastical teaching, I doubt that the “Athanasian Creed” would ever have been thought a “Symbol” of Christianity. The pictures and hymns which describe the last Judgment are a protest against the exclusion of woman

from teaching in the church. "I suffer not a woman to teach, but to be in silence," said a writer in the New Testament. The sentence has brought manifold evil in its train.

So much for the employments of women.

By nature, woman has the same Political Rights that man has,—to vote, to hold office, to make and administer laws. These she has as a matter of right. The strong hand and the great head of man keep her down; nothing more. In America, in Christendom, woman has no political rights, is not a citizen in full; she has no voice in making or administering the laws, none in electing the rulers or administrators thereof. She can hold no office—cannot be committee of a primary school, overseer of the poor, or guardian to a public lamp-post. But any man, with conscience enough to keep out of jail, mind enough to escape the poor-house, and body enough to drop his ballot into the box, he is a voter. He may have no character, even no money, that is no matter—he is male. The noblest woman has no voice in the State. Men make laws disposing of her property, her person, her children; still she must bear it, "with a patient shrug."

Looking at it as a matter of pure Right and pure science, I know no reason why woman should not be a voter, or hold office, or make and administer laws. I do not see how I can shut myself into political privileges and shut woman out, and do both in the name of unalienable right. Certainly, every woman has a natural right to have her property represented in the general representation of property, and her person represented in the general representation of persons.

Looking at it as a matter of Expediency, see some facts. Suppose woman had a share in the municipal regulation of Boston, and there were as many Alderwomen as Aldermen, as many Common Council women as Common Council men,—do you believe that, in defiance of the law of Massachusetts, the City Government, last Spring, would have licensed every two hundred and forty-fourth person of the population of the city to sell intoxicating drink? would have made every thirty-fifth voter a rum-seller? I do not.

Do you believe the women of Boston would spend ten thousand dollars in one year in a city frolic, or spend two or three thousand every year, on the Fourth of July, for sky-rockets and fire-crackers; would spend four or five thousand dollars to get their Canadian guests drunk in Boston harbor, and then pretend that Boston had not money enough to establish a high school for girls, to teach the daughters of mechanics and grocers to read French and Latin, and to understand the higher things which rich men's sons are driven to at college? I do not.

Do you believe that the women of Boston, in 1851, would have spent three or four thousand dollars to kidnap a poor man, and have taken all the chains which belonged to the city and put them round the Court House, and have drilled three hundred men, armed with bludgeons and cutlasses, to steal a man and carry him back to slavery? I do not. Do you think, if the

women had had the control, "fifteen hundred men of property and standing" would have volunteered to take a poor man, kidnapped in Boston, and conduct him out of the State, with fire and sword? I believe no such thing.

Do you think the women of Boston would take the poorest and most unfortunate children in the town, put them all together into one school, making that the most miserable in the city, where they had not and could not have half the advantages of the other children in different schools, and all that because the unfortunates were dark colored? Do you think the women of Boston would shut a bright boy out of the High School or Latin School, because he was black in the face?

Women are said to be cowardly. When Thomas Sims, out of his dungeon, sent to the churches his petition for their prayers, had women been "the Christian clergy," do you believe *they* would not have dared to pray?

If women had a voice in the Affairs of Massachusetts, do you think they would ever have made laws so that a lazy husband could devour all the substance of his active wife—spite of her wish; so that a drunken husband could command her bodily presence in his loathly house; and when an infamous man was divorced from his wife, that he could keep all the children? I confess I do not.

If the Affairs of the Nation had been under woman's joint control, I doubt that we should have butchered the Indians with such exterminating savagery, that, in fifty years, we should have spent seven hundreds of millions of dollars for war, and now, in time of peace, send twenty annual millions more to the same waste. I doubt that we should have spread slavery into nine new States, and made it national. I think the Fugitive Slave Bill would never have been an Act. Woman has some respect for the natural law of God.

I know men say woman cannot manage the great affairs of a nation. Very well. Government is Political Economy—National Housekeeping. Does any respectable woman keep house so badly as the United States? with so much bribery, so much corruption, so much quarreling in the domestic councils?

But government is also Political Morality, it is National Ethics. Is there any worthy woman who rules her household as wickedly as the nations are ruled? who hires bullies to fight for her? Is there any woman who treats one sixth part of her household as if they were cattle and not creatures of God, as if they were things and not persons? I know of none such. In government as housekeeping, or government as morality, I think man makes a very poor appearance, when he says woman could not do as well as he has done and is doing.

I doubt that women will ever, as a general thing, take the same interest as men in political affairs, or find therein an abiding satisfaction. But that is for women themselves to determine, not for men.

In order to attain the end,—the development of man in body and spirit,—human institutions must represent all parts of human nature, both the mas-

culine and the feminine element. For the well-being of the human race, we need the joint action of man and woman, in the family, the community, the Church and the State. A family without the presence of woman—with no mother, no wife, no sister, no womankind—is a sad thing. I think a Community without woman's equal social action, a Church without her equal ecclesiastical action, and a State without her equal political action, is almost as bad—is very much what a house would be without a mother, wife, sister or friend.

You see what prevails in the Christian civilization of the Nineteenth Century: it is Force—force of body, force of brain. There is little justice, little philanthropy, little piety. Selfishness preponderates every where in Christendom—individual, domestic, social, ecclesiastical, national selfishness. It is preached as gospel and enacted as law. It is thought good political economy for a strong people to devour the weak nations—for “Christian” England and America to plunder the “Heathen” and annex their land; for a strong class to oppress and ruin the feeble class—for the capitalists of England to pauperise the poor white laborer, for the capitalists of America to enslave the poorer black laborer; for a strong man to oppress the weak men—for the sharper to buy labor too cheap, and sell its product too dear, and so grow rich by making many poor. Hence, nation is arrayed against nation, class against class, man against man. Nay, it is commonly taught that mankind is arrayed against God, and God against man; that the world is a universal discord; that there is no solidarity of man with man, of man with God. I fear we shall never get far beyond this theory and this practice, until woman has her natural rights as the equal of man, and takes her natural place in regulating the affairs of the family, the community, the Church and the State.

It seems to me God has treasured up a reserved power in the nature of woman to correct many of those evils which are Christendom's disgrace to-day.

Circumstances help or hinder our development, and are one of the two forces which determine the actual character of a nation, or of mankind, at any special period. Hitherto, amongst men, circumstances have favored the development of only intellectual power, in all its forms—chiefly in its lower forms. At present, mankind, as a whole, has the superiority over womankind, as a whole, in all that pertains to intellect, the higher and the lower. Man has knowledge, has ideas, has administrative skill,—enacts the rules of conduct for the individual, the family, the community, the church, the state, and the world. He applies these rules of conduct to life, and so controls the great affairs of the human race. You see what a world he has made of it. There is male vigor in this civilization, miscalled “Christian”; and in its leading nations there are industry and enterprise, which never fail. There is science, literature, legislation, agriculture, manufactures, mining, commerce, such as the world never saw. With the vigor of war, the Anglo-Saxon now works the works of peace. England abounds in wealth,—richest of lands; but look at her poor, her vast army of paupers, two million strong, the Irish whom she drives with the hand of famine across the sea. Martin Luther was right when he said, The richer the nation, the poorer

the poor. America is "democratic"—"the freest and most enlightened people in the world." Look at her slaves: every sixth woman in the country sold as a beast; with no more legal respect paid to her marriage than the farmer pays to the conjunctions of his swine. America is well-educated; there are four millions of children in the school-houses of the land: it is a States prison offence to teach a slave to read the three letters which spell God. The more "democratic" the country, the tighter is bondage ironed on the slave. Look at the cities of England and America. What riches, what refinement, what culture of man and woman too! Ay; but what poverty, what ignorance, what beastliness of man and woman too! The Christian civilization of the nineteenth century is well summed up in London and New York—the two foci of the Anglo-Saxon tribe, which control the shape of the world's commercial ellipse. Look at the riches—and the misery; at the "religious enterprise"—and the heathen darkness; at the virtue, the decorum and the beauty of woman well-born and well-bred—and at the wild sea of prostitution, which swells and breaks and dashes against the bulwarks of society—every ripple was a woman once!

O, brother men, who make these things, is this a pleasant sight? Does your literature complain of it—of the waste of human life, the slaughter of human souls, the butchery of woman? British literature begins to wail, in "Nicholas Nickleby," and "Jane Eyre," and "Mary Barton," and "Alton Locke," in many a "Song of the Shirt"; but the respectable literature of America is deaf as a cent to the outcry of humanity expiring in agonies. It is busy with California, or the Presidency, or extolling iniquity in high places, or flattering the vulgar vanity which buys its dross for gold. It cannot even imitate the philanthropy of English letters: it is "up" for California and a market. Does not the Church speak?—the English Church, with its millions of money, the American, with its millions of men—both wont to bay the moon of foreign heathenism? The Church is a dumb dog, that cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber. It is a Church without woman, believing in a male and jealous God, and rejoicing in a boundless, endless hell!

Hitherto, with woman, circumstances have hindered the development of intellectual power, in all its forms. She has not knowledge, has not ideas or practical skill to equal the force of man. But circumstances have favored the development of pure and lofty emotion in advance of man. She has moral feeling, affectional feeling, religious feeling, far in advance of man; her moral, affectional and religious intuitions are deeper and more trustworthy than his. Here she is eminent, as he is in knowledge, in ideas, in administrative skill.

I think man will always lead in affairs of intellect—of reason, imagination, understanding—he has the bigger brain; but that woman will always lead in affairs of emotion—moral, affectional, religious—she has the better heart, the truer intuition of the right, the lovely, the holy. The literature of women in this century is juster, more philanthropic, more religious than that of men. Do you not hear the cry which, in New England, a woman is

raising in the world's ears against the foul wrong which America is working in the world? Do you not hear the echo of that woman's voice come over the Atlantic—returned from European shores in many a tongue—French, German, Italian, Swedish, Danish, Russian, Dutch? How a woman touches the world's heart!—because she speaks justice, speaks piety, speaks love. What voice is strongest raised in continental Europe, pleading for the oppressed and down-trodden? That also is a woman's voice!

Well, we want the excellence of man and woman both united; intellectual power, knowledge, great ideas—in literature, philosophy, theology, ethics—and practical skill; but we want something better—the moral, affectional, religious intuition, to put justice into ethics, love into theology, piety into science and letters. Every where in the family, the community, the church and the state, we want the masculine and feminine element coöperating and conjoined. Woman is to correct man's taste, mend his morals, excite his affections, inspire his religious faculties. Man is to quicken her intellect, to help her will, translate her sentiments to ideas, and enact them into righteous laws. Man's moral action, at best, is only a sort of general human providence, aiming at the welfare of a part, and satisfied with achieving the "greatest good of the greatest number." Woman's moral action is more like a special human providence, acting without general rules, but caring for each particular case. We need both of these, the general and the special, to make a total human providence.

If man and woman are counted equivalent,—equal in rights, though with diverse powers,—shall we not mend the literature of the world, its theology, its science, its laws, and its actions too? I cannot believe that wealth and want are to stand ever side by side as desperate foes; that culture must ride only on the back of ignorance; and feminine virtue be guarded by the degradation of whole classes of ill-starred men, as in the East, or the degradation of whole classes of ill-starred women, as in the West; but while we neglect the means of help God puts in our power, why, the present must be like the past—"property" must be theft, "law" the strength of selfish will, and "Christianity"—what we see it is, the apology for every powerful wrong.

To every woman let me say,—Respect your nature as a human being, your nature as a woman; then respect your rights, then remember your duty to possess, to use, to develop and to enjoy every faculty which God has given you, each in its normal way.

And to men let me say,—Respect, with the profoundest reverence respect the mother that bore you, the sisters who bless you, the woman that you love, the woman that you marry. As you seek to possess your own manly rights, seek also, by that great arm, by that powerful brain, seek to vindicate her rights as woman, as your own as man. Then we may see better things in the church, better things in the state, in the community, in the home. Then the green shall show what buds it hid, the buds shall blossom, the flowers bear fruit, and the blessing of God be on us all.

Worship at Work.

A

DISCOURSE

IN REFERENCE TO THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE LATE

GARRAT NOEL BLEECKER;

DELIVERED IN THE

HOUSE OF WORSHIP OF THE AMITY ST. BAPTIST CHURCH,

On Sabbath Evening, June 12th, 1853.

BY

WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.

[PRINTED FOR PRIVATE DISTRIBUTION.]

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY JOHN A. GRAY,

97 CLIFF, COR. FRANKFORT ST.

1853.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1853, by
WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the
Southern District of New-York.

Discourse.

“NOT SLOTHFUL IN BUSINESS; FERVENT IN SPIRIT; SERVING THE LORD.”

ROMANS XII. 11.

THE removal of a good man in the strength of his years, amid purposes of beneficence and piety unfulfilled, and in the full flush of his usefulness, is a saddening dispensation. And, whilst neither murmuring nor despair befits those whose Redeemer yet survives, though mortal friends and helpers have failed, and whose Sovereign orders even these startling and crushing bereavements; it is allowed us to mourn—to pour out before that Saviour our streaming and bitter sorrows—and to implore of that Sovereign strength to endure, and grace to profit by what Nature would deem an irreparable calamity. Primitive Christians, with the baptism of Pentecost yet fresh upon their souls, thought it no wrong to make great lamentation when Stephen was lowered into an untimely grave. And none who knew or rightly appreciated the brother

recently taken from us will censure the deep and widespread grief which his departure has occasioned. We had hoped for one, yet in the noon of his life—so energetic, so upright, so consistent, so liberal, and so devout—a long day of labor; and a death-bed, in advanced years, full of counsel, and encouragement, and rapturous anticipations. But God has made more emphatic and startling the lessons of our brother's life, by bringing his sun thus down as at noonday. Let us prayerfully inquire the instructions to be derived from a career so soon interrupted; and may the same Spirit of all grace that gave its attractiveness to his character render us all the followers of him, so far as he followed Christ. He was an example of Religion in the walks of Traffic; a manifestation that Christian principle might ardently and successfully pursue the avocations of this world without losing consistency, or bartering away conscience—without the soul's forfeiting its Christian sympathies, or relaxing its hold on heaven.

His devotion was blended with his daily and practical life. It suggested eminently the theme that we would discuss: **WORSHIP AT WORK**; or Piety consecrating Toil.

Some who see, in our times, the need and force of activity, but who exaggerate its importance, have said, most strangely, "Work is worship;" as if all action were alike honorable and holy, and as if God asked no other homage from his creatures than their intense exertions, no matter what the motive that actuated, or the service that enlists these their efforts. Were this so, it would seem that the world had been hitherto

greatly mistaken; and the Bible and Sabbath would be shown to be, each of them, a grand impertinence in requiring worship of far other kind. But look at the consequences of this strange GOSPEL OF WORK. If all labor have thus its necessary and inseparable sanctity, and this be the only true religion, the press that in earlier years libelled Washington, and that in our times prints so much of falsehood, corruption, and blasphemy, is worshipping God thereby, quite as much when repeating the outrages of Voltaire and Paine as if it were stamping Bibles. Then Guy Fawkes, storing busily his powder in underground vaults for the murderous extermination of an entire senate; and a Brinvilliers, sedulously concocting poisons for the removal of her unconscious friends and kindred from the path of her envy, her revenge, or her covetousness; the pirate, who sharpens his boarding-pike for the crew of the peaceful merchantman descried on the horizon; the persecutor, twirling with patient energy the thumb-screw to overcome the bigoted constancy of some poor Bible-thumbing Covenanter; and the inquisitor, straining with his utmost strength, and to its uttermost tension, the rack that fails to subdue the obstinacy of his heretic victim; the crowd who flung stones on the dying, praying proto-martyr Stephen, till perchance they saw his brains gushing forth on the ground; and the soldiers who buffeted and scourged your Redeemer—are to be regarded, one and all, as godly personages, worshipping fervently and acceptably whilst so laboriously working. Face the just conclusions of this bold axiom, as it may bear on your

own personal interests; and the counterfeiter who has been at such pains closely to imitate your signature, and the dexterous burglar who is getting his tools ready for the door of your warehouse; and the dishonest clerk so assiduous in fitting false keys to your safe, and in adjusting false entries on your ledger, are, each and all, very pious, because very busy men. All work worship? If it be so, you have no right to confine the advantage and glory of the principle to your own race, and to this petty globe. That ancient and dexterous Worker of such sleepless energy, of such iron, unrelenting diligence, who goeth about seeking whom he may devour, is, by this rule, but an untiring Worshipper; and his restless circuit of temptation, desolation and perdition, is but one long and far-drawn pilgrimage of devoutest adoration—an orbit of rapt piety revolving near the throne. Not so; God forbid! If all toil be devotion, Hell and Heaven have but one litany between them.

Nought is worship that springs not from right feelings towards God; that is not directed either immediately or in the general bent and purpose of the life to the honor of God, and that is not blent with the intercession and sacrifice of the one Mediator between God and men, the Lord Jesus Christ. And, in the highest sense, nought else is *work* even. No work is really acceptable to God that does not include and presuppose the worship of Christ. "How," said the Jews, "shall we work the work of God?" "This," said the Maker, Redeemer, and Judge of the race, "is THE

WORK OF GOD, that ye BELIEVE ON HIM whom he hath sent.”*

Faith in Christ is the first act of service that God asks of every hearer of the gospel. The first of commands—love supreme to our Maker—as written out upon the cross, assumes this shape: “Believe on this Victim.” Loving the GIVER, prize, and trust, and hear this “his unspeakable GIFT”—his best-beloved One. But, on the other hand, when such as these are its motives, its channel, and its end, much may be approved before God as true worship of himself that men do not ordinarily call by that name. Done before Christ and for Christ, a common task acquires a sacred lustre from the flames of that sacrifice to which it refers. Real piety serves God, not merely in the musings of the closet, or in the blended psalms and supplications of the sanctuary, but in the daily routine and the ordinary scenes of human life. Religion has, and it needs to have, its Sabbaths; but an honest and heartfelt Sabbath sheds out its fragrance and radiance upon all the other days and works of the week. The Christian goes up into the mount of communion with his God, apart from all his fellows; but though at times such scene of devout isolation becomes a mountain of transfiguration, he must not stay, as Peter proposed, and build tabernacles there. He comes down, to be still the servant of God, but in yet other forms and relations, and in a far different region and atmosphere. The face which, like that of Moses, has confronted God in the cloud, must next accost man in

* John vi, 28, 29.

the tumults of the camp. Whether he eat or drink, he must do all to the glory of the Friend and Father with whom he has been in conference ; and in the asking and the winning, in the storing and the sharing, and in the eating of his bread, the true Christian is alike to approve himself a true child of his Heavenly Parent. Thus ordered, his earthly life, whilst requiring its pauses and its retirements, its Sabbaths and its solemn assemblies, will, even in the intervals of these, be one long act of consecration. The psalm of a grateful and regenerate heart will, with its habitual, unremitting flow, fill up all the interstices of his visits to the closet and the sanctuary. The real worshipper will be such even amid his secular entanglements ; in the field and the warehouse, on the deck and beside the work-bench ; whether, with the apostle, he draw the seine, or sit at the receipt of custom, or with him preach the word. The righteous man will be more excellent than his neighbor, whether, like Abel, he be a keeper of sheep ; or, like Obadiah, a courtier ; or, like Daniel, a statesman ; like Luke, a physician ; or, like Zenas, a lawyer ; or, like Cornelius, a soldier ; or, like Erastus, the chamberlain of the city ; or, like Gaius, the host of the entire church. Piety will exalt and sanctify toil, whatever its nature—if but innocent and honest toil ; whether, as in Dorcas, it be the making of garments for the poor, or, as in Hannah, the pious nurture of children ; or, as in Priscilla or Phœbe, or “ the beloved Persis,” the instruction of an inquirer, the relief of a prisoner, the visiting of the sick, or the helping of an apostle. In this sense the life of godliness will be

devotional, even on common days and in familiar scenes. It will thus bring down beams and airs of heaven into earth's darkest and lowliest nooks. Its calendar will have its whole year hallowed; while it keeps still its days of special sanctity, the thrice-hallowed. It will be "WORSHIP AT WORK," kneading the leaven of Christian principle into the entire mass of its personal activity and social influence.

And piety of this type seems especially demanded by the exigencies of our time. Contending as, in our land, Christian merchants and traders do, with so fierce a storm and stress of competition in the tides of social action around them, they need worship whenever and wherever at work.

And it seems, too, eminently desirable that every instance of fidelity and success in thus carrying out Christian consistency into the daily walk and the daily work, and upon the arena of trade, should be remembered and studied, to furnish encouragement, and to awaken emulation in the men whose lot is fallen upon so stirring and headlong an age. The days of spiritual triumph that are to sanctify the very recreations of society, writing upon the bells of the horses, as the prophet declares, "HOLINESS TO THE LORD," must be preceded by days of high-principled activity that shall have first put the same inscription upon the traffic and business of the community. It was, ages since, the promise of the Father to the Messiah, that "his hand" should be "set also in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers."* We understand this as implying that the commerce which makes "*the sea*"

* Ps. lxxxix. 25.

its pathway and its treasure-house shall bow its neck to Christ's restraining "*hand*" and to the curb of his law ; and that no ocean shall be considered as tossing its waves and no river rolling its waters beyond the precincts and exempt from the prerogatives of Messiah's blessed dominion. Even as the driver bridles and guides his steeds, the "RIGHT HAND" of the Crucified is to knit into one influence, and to grasp in one common consecration, all the various "RIVERS" along which travel and traffic roll. The Thames, the Scheldt, the Rhine, the Danube of European history ; the Niger and the Nile, stealing through African sands their mysterious way to the ocean ; and our own St. Lawrence, Hudson and Chesapeake and Mississippi and Amazon ; with the Ganges and Indus and Irrawaddy and Euphrates of Oriental fame, were present in the outgoing of that prophecy, if not to the prophet's mind, yet to the omniscient eye of the prophet's God. And not only are Christ's conquests to make tributary to Him the "RIVERS" whose channels God first scooped, and the barges and freight wafted on their streams ; but the canals ploughed by man's science and toil, and the railroads too, those "iron rivers," as a British thinker* has termed them, "with double tides, running at one time in opposite directions." Old ocean, like a tamed lion, is to bow its hoary mane to Christ's hand. As stood the lion-supporters of Solomon's throne on either hand of the sovereign, so is the Atlantic and so the Pacific to be a part of the imperial pageant of the Prince of Peace, submissive to Christian science, and ministering meekly to the unity and evangelization of the nations. And all

*Aubrey De Vere.

the streams, natural and artificial, of human intercourse and barter, are, like spirited coursers, to feel the bit and to draw in the traces of Him, the world's One Deliverer and Sanctifier. They are to hurry on the chariot of his salvation, and to aid in bringing near that promised age which shall usher in the universal brotherhood of man and the undisputed fatherhood of God.

To bring about these predicted glories, Christian merchants and traders and artisans must, in their several stations, embody the requirements of a pure gospel. Christ, formed in their hearts as the hope of glory, is to beam from their lives and toils, as their law of liberty, unity and peace. And with God and eternity thus eyed from the warehouse and exchange, honored amid the din of the anvil, the loom and the pickaxe—amid the rattling of cordage and the hum of wheels—the pursuit and acquisition of wealth, now so perilous and fatal to the souls of multitudes, may become not only harmless but blessed, tending to the sanctity and highest consecration of the prosperous trader. So guided, the merchant-princes of a great mart may become as heads of tribes in God's Israel. And the world cannot afford the absence of such guidance and consecration. And surely no man, be he poor or rich, has a right so to bow over the desk or the till, the plough or the helm, as to lose all sight of the grave, the Cross and the judgment-seat, of the gate of Paradise or the mouth of the Pit, to which each day, insensibly but most rapidly, is wafting and flinging him.

Our text groups together the traits that should mark the Christian, as a man of business; Firstly, as to his

mode of laboring, "NOT SLOTHFUL IN BUSINESS;" next, as to his spirituality, preserved amid labor, "FERVENT IN SPIRIT;" and lastly, as to his ruling principles, alike in what men call worship and in what they call but work, "SERVING THE LORD."

Eyeing his great Taskmaster in every hour and scene of his task, the busy hand is to toil for God; the upward and asking eye is to seek after God; and thus looking and laboring, as the loyal subject of an omnipresent King, he shall be blessed in his deed. Or we may present substantially the same division in another form and phraseology. As diligence, the first requirement, ordinarily insures success—for "the hand of the diligent maketh rich"—we see that affluence, an ordinary result of industry, is not necessarily and in itself a curse or a wrong. The first clause, thus regarded, suggests,

I. THE RIGHTS OF WEALTH.

The caution, making the next clause, that the search of Riches so frequently blights Piety by destroying all "fervor of spirit," recalls,

II. THE SNARES OF WEALTH.

And the close of the sentence, which states the great controlling law of consecration to God, brings out,

III. THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF WEALTH.

Thus analyzed, the saying of the apostle bids men who seek the riches and goods of earth to consider this Wealth, in its RIGHTS, SNARES, AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

I. A Christian may in his worldly employment be earnest and thorough; or rather, he not only may but *must* display diligence. Now this, in the ordinary and normal state of society, leads directly to the accumulation of property. Some revolutionary and anarchical thinkers have denied the right of man to the possession of property; and much difference has existed, where its allowableness was recognized, as to its true origin and basis. Some suppose it the mere creature of human law; others a right growing out of the first occupancy of what men in earlier times found without any preceding claimant; and yet others think it the growth of labor exclusively, a man becoming proprietor of the land he tilled, and the tree which he hewed into a boat, and of the beast which he snared and tamed, thus appropriating all with which his labor had become intermingled. Others, again, find it the result of a direct gift and statute of God, bestowing the earth on man, and man dividing his heritage to his liking. To us, Property seems rather a necessary accompaniment of the Family, and like it and contemporaneously with it, an institution of God. As Liberty was an original and God-given condition of the individual life, so Property seems an original and God-given condition of the Household life. He who setteth the solitary in families saw that the household needed a home, some spot where Toil might repose, and Sickness be recruited, and where the cradle of Childhood and the pillow of Age and the pallet of Death might be screened from tempest and winter. Man's labor would be required to rear the hut, and till the

adjoining field ; and when death, the allotment of man's sin, came, the family—which was not, though thereby bereaved, therefore also destroyed—would retain, by the fact of its permanence, the rights of the dead, along with their own entwined rights from the labor and sympathy on their part that had aided and sustained his toils, soothed his end, and furnished his tomb. The home thus would be the encasement and fruit of conjoint exertions ; and the death of neither parent nor brother would forfeit to the stranger the results that were, in part at least, from the labor of those yet surviving, and necessary to their family existence and development. And the God, who had instituted the home as the shell of the family—the condition, outgrowth and shelter of the household, as its shell is the home and shield of the snail—would not make orphanage doubly desolate by making the son fatherless and homeless in one day, stripping him of parent and heritage in the same bereavement. Those who say that every death should bring a new division of the land and possessions of society, ought, as consistent reasoners, to ask also such new division with every birth ; for the last alters the proportion of shares by increasing the number of claimants. A new division with each birth and death would keep society in a state of perpetual agitation ; and all industry, tillage, and trade must cease, whilst justice was with shears and scales shredding and measuring afresh every man's exact share, but which share no man could begin to put to use, before a new cradle or a fresh grave called for another submission of the general property to the balances and the shears of the judge. But

the family remaining a household, though the successive members of it be, by birth or death, continually changing, the homestead and inheritance are naturally to be retained, not so much by right of succession to individuals, as by the mere fact of the permanence of the family as a collective body :—not so much by descent from the life, now spent, of a dead parent, as by virtue of the unspent life of a continuous family. Where the parents were childless, the favored servant, adopted as a child, would be (as Abraham at one time regarded Eliezer of Damascus) the virtual son and heir. If such were the origin of property, as a necessary incident and condition of the household, we can see how closely the institutions of marriage and property cohere, and how, by a blind instinct, the opponents of one become often the assailants of the other also. If the roots of the two institutions thus interlace, we see also why, in the Jewish polity, the landed property could never be permanently severed from the family or tribe. Like every other institution which is left to man's management, property has no doubt been made the occasion of great wrongs, unduly abridged and unrighteously accumulated. But the abuse does not sustain the argument for the annihilation of the institution. The perversion of a boon is not generally best remedied by the extinction of the blessing itself.

Does the gospel make wealth or accumulated property a crime; and pronounce its forfeiture a precedent condition of our discipleship to Christ? By no means. The gospel does look with peculiar tenderness on the poor, to whom it directs especially its preaching, whilst

of the rich our Lord testified how hardly they shall be saved, and if left to men, how utterly impossible their salvation would prove. Of the covetous, the Scripture speaks as an abomination to the Lord; and pronounces covetousness itself mere inexcusable idolatry. Those "that will be rich," resolutely bent on this end, at all risks and by any methods, are warned that they fall into perilous snares, and pierce themselves through with many sorrows that drown men in destruction and perdition.* And yet riches honestly won, not sought supremely and for their own sake, and riches religiously used, as a trust and loan from God, so far from being a wrong and a curse, are spoken of as a blessing of which Jehovah himself assumes the authorship. "The blessing of the Lord, it maketh rich." "He giveth thee power to get wealth."

But gain is, like honor, an idol, when made man's first care and his chief quest. It was the blessing of Heaven on Demetrius to have a good report with all men, and from the truth itself. There was honor legitimately accruing, and not idolatrously or passionately sought; the fame that followed, not that which was anxiously and unscrupulously followed after. But when the Pharisees sought honor from one another, Christ himself declared it an insuperable obstacle to their faith in God, and consequently to that salvation which comes only

* The fall of Babylon, the proud and foremost enemy of God, as depicted in the Apocalypse, represents her "merchants" as having been "the great men of the earth." Rev. xviii. 23. And this suggests the gravest warning as to the affinity of Wealth with Luxury and with Error and Impiety; and that commercial greatness may be, in a most awful sense, a "bad eminence" before the God of holiness.

by faith. Honor, cherished as the first craving of the heart, was a barrier between their souls and the light of God's countenance. So he who says to gold, Thou art my trust, says to it, Thou art my God, and is a sharer in that sin of covetousness which blotted the memory of Gehazi, and brought down the curse of Achan, and stimulated the duplicity of Balaam, and sold to perdition Simon the sorcerer and Judas the traitor-apostle.

And the men, who are especially tempted by temperament and circumstances to this love of gold, are required by the gospel to exercise a self-denial that may not be demanded of all their fellow-disciples. The Jewish kings were by the Pentateuch forbidden to multiply gold and silver to themselves. It would, to men in their position, naturally induce luxury in themselves, and suggest and support tyrannous encroachments on the rights and liberties of their brethren. It was to the young ruler, as one having in his character traits of peril, that the Saviour addressed the command, to sell all and give to the poor. Christ gave no such precept indiscriminately, and to Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus and Zaccheus, although all these were probably men of affluence. The division of property among the early disciples at Jerusalem, after Pentecost, was but a temporary and local arrangement. Paul, in his letter to Timothy, lays down the duties of the rich Christian, but the entire renunciation of his estate is not one of the duties so enjoined; and the rich are only charged to be "rich in good works, ready to distribute," imply-

ing that the right of distribution yet resided in themselves.

On the contrary, the diligence enjoined here and elsewhere is, both in the Scripture and the providence of God, found drawing after it plenty, or wealth, as its natural sequence. And yet, with this concomitant, God does not prohibit the working, because such will be, in the healthful and prosperous state of a nation, the perilous issue of the working. Toil, and hard toil, is still duty. God, whilst making labor man's penalty for sin and the fall, has mercifully made it his safeguard also; and has, in still added kindness, made that labor to bring a large reward, in increase of his own comforts, and of his power to relieve others. The handful of the sower produces the lapful to the reaper. The man's toil, when a land is blessed, yields ordinarily not only his necessary food, but more than his immediate and personal need; and a store is gathered adequate to supply abundantly his more destitute neighbor, and to minister to the general advancement of the community, and to heighten competence into abundance, and abundance into overflowing opulence.

A Christian is bound to be so diligent, and so to avoid slothfulness, because his God has said, that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat. The Almighty Feeder has bound, on the guests that he feeds, toil as the condition and tenure of his bounties. Neglect and inaction on the guest's part are sure also to lessen the privileges of others, his fellow-guests, and his associates in the common task; and the apathy of one brings down more heavily the end of the common yoke on

the shoulders of another, his overcharged fellow. The yawning indifference of the loiterer wrings new and needless beads of sweat from the brow of the laborer. But diligence is more than simple exertion. The avoidance of slothfulness implies also the observance of system in the redemption of time; order and punctuality in our labors; and reference to the strength and tasks of others, the helpers or subordinates of our business. He that rules others is to do it "with diligence," whether his rule be in the church or in the affairs of this world. For society becomes, more and more with the advance of civilization and the expansion of commerce, a great system of wheels and pinions, in which no one, and especially none occupying a central place in the machinery, can withhold his share of effort without spreading confusion and dislocation through a wide range of influence, entangling the remotest cogs, and breaking up the largest wheels of the far-extended and intricate structure of associated activity.

The hand "not slothful" in business is also the persevering hand, not relinquishing its enterprise at the first difficulty: patient and persistent in its endeavors to remove the embarrassments that in God's providence befall all man's schemes, and that often seem permitted with the express purpose of teaching faith, and hardening us into higher energy. It becomes soon, also, the expert and practised hand. Long habit enables it to accomplish, at the end of years, many times the amount of labor in the same hours more than it could at first achieve. And the diligent hand trains also the

wary and ready eye. A man quick to do is quick also to see what is to be done. The toiler honestly and energetically employed in one walk finds unexpectedly opening upon him new avenues of enterprise—other walks, which he is at once best fitted to appreciate and to enter. So, on our Pacific slope it was seen, not long since, that men engaged in one form of industry—the opening of a mill-course—were the first to detect the hidden gold, and thus to disclose the exuberant mines of California. Diggers for water led the way to the diggers for gold. And mental labor has the same surprises of an unexpected increase. And so William Carey, the village craftsman and schoolmaster and pastor, whilst teaching some poor English lads their geography, has his own eyes and heart opened to discern the needs and claims of Eastern heathenism. “Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men.” And how was this, Solomon’s benediction on industry, verified, when the laborious schoolmaster of an inland village in Britain stands ere his death in the presence of English viceroys in India, inheriting for Christ and Christ’s gospel the fruits of the diplomacy of Hastings, and of the victories of a Clive and a Wellington? The humble shoemaker, whose heart had prayed for the far idolater, whilst he was, with an honest diligence, clouting the shoes of English rustics, and who had made the rude globes to be used in his school out of his own shop-leather, becomes among the most honored linguists of his day; thwarts and remodels, as to religious instruction, the policy of that gigantic corpo-

ration, the East India Company, with which the genius of Burke had wrestled unsuccessfully; and dies, amid literary honors, and multiplied versions of the Bible, and widely-planted churches of the living God, gathered from the pagan inhabitants of Bengalee villages, and from the idolaters who had shouted once the praises of Krishna and Kalee in the streets of imperial Calcutta.

The diligent hand, lastly, as it is not likely to remain the empty palm, so it is not the most apt to be the dishonest, the wasteful, the injurious, or the murderous hand. Industry, as it is the handmaid of Plenty, so it is also the daughter of Thrift, and the guardian of Order, and Peace, and Virtue.

But whilst enjoining diligence, the apostle does not sanction that undue and overwrought exertion which leaves the operative classes no leisure for reading or home enjoyments; which mechanizes and materializes human nature; which usurps on the hours of repose, and makes the blessed Sabbath itself a mere day of drawling and yawning lassitude. Christian Britain has lifted a loud and earnest protest against American slavery—far as it is just, let it be heeded—but her own mines and her own manufactories have been greatly misrepresented, if trade has not, in both, stinted man of his rest, and cheated childhood of its growth, and beguiled woman of her home, by a system of grinding and exacting toil, which has but too many of the worst evils of slavery. Diligence in business is not to cover the wrongs of absorption by business; and should not protect from reproof an engrossing and brutifying

devotion of body and mind to the mere service of Mammon, that puts out the eyes of the soul, and sets men to grind, like Samson, blinded captives in their workhouse prison.

II. And thus we reach a second portion of our theme—the Snares of Wealth. No man can serve God and Mammon. This is a principle settled by the affirmation of Him who knew, for he made man's heart; and of Him whose sayings should be heeded, for he is to judge us at the last dread day.

Whilst a man has a right to the diligent application of his powers in the honest business of this life, and to the secure possession, the temperate and grateful enjoyment of the success with which God may see fit to crown his endeavors, he has no right to do this in such a spirit, and by such methods, as shall bedwarf and starve his soul. A Christian must seek first and evermore the kingdom of God. His zeal in worldly matters is not to diminish and drain away, but is to be subordinate to, and expressive of, his zeal for truth and God. He is to cherish a fervor of spirit, a glowing, burning piety, which the practices of his secular life should never discredit; and which the closet, and the Bible, and the sanctuary will be needed to sustain. If he go forth into the atmosphere of commercial life—which, however upright, and intelligent, and honorable, is in our times a life of pervading worldliness—he needs the preservative of earnest and habitual devotion; or worldliness must else certainly infect and poison his own

spirit. Amid the din and turmoil of business, its rivalries and its oscillations, he needs to bear about him the talisman and equilibrium of a life hidden with Christ in God, giving calmness to his energy, and saving his emulation from becoming an inhuman selfishness.

He needs a principled and systematic benevolence, or the claims of an expanding business, or of a prodigal and gorgeous expenditure, leave him with growing means, but stationary or retrogressive in his liberality to the cause of Christianity, and of human necessities and brotherhood. For if riches increase, they too, as the wise man warns us, are increased that eat them; and the fancies and wants, the retainers of opulence, and the cravings of indulgence, grow yet more rapidly than do the stores that are to sustain them. And he who enters upon a successful course of accumulation, with no serious and fixed purposes of remembering evermore the claims of mankind, his toiling and needy brethren, and the rights of God—the common Parent—will have soon mercy and piety decaying within him. Conscience will shrink, feeble and disregarded, as into a mere corner of his soul; and her protests, once loud and authoritative, will sink into a faint and disregarded whisper; whilst PASSION, PRIDE, and FASHION, will bid him concentrate all his cares on self—will teach him to fling haughtily to WANT a few unconsidered parings of his abundance, and promise him God's favor, on the condition of his paying a homage, alike infrequent, and distant, and heartless. Heaven has proclaimed no such sliding and diminishing tariff of devotion, where the

duties owing to the SOVEREIGN decrease, just as the revenues bestowed on the liege subject increase.

Yet it is in human nature, fallen and ingrate, an instinctive tendency to accept from a growing plenty a waning piety. As the good Wesley complained, after a wide survey of society and a long acquaintance with the churches, religion brings wealth, but wealth destroys religion; and the daughter kills, thus, the mother. It is one of the beneficent arrangements of God's good providence in our times, that the benevolent and religious organizations of the age so largely ask, from the prosperous and affluent of our church-members, their contributions, and not these only, but their counsels. And, by taking his just part in the oversight and conduct of these great schemes of amelioration and evangelization, a man of business, experienced, and prompt, and generous, may not only aid the enterprise, but still more benefit his own soul. But if, as easily it may be, an affluent Christian brings into such scenes of counsel and supervision, a spirit secular and self-reliant, the mere current tone of the Exchange or the highway, he is likely to clog or unsettle the schemes that he claims to befriend. Though needing and using worldly resources, the work of spreading Christ's Gospel is not a work either of the world's might, or of the world's wisdom. The task, eminently and evermore, of Faith, he who, with advantage to the race and with acceptance before the MASTER, conducts that task needs, whether he be pastor or layman, to be chiefly and constantly a man of earnest faith. Our great religious

societies need in their counsellors worldly experience, but their paramount want is the lowly, loving trust, that eyes the command and promise and presence of Christ, and that shapes all its plans, and gathers and expends all its resources, in simplest dependence on His Divine word, and His pledged and omnipotent aid. It is not so easy for the Christian of growing means to maintain this clinging, child-like faith. And if to a work eminently spiritual, he approach in a spirit eminently secular—if he learn to despise others, his fellow-servants, his equals in intelligence, and it may be his superiors in intellect, only because they are his inferiors in wealth, and who have made themselves thus poorer than him, and contemptible in his sight, in their love and service of a Master, who stooped to the lowest poverty in ransoming them and their race—then, it is but too certain, that counsels so prompted will hamper rather than hasten the deliverance of the world from wretchedness, idolatry and death. For the philanthropic enterprises of the churches, and the devotions of our sanctuaries, are not in themselves a sufficient safeguard from the entanglements and besetments of great prosperity. If thou doest well for thyself, men will praise thee. And the intoxicating adulation comes not from the worldly and unscrupulous only. A prosperous Christian may find it reeking in his nostrils from censers shaken vigorously around him by his fellow-disciples. A low grade of religious feeling and attainments, if found in the successful and wealthy, is likely to be extravagantly commended. The piety of a rich man is not liable to be underrated, but rather to be overstated by his fellow-

Christians. And a man, not bringing his own heart and way steadily and constantly to the stern, searching light of his Bible, and closet, and Saviour, will soon learn from unreflecting fellow-disciples, the fatal art of those who measure themselves among themselves. His purse will seem to him to be giving awful weight to all his opinions and his whims even; his gold will, to his charmed vision, gild with dazzling splendor of excellence his every doing and saying, and gift and wish in religious matters. He will be tempted to assume the attitude of patronage towards the service of that blessed and Divine Master who needed not—who asked not—who brooks not the patronage of any man, or of any class of men, of prince or potentate, of king or of Kaysar. Christ is the channel of grace to man, not the recipient of favors from man. He was not too high to stoop to the redemption of the beggar Lazarus and the dying thief; but he never sunk so low as to require or admit the patronage of an Alexander or a Napoleon, though at the head of vast armies, or in the rule of the widest empires.

A Christian needs—and especially a Christian blessed with worldly success needs a fervent spirit, that he may preserve before this great and most gracious Sovereign and Saviour, Christ, a lowly spirit. And a continued and prayerful conflict is requisite, thus to tame down the natural assumptions of the vain-glorious heart, and to drive sternly back the bewildering flatteries that in the world and even in the church surround and solicit him.

All the various forms of beguilement into which

worldly success may lead a man, it would be impossible to describe. If even a Christian, largely prospered, may easily forget the rights of his brethren and of their common Master, it is but natural that the man of wealth who is not a Christian should become early and extravagantly reckless of the claims of God on high and of his fellow-men around him. And the faithless servant, portrayed in Christ's parable, who smote his fellow-servants on the one hand, is described as, on the other hand, eating and drinking with the drunken. Pride and indulgence are found in closest union. He who derides or but ignores his brother's rights and his Maker's commands, soon blots out by rude sensualism the traces of his own spiritual nature, and strives to forget his high destinies of immortality and accountability.

Even if preserved from the excesses of lawless riot, he is in fearful peril of mistaking the character of this present life, and the nature of his own relations to society and God. Virtually we are none of us our own. Our position amid the tasks and joys of earth is but that of favored and trusted servants, who at a distance from their generous employer are allowed, in the collection of his revenues, to fix, equitably and conscientiously, the charges of collection and travel. But, these deducted, the journey is for another; and the income is to redound to a higher and better than themselves. If the servant forget the home and the reckoning and the proprietorship; if he make the journey one of mere self-indulgence, and his own expenditures swallow up all his lord's revenues; if he treat the way-side inn as

his home and portion, and forswear his citizenship and allegiance and parentage, and become a mere lawless embezzler ; he cannot, by all his remissness and oblivion, efface God's rights, evade the visit of death, or soften the horrors and ruin of the final audit, when the true Proprietor and the affectionate and trusting Parent shall summon him to the eternity where a man is to receive according to the deeds done in the body.

What multitudes shall be found in the last day thus to have wasted the trust-funds of their earthly stewardship ; how many, even within the comparatively narrow and guarded precincts of Christ's own professed churches, shall be proved guilty before the Searcher of hearts of that covetousness which is idolatry, is a thought full of terror, and that may well excite to the most painful and jealous scrutiny of our hearts. For if to love the creature more than the Creator be a crime, forfeiting heaven and dooming the soul to just and remediless perdition ; if the friendship of the world be indeed, absolutely and unquestionably, enmity with God ; if all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life, be not of the Father, but of the world ; and if any man, so loving the world, has not—cannot have—must not claim to have—the love of the Father, or the spirit of Christ, or a good hope in heaven ; then, how certain is it that, even in the membership of our churches, many must be self-deceived and self-doomed ; and how evident is it that from pews and pulpits, and family altars, and communion-tables, there is sloping a smooth way, a broad one,

a brief and a sure, that leads down to the society of the lost and the pit of eternal wailing.

This world is our lodge in our wayfaring ; but not our lot and home. Disappointed and disinherited and at last eternally wretched must those be who make it such. Happy and safe he only is who recognizes its true character as the land of probation, exile, and pilgrimage ; and who, knowing a better home, and fearing and loving an omniscient Father, journeys prayerfully to His rest, and walks devoutly by His law.

III. For the Lord—with whom the convert's soul is entwined and wound around, if he be truly saved—"bound in the Lord's bundle of life"—enlisted the spirits that he vouchsafed to ransom, first as his *servants*, and only hereafter and in a better world to reign as *kings* with him. And in proportion to a man's receipts from the Master must be his reckonings with the Master. Wealth, like all other talents, mental or material, has its correspondent responsibilities ; and where much has been given, the more will be asked. In a day like our own, when the world is drawn closer by augmented commerce and accelerated travel, and when the penny of the child, dropped in the mission-box of a church on the sides of our Alleghanies, may surely and speedily fall through on the farther side of the globe, in the shape of a tract, into the swarth hand of a Karen peasant traversing the forests that skirt the Irrawaddy ;—in a government like that of our Master, where the prayer whispered in the widow's drear and lone

garret, as she kneels on the one poor strip of rag-carpet, may reach the council-chamber, and be mentioned upon the sapphire pavement, of the highest heavenly glory,—it is a solemn responsibility to live for one more hour, and to own but the next shilling. Each fragment, however tiny, of time, and each splinter, however minute, of property or influence, has the King's imprint and superscription: "To God the things that are God's." He does not scorn or spurn the widow's two mites, and he will not forget or fail to reward the cup of cold water given in the love of him to the least of his disciples, though poor, forlorn, uncouth or persecuted. A Christian commences his career, in the first pulsations of his new-found and regenerate life, with the consecration of himself and his all to this blessed and glad service, and with the humble, honest inquiry, "Lord, what wilt thou have me do?"

What *shall* he do? The Master will then have every man remember his will, and bear his image into all the spheres of their intercourse and influence. There is an affecting emphasis in the brief though unidiomatic rendering of a phrase of Hezekiah* which our translators have placed in the margin, "Thou hast loved my soul from the pit of corruption." Like a father who snatches back with convulsive affection his falling child, fast passing over the edge of a fearful precipice, God is seen, not so much with might of arm as with might of heart, by an out-throbbing compassion that incarnates itself, "LOVING US BACK," and wafting us up out of the horrible abyss of perdition. And so loved, loved with-

*Isaiah xxxviii. 17.

out limit, we love him that loved us, with an unstinted and undying gratitude. And the new-born thankfulness of the convert's soul dignifies his lowest act of homage and attachment. Jesus notes the upward glancing of the eye swimming in tears, and those "groanings which cannot be uttered" of a soul unable to speak its glad obligations—even these the Master reads, and registers, and rewards. "The love of Christ constraineth us." Thus prompted, every allowable task of life may catch a new lustre, and have high relations and tendencies, and subject itself to the most searching and solemn of tests: Is it fit for the Elder Brother's eye, before which it must always be wrought? Avocations the most laborious and harassing may be elevated—and the "*conversation*" thus be wafted into "*heaven*"—by the new spirit in which they are pursued. With Noah, the carpenter of the ark, the mortising and joining of its beams must have suggested fresh sympathy for his careless and mocking neighbors, fresh confidence in his message, and deepening gratitude for the mercy that distinguished and spared him amid the impending ruin. David, in his better hours, might, alike when folding his sheep, wielding the sling for Goliath's forehead, writing the Psalms, judging his people, or dictating his last will, be a loyal and accepted servant of his Lord. Paul, when arguing on Mars Hill, answering for his life before Cæsar, inditing his epistles, turning the seams of the tents that he fabricated, or bowing in meek fearlessness his martyr-neck to the sword for Christ's sake, might be, alike in all these various modes, fulfilling one service, and honoring the same unchanging Master.

And, to go to a higher than patriarchs or apostles, if, as one of the Fathers tells us, our Saviour in his youth wrought at Joseph's trade, and made for the peasantry around him ox-yokes and ploughs, we may be sure that he served and honored his Father in heaven even here. Piety to God involved probity to man, and mercifulness to the very animals of burden. No beast of draught whose neck was clasped by Christ's workmanship, would suffer from fraudulent and cruel haste, leaving the yoke rough and harsh, to tear and fret the skin. No customer of Joseph his father would have right to say that the young Nazarene, his reputed son, had put dishonestly into the ploughs that he sold, either defective workmanship or rotten timber. And having, during the years in which he was growing up, and in which he "grew in favor with God," shown, by the secular tasks in which he was engaged, that godliness may pervade and color life's daily toil, he gave a lesson on the other hand, in his public ministry, that worship is more than mere industry, when with a scourge of cords he drove from his Father's temple the changers of money and the sellers of doves. Traffic has its rightful hours and localities, but when it has invaded the house of God, it converts the sanctuary into a den of thieves. To serve the Lord, then, implies just principles of secular action, and a regard to God's will and word in all our ways; in the timing of our business and our devotions, in our choice of occupation and associates, and in the earning and bestowment of the property obtained by diligence in business. It is just the service of God that blends effectually the fervid spirit and the active hand; that

keeps business from starving devotion, and devotion from slighting business; that makes our activity a principled and Christian activity, and that, on the other hand, saves our Christian principles and emotions from lying as bed-ridden sluggards, inoperative as to any control over the house, the highway, and the life. So to serve the Lord Christ is the best safeguard against the folly and treason of serving merely ourselves, our own fancies and sordid interests, and of serving, with the world, the prince of that world, Abaddon, the deceiver and destroyer.

And those so consecrated and busied have the assurance not only of being accepted hereafter, but of being helped and guided by their Master now and here. As a novice in writing has sometimes his hand held in and guided by that of his teacher, so our gracious and celestial Teacher instructs and enables his docile people. The apostles had "the hand of the Lord working with them." And when, in weakness, and the last mortal languor and agony, all earthly toil is at an end, precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. He shelters and gathers his outworn workmen. When heart and flesh fail them, his everlasting arms environ and sustain them. The arm for us outstretched and torn on Calvary grasps and upraises the tottering disciple as he is sliding into eternity. That hand, hymned of old in many a song of sacramental praise, traced in many a dark crisis of providence, now clasps and assures the pilgrim, as he wades into the chill and deepening waters of death. "The good hand of the Lord upon us," as said the Israelites returning from Babylon and

captivity, was to them the secret of escape and relief. By that same hand, we too come up out of the wilderness, successful wrestlers with the last enemy through this Christ; and leaning on him, the beloved of the soul, and the served and adored of our lives, we find Him our attendant and guardian in death, and our portion for evermore.

And not only does God thus work with those who serve him, but he makes their works to survive and follow them. "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord; . . . their works do follow them." Over our heads and tasks in this nineteenth century, may be now floating instalments yet to be answered of patriarchal prayers; petitions to be granted in or after our century, but that were offered by Enoch walking with God ere he went up, and by Isaac as he strayed forth to meditate at eventide. Ay—and not only what was done for the Lord, but what was honestly intended to be done, and left by adverse providence or intervening death undone, is remembered and rewarded before this generous and loving Lord. We enter into the late-springing harvest from the buried and dead seed that the confessors and the martyrs of darker times sowed to the Spirit and to the Saviour, in their fruitless aspirations, all unavailing as to men they seemed. The prayers of Covenanters who swung in the Grass-market; of Marian confessors burnt at Smithfield; of Mennonites drowned in their dim forgotten dungeons; of Roman Christians torn in the first centuries by the wild beasts, even while they were praying, in Pagan amphitheatres; all are encircling and bedewing us with their unspent

benefits. Such are works done and purposed, that follow the suffering workman long after he rests from his earthly sacrifices, and when he has exchanged the toilsome labors of his terrestrial exile for the serener service of his celestial home.

Is it not a privilege to fall into the line of such a procession, and to embathe the soul in this cloud of witnesses? Is it not truest freedom and glory and bliss to have such a Master to serve, and such fellow-helpers to join, and such a world to serve him in?—a world as yet so ignorant, so forlorn and so hostile, but needing, most of all, Him whom most of all it hates.

And with such a summons to awe us as the recent death, and with such a memory and example to cheer and win us as that death has bequeathed and sealed, shall we not glow into emulation amid our lamentation and gloom? The work needs yet other laborers, and it repels none from a share in the toil, the testimony, or the triumph. The Master in His majesty really requires not the strongest of us; but such is his tenderness, he invites and employs the weakest of us; and nought forborne or ventured, done or sought to be done, shall lose with him, the generous and fraternal Master, its exact memorial or its abounding recompense.

How soon the hour of exertion may cease, and the summons of our departure come, none can say of us, as none could have said it in the case of him whose vacant place and broken purposes we now consider.

Our departed brother had his birth and training in this metropolis. Often as the sons, even of Christian

households, reared amid the temptations of a great city, make shipwreck alike of parental hopes and their own fairest prospects for usefulness and happiness, he by God's grace escaped all such perils. He was an example of success blessing the prayers and nurture of a Christian home. His father, the late Garrat N. Bleeker, a man of eminent integrity and piety, was for many years the Comptroller of our City. At the age of seven years, this his son was brought to the Sabbath-school. With Sabbath-schools he remained closely and devotedly identified, as pupil or as teacher, the residue of his life, or for more than four-fifths of his whole earthly career. The little copy of the New Testament which he received in boyhood, as a Sabbath-school reward, was through life a valued memorial. The youth who earns such a manual, and makes it his guide, will not, with the blessing of the Spirit, miss his way either through earth or to heaven. At the age of fifteen, he became himself a teacher. It was not until attaining the age of twenty-one years that he became a member of the Baptist church in Oliver street, to which his parents belonged. To the welfare of his Sabbath pupils, he devoted himself with the greatest ardor. During the last winter, meeting a pious friend in the street, he said to him, as the tears rolled down his cheeks: "This is the happiest day in my life. One who, years ago, was a scholar in my Sabbath class, has just called on me to speak of his conversion, and ascribes it to my instrumentality." Let us hope that it is not the last whom he is yet to greet, as given to his prayers and endeavors in that province of Christian toil; and that others, trophies

of his patient and earnest work, are yet to follow him into the land of light.

In the relations of commercial life he displayed many of the best traits of that noble stock, the old Hollander race, from whom he derived his descent. His industry and assiduity were not only marked, but remarkable to the most casual and superficial observer. The utmost punctuality and perseverance and system distinguished his movements. He had great sobriety of judgment in commercial matters; and his opinion was regarded as eminently sound and trustworthy by that branch of trade to which he belonged. His communications were brief and prompt, but as firmly adhered to as simply enunciated. Fixedness entered largely as an element into his character. And his probity was most manifest and unquestioned; so that all of his acquaintances in business, even those of them not sharing in his religious convictions, or some of them perhaps prepared to distrust any decided religious profession, yet accorded to him the credit of eminent integrity. He had the sturdy, simple, strong, inflexible, and industrious traits of the old Batavian race; the men whose heroism and diligence converted the fens of Holland into a garden, broke the yoke and repelled the arms of Spain in the proudest day of that monarchy, outwore the fierce and relentless Alva, sent their fleets and their colonies into the far East and this, the new-found West, and made within their dikes a home for learning and commerce, and a rampart for freedom and Scripture, that proved impregnable alike to Papal craft and Imperial despotism.

But his principles were more than national characteristics. They were reinforced and elevated by the truth of God, graven by the Divine Spirit on his own heart and experience. At his conversion to God he found himself with a most respectable firm, employed in a branch of trade, where a part of the profits was derived from a traffic that, as he supposed, ministered to intemperance and the injury of the community. It was proposed, on the discovery of the difficulties which he felt, that he should remain a partner, but be exonerated from sharing in the proceeds of that portion of the business. Worldly considerations all seemed to require his acquiescence in this arrangement. Without any prospect of other employment but as a clerk, and without any capital, and his father now dead, he however determined that he must relinquish his connection, though otherwise most pleasant to him personally, and full of lucrative promise. The large success afterwards vouchsafed him in the new pursuit to which he was directed, was perhaps God's benediction upon the quiet and kindly but decided surrender of interest to what seemed in his judgment duty. He rose by energy and integrity to the control of a large and lucrative traffic. Godliness, we believe, regulated, in his view, the tradings of his warehouse, as much as it did his relations to the Church and the Sabbath-school. Speaking of one of the mechanical arts, intimately connected with his own mercantile pursuits as an importer of iron, he was accustomed to say, that had religion found him a blacksmith, he should have deemed it his solemn duty to aim to become the best man of his trade. His worship

he felt should permeate and color all the veins of his social and commercial character. He was to honor God, and glorify his name, not only as the church-goer, but as the daily worker. We have been told that a merchant acquainted with him in the relations of business life, and not a sharer of his religious feelings, has spoken of him since his death as one presenting the fairest exhibition of all virtues, and the most entire exemption from all faults, of any commercial man whom he had known.

He sought success not so much as an end, but rather as a means, that with his abundance he might aid the cause of religion, and minister to the claims and needs of his race. In the delirium of his last days of feebleness he was heard to murmur the maxim of Bentham. It was an utilitarianism on his lips, far more magnificent than in the conception of the first framer of the sentiment. He said that he had "sought to promote the greatest good of the greatest number." If man have an immortal soul, can it be claimed rightfully for the merely worldly philanthropist, that he has sought "the *greatest* good," when neglecting the *spiritual* good of mankind? And can he who is dull of eyes or slow of heart to feel the woes of the mass of the race perishing in idolatry, be said to have desired or advanced the greatest good "*of the greatest number*," when overlooking the myriad victims of Paganism? His liberality was systematic and large and cordial. Every good cause commending itself to his regards seemed not only patiently met but gladly—not only gladly—but gratefully, as if he rejoiced thus to bless man, and express his love and service to his Redeemer. In the

last months of failing health, it had been his wish, when he should have returned from Europe, to release himself from the more onerous portion of his commercial engagements, that he might more exclusively consecrate himself to religious usefulness. To the poor he showed a fraternal and prompt sympathy, which those whom a severe industry has made affluent do not always manifest. He delighted to give them generous compensation for their labor; by a liberal remuneration fostering the habit of self-support, and saving them from the pain of receiving alms.

In the relations of the home, as for years the only remaining son of a widowed mother, and the only brother in a numerous household, he manifested an unselfish spirit that had from his early years distinguished him, and that Divine grace seemed to enhance. Absorption in business would make perhaps his demonstrations of affection less frequent and perhaps less marked; and habitual self-inspection might prevent the outer manners from assuming the cordiality and warmth that less guarded scrutiny of one's own heart and way would have allowed. The men of principled self-denial seem often, at the first glance, reserved, when they are but meditative; and the gravity of self-control may be mistaken for coldness.

In the Church of Christ, that larger family "and household of the faith," his usefulness was wide-spread, and unremitting and self-sacrificing. In coming amongst the Church and people who are here wont to worship, he met on their part the highest expectations of his usefulness. But he occupied his place with an unassuming humility that was habitual to him, and of the depth of

which, those who saw him most nearly were most aware ; but that seemed to shrink from those abasing references to self, in which truly humble men sometimes indulge, and which sometimes form the sole humility of others. In the lowly estimate which he had formed of his own powers, he has been known to say, that God had not blessed him with talent, but had bestowed upon him energy, and with this it was his duty and purpose to glorify God. The ardor and copiousness and aptitude of his prayers, attested alike mind and heart. It has been the testimony, we believe, of every one of the pastors with whom he has been connected, as it is of the speaker, that Noel Bleecker was, whether as private member or office-bearer, eminently and constantly one on whom a pastor's heart might safely lean, and lean with its full weight of trust.

A failure of his health, rather, it was hoped, the effect of exhaustion than the presence of disease, led him during the last winter to visit the South. The relief was apparent, but not permanent ; and he had, after returning North, made full preparation for a voyage to Europe, and a long course of travel there. A new residence had been purchased for him in the city, during his Southern absence, to be completed while he was abroad, and which, on the termination of his European tour, he expected to make his permanent abode. God had far other purposes, and a higher and more enduring habitation for his servant, to be reached by a briefer but more solemn journey. The weakness soon manifested was so great, that the voyage was countermanded, and after a week of confinement to his room, fevered

and greatly enfeebled, he sunk, unexpectedly to his nearest friends and himself, into an untimely grave, at the age of thirty-eight years, on Saturday night, the 28th of May, 1853. On the Monday of that week, the Saturday of which witnessed his departure, he seemed to be engaged in reviewing his past life. He said that he now saw how over-exertion had injured his health; "but," added he, "I do not regret any thing that I have done for the promotion of the cause of Christ, even though, as my friends have often told me, I was wearying myself with the mere secular part of the interests of religion; I know that what I did was done to the Lord. He saw the heart, and knows the motive." Or, as he at another time said, "he regarded the amount of his ability as the measure of his duty, and it was his desire to fill up life with usefulness." If, perhaps, he erred in over-estimating and over-tasking his physical ability, it was an error rarely occurring; and let the high excellence of the motive not be forgotten in our judgment of the character. What his hand found to do, he did; but the heart, in its holy ambition, exaggerated unduly the powers of the hand, more eager than strong. "The spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak." Such was the lesson which our Lord gave to extenuate the sluggishness of apostles, in failing to do what they might. It certainly, then, is capable of application to one who sought to do more than he well could. His was a contrary extreme, where a fervid and over-willing spirit, in its energy, forgot the weakness of the crumbling flesh that housed and obeyed it.

We mourn him; and it is well that we should mourn

one in so many walks active for man and zealous for God ;—one who leaves in the home and the sanctuary, the wide circle of kindred, the benevolent associations of our city, and the mercantile community, so large, so sudden and significant a void. But we bless God for what he was, and for what he now, as we trust, is. We would adore the grace that made him Noel Bleecker ; and since we may see him no more on earth, we would implore its help to tread in his steps, ponder his example, and rejoin him at last, when the rapt and well-mated spirit, associated with a renewed and spiritual body, shall no longer feel the clogs of this failing flesh, the perils of the wilderness, and the anxieties and conflicts of this land of exile, temptation and sin.

We would fain bind on the hearts of all young men who may be our hearers, and especially on those who, in nearer contact with the departed, in Sabbath, mercantile, or private life, valued and loved him, the memorial of his career. Christian principle fed, in his character and course, beneficence, integrity, honor and prosperity. We implore his pupils of the Sabbath-school to fail not of meeting their affectionate instructor at the right hand in the Judgment Day. We would urge on all the solemn admonition, that purposes the most expansive, and piety the most consistent, are no assurance that God shall grant us, on this stage of action, any long and wide future. The present—this fleeting hour, so undervalued and so wasted—may be to us the whole residue of life ; and prove, in our case, the hinge on which revolves a vast and unchangeable Eternity. An unexpected end—a cloud of delirium shading the last hours—

found the friend whom we lament nevertheless fully prepared—for, to use one of the phrases last caught from his dying lips, he was “*disrobed and waiting to depart.*” He was so by the experience of Christ’s grace which he had enjoyed in earlier, and youthful, and healthful days.

An immediate repentance is the only safety of the unregenerate. A daily consecration is the best safeguard and truest glory of the regenerate. Paul, after giving to Timothy the most solemn of injunctions as to his pastoral duties, in sight of the Judgment Day and Mediatorial Throne, then bids him echo down their relative duty on the rich among the private members of his flock. The Apostle charges his son to charge them that are rich, not to confide in wealth; to urge on them trust in God and richness in good works, readiness to distribute and willingness to communicate; the laying up of a good foundation against the time to come. Does the New Testament, by holding such language, present heaven as a commodity to be bought, and describe our God as bribed with earthly gold? Is the basis of our salvation a pecuniary one? Is the use of riches for God a title to Paradise? Not so. The context condemns those who thus make gain to be identical with godliness. No. The name and work of Christ is the sinner’s only basis of pardon, and redemption, and hope, either for this world or the next. But when truly building on Christ’s grace, the wise use of our gifts, mental or material, does commence, in these lower regions of time, a substructure of service for God, of which the higher Eternity witnesses the continuance and consummation, and indefinite expansion. The

righteous dead “rest from their *labors*” in the anxiety and anguish, the fears and conflicts, that mar and stain our terrestrial service of Christ. But whilst from these, the imperfect and painful, they do rest, yet their “*works* follow them.” “His servants SERVE Him” within the veil. Thus the earlier courses of the building and its basement structure, laid in this lower state of being, become the supporting foundations of a greater superstructure of like-minded adoration and sympathy and service, within the gates of celestial blessedness. The sublunary conversion and consecration are like the coral base of islands in the Southern seas, “a good foundation against the time to come.” That eternity, the better “time to come,” is the upper surface of verdure, fertility and beauty.

But to live, as many live, with self for the centre and deity of their schemes, is to lay up not “a good foundation,” but a tottering ruin—a heaving and “bowing wall,” that in the day of retribution will crush the unhappy builder in its irreparable and far-resounding fall. Life spent in gew-gaws or shows, in eagerly heaping or idly scattering gold—how will it seem, when a Redeemer incarnate in mercy, and presenting Himself as not only our ransom but our pattern, appears on the judgment-seat? Gold, loved for its own sake and spent for self, how will it seem in that day? Here it may bedeck and exalt; it may plate over the cheek with unblushing hardihood, and plate over the heart with impenetrable selfishness and callousness; but can it replace happiness, or buy health? Can it turn the edge of the sword of death, or bridge the fiery pit, or pry open the closed

gates of Paradise? "What shall a man be profited, though he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"—to redeem that back whose "redemption ceaseth for ever!"

The world has its evasions of the gospel, and of that gospel's just and divine demands. It is not only for the Christian preacher to counteract these evasions; Christian merchants and traders owe it, not merely to their fellow-disciples and their pastors, but to their Master, to answer the world in its own halls—to plead with the dignitaries of Traffic, and Law, and State, in their own Areopagus, and by an example of mercantile integrity and liberality, built upon and blazing abroad Christian principles, to put to rest the doubts of those who think piety cannot be also practical and prosperous, and to quell the scoffings of those who would make all religion a mere pretence, a robe donned for the Sabbath day, and doffed for the intervening days. The Christian church of earlier times, and other lands, has had such examples. The Ashursts and Abneys of the early days of British Nonconformity; the liberal, wise, and effective plans and gifts of such men as Thornton of the Established Church, and Budgett the Methodist, and Wilson the Congregationalist, have shown what power and nobleness reside in a true Christian merchant.

America has had its Bethunes, and Ralstons, and Markoes. Our own denomination may recall its worthies. In older times its Kiffin was eminent for faithfulness in a day of persecution, riot, and blasphemy, hon-

ored among the aldermen and merchant-princes of London, but, withal, a Baptist pastor; David Dale of Glasgow, the banker, manufacturer, and merchant, was also the spiritual guide of a humble Christian flock; and Nathaniel R. Cobb, of Boston, was known as the enterprising, energetic, and successful merchant, whose Christian consistency ruled and glorified his whole commercial activity. We venture to introduce among such names that of our brother recently gone from us. Shall he have successors? Does not Christ's cause demand them? Does not Christ's grace to us deserve them?

We cannot rightly gauge the vast influences that, from the workshops and warehouses of a great sea-port, flow down, not only into the life and morals of the country on whose shores that city stands, but into the moral and religious character of other and remote lands, and of kindreds of men speaking other dialects than the tongue heard in the streets of that sea-port, or on the decks of its merchant argosies.

Those who have looked to the origin and history of the Romish sisterhoods at present working with a quiet energy amongst us, know, that the founder of one powerful and now wide-spread community, of this class, was an American matron. Bred in this metropolis, in the communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, she sought, with her sick husband, relief and if it might be returning health for him, on the shores of Italy. The home of two Italian brothers, merchants, correspondents and friends of the husband, welcomed the travellers. The kind offices there lavished on the strangers, on the dying husband, on the disconsolate widow and her or-

phan child, and the proselyting zeal there manifested, won that woman's heart. The balm of sympathy, as it dropt on her bleeding wounds, colored with a new tinge her life and creed. She came back, widowed and destitute; but, ere long, to be an avowed and most devoted Catholic, the means of winning others, both kindred and strangers, to the same faith. She traced to the zeal of her merchant hosts, her own Romanism; and one of them said, in substance, that he would regard his own influence, in turning her from Protestantism, amongst his merits and claims before God in the eternal world. Did that influence end with her? Who shall calculate the full bearings of the religious career thus commenced; and the power going out, before and since her death, from the institution which she planted on our shores? How little could the Italian merchant, on the shore of his own blue Mediterranean, as he drove the quill, or paced his warehouse, foresee that his ministering to this afflicted stranger at the quarantine, and his receiving her and hers beneath his roof, were so to affect Protestant America, and so to influence a people speaking the English language, and traditionally distrustful of Italian faith? And are Italian merchants better than American? Is Florence, or Genoa, or Leghorn, to wield the influence of New-Orleans, or our own New-York? Shall the churches and the lands that boast an open Bible, and a spiritual worship, and a free toleration, hold back—when thus they are summoned to rivalry or submission, by those who put Tradition for Revelation, and secularize the Church, and proclaim Despotism as the safeguard of Piety and Order? We

need—the cause and truth of God—the well-being of souls—the interests of patriotism, and freedom, and a pure gospel, require—that our worshippers be not merely Sabbath-keeping and church-going men and women, but that they worship God in their daily tasks, be it at the hearth-stone, or by the cradle, or by the counter, at the work-bench, in the narrow kitchen, or in the spacious warehouse. We reject the huge error, that all “work is worship;” but we would fain leave on your hearts the simple truth, that a genuine worship—God-fearing, God-taught, and God-owned, is a working worship. True piety haunts, not only closets and pulpits and sanctuaries, but walks as no careless and incurious stranger, through all man’s scenes of toil, and anxiety, and suffering, and conflict, directing the labor and soothing the sorrow. It aims to be at work, working with all, working for all, working every where, and working evermore, until the earth be full of the knowledge of the Lord, and the GREAT REDEEMING WORK of Calvary have won its last seal, and garnered its last sheaf. And let us, whatever others do, be “not slothful,” but followers of them whose work death has only transferred to higher scenes, and advanced into a nobler fellowship. Let us be followers of “them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.” Their faith “labored.” Their patience had its “perfect work.” So let us live and die; and earth shall be sad for our going, and heaven be glad for our coming.

But let us remember that the religion, thus practical in its fruits, was in its root spiritual—that it recognized in man, the fallen, the need of a renewing change by God’s own Spirit—that it accepted the great truths of

Scripture as the elements of duty, and the law of toil, and the support of hope. It "SERVED," not man, the egotist, in his isolation—not man in the abstract, in the masses of the nation or of the race—not interest, or fame, or fashion, but "THE LORD;" a personal, uncreated, incarnate, and atoning SOVEREIGN, whose blood was its plea, whose book was its law, whose life was its pattern, and whose Spirit was its life. It—to use the language of our friend on his last earthly Sabbath—"clasped in death" this Jesus as "the antidote of death."* Happy they, in whatever clime or age, church or community, of whom, thus pledged and thus accepted, this Master shall say, in the hearing of an assembled universe: "Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord:"—and so passes, in the overwhelming plenitude of God's recompense, the steward faithful in the employment of ten talents, to bear rule over his ten cities; and earth's poor toil lapses into the glories and rest of eternity.

* Mr. Bleeker, on the evening of his last Sabbath, repeated emphatically, as he lay in great weakness, the entire hymn which contains these words, and begins with the line: "*Jesus, I love thy charming name.*"

Christianity designed for the World, and the World
designed for Christianity.

A

S E R M O N ,

PREACHED AT CINCINNATI, OHIO, OCTOBER 4, 1853,

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS
FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

AT THEIR

FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

BY WILLIAM ADAMS, D. D.

OF NEW YORK CITY.

B O S T O N :

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN, 42 CONGRESS ST.
1854.

S E R M O N .

MATTHEW XIII. 38.

THE FIELD IS THE WORLD.

WHEN Oliver Goldsmith wrote his “Citizen of the World,” there is no evidence that he had any comprehension of the religious idea involved in the title chosen for that captivating production. Every Christian is a true cosmopolite. The world is one ; and for this large and scattered family God has revealed but one religion. When we assert the imperative claims of the Christian religion to universal faith and obedience, many are disposed to evade the obligation by affirming that Christianity is only one of the many religions of the world ; that its historical origin is comparatively recent ; its geographical jurisdiction is and always has been very limited ; its practical influence, if not a failure, is certainly by no means commensurate with its vast pretensions ; and, last of all, that, as politics, the arts and sciences have each their appropriate and distinctive domain, so the gospel of Christ is but one of the many subordinate agencies of the world ; a kind of side play, whose proper province

is within a certain professional class, and whose field of display is the Sabbath, the church, the house of affliction, and the courts of death ; and because of this meagre induction, thousands absolve themselves from all obligation, either to receive or propagate the religion of the Son of God.

Christianity is not a mere afterthought, but an original project ; not an episode, but the main plot ; it does not belong prescriptively to the small strips of land here and there where its light now shines ; its field is the world, and its ultimate jurisdiction will be universal. As our belief on this subject is not a matter of theoretic calculation, or philosophic deduction, but of religious faith, we may expect to find in Christianity itself, its doctrines and its history, the promise and the proof of its universal prevalence. But what is Christianity ? Where is Christianity ? Not an aroma floating in the air. Not a soft and poetic sentiment playing through the imagination of the philanthropic. It is a historical existence, and is to be examined and judged in its own inspired and infallible records.

Assembled to-day on the beautiful banks of the Ohio, a thousand miles from the place where, forty years ago, this missionary association was organized, and thousands more from the spot where, eighteen hundred years ago, the Author of our religion gave the commission to evangelize the world ; cheered by the memory of past successes, and studious still of the methods by which we may bear the gospel of our Lord from river to river and from sea to sea, let us, first of all, go entirely back to the inspired

chronicles of our faith, and gather up some of the facts therein contained, bearing on that one sentiment to which we are publicly pledged,—“Christianity designed for the world, and the world designed for Christianity.”

The first fact to be mentioned is, that Christianity *asserts its own universality*; and this not incidentally, but as inherent in its first and vital principles. There is no authority and there can be no comfort in the Christian Revelation to me, as an individual, if that authority and that comfort extend not equally to all mankind. The gospel addresses us simply as men. It recognizes us only as citizens of the world. It knows no national distinction and no territorial boundaries. Its two central ideas are SIN and SALVATION; man has fallen, and for man has Christ died. The nations are many; but the world is one. Begin your genealogical pedigree where you will, in whatever portion of the earth's surface, among whatever kindred or tribe, all will converge at last towards the first links of the chain which describe the beginning of our race: “who was the son of Adam—who was the Son of God.” It is the race of man, the whole race, that have felt the direful visitations of sin; and the offers of pardon and restoration are commensurate with the evils they would remedy. “*To the whole world*,” is the superscription upon the royal proclamation of amnesty and glad tidings. Question this universality in the gospel's own structure and adaptation, and you quench the hopes which brighten your own path; since you are but one of a common race.

The Christian religion, moreover, is the *only* religion which asserts its own universality. The accomplished Reinhard has achieved a goodly service in the analysis which he has given of all the philosophies and religions of the world, in proof of the fact, that, prior to the commission given to the Eleven on the Mount of Ascension, the idea is not to be found of a religious system which claimed to be universal in its adaptation. When the Prophet of Mecca, ignorant of the fact authenticated by modern science, that there are parts of the habitable globe where the sun rises and sets but once for months in succession, incorporated in the Koran the practical precept, that the religious fasts to be observed by men should begin at the very instant the limb of the sun appeared above the horizon, and should be continued strictly until the same disappeared in the western sky, he not only proved the provincialism but the falsity of his religion. Nor was he the only instance in which, through the unconscious adhesions of things absurd and impossible, the ancient fable has found a sober verification ; the eagle, purloining meat from the altar of the gods, and perceiving not the coal of fire adhering thereto by which its own nest was to be consumed.

No sooner do we set forth this claim of Christianity to an universal range and authority, than we are met by an objection greatly urged by modern infidelity, — an objection which scoffs at all our religious propagandism, for it affirms the historical fact, that Christianity is only a recent introduction ;

that Jesus of Nazareth was not born until two-thirds of the world's age was passed, and that, as good men existed before his advent, under other forms of worship, it is absurd to claim that his religion is the only true and sufficient one for all men and for all times. An objection we admit well put, if we were allowed to forswear the fact recorded by inspiration, that Christianity did not begin in Bethlehem of Judea. It began in Eden; and among the many proofs that it is the one and only true religion which God has revealed is this, that it is the very oldest of all. Long before the Persian adored the sun, or the Chaldean bowed before the hosts of heaven, or the Egyptian framed his colossal altars and idolatries, did Christianity begin its veritable life and progress. Wonder not that the antagonists of the Christian system expend so much time and talent in proving what they affirm, the falsity and absurdity of the Jewish religion. Think not that it is a mere matter of biblical criticism, or philological lore, when so much pains are taken to eject the Epistle to the Hebrews from the inspired canon. Most warily has infidelity chosen its points for attack; and we frankly confess, that were we not fully fortified in the belief of the connection of the Jewish and Christian dispensations as together forming one substantial identity, the one religion revealed to man from heaven, there is no form in which our minds would be so open to skeptical intrusions concerning the necessity of embracing ourselves, and communicating to others, the Christian system as the only hope

of man, as that which Neology has assumed in its assaults upon the Jewish system. Therefore it is that inspiration has, to such a degree, exhausted its own skill and explicitness, in explaining to us the appurtenances and forms of the Patriarchal and Levitical worships. Those were not of human origin, like the tripod of the Grecian flamen, the Eleusinian mysteries, or the forms of Druidical worship. They were copied from the pattern shown to Moses in the Mount. Though now obsolete, yet they are not to be classed with the mummeries of false religions. It was Christianity which smoked in the first sacrificial victim that was offered outside the gates of forfeited Paradise. It was Christianity that was enshrined in that sacred ark which was borne across the brilliant sands of Syria, and between the crystal walls of the parted Jordan. It was Christianity that entered the Holy of Holies, in tabernacle and temple, with graven breast-plate and atoning blood. But it was Christianity not yet in its ripeness and readiness ; only in its promise and preparation. Christianity was there, just as whole harvests of grain are now included in the husks of that handful of corn which is yet to germinate ; just as immense forests were once enclosed within the shell and burr of the seed-nut from whence sprang growth and reproduction.

It is not incumbent on any human wisdom to explain why God appointed such length and slowness to the preparatory stages of revealed redemption. Why should summer insects measure the stupendous revolutions of the stars by the wheelings

of their own tiny flights? We, indeed, might refute objections alleged against this progressive development of Christianity, by appealing to all the analogies of nature, "first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." Corn is not fit to be used for planting and reproduction while yet in the blade. And it is quite pertinent to our present argument concerning the universality of the Christian system, to remind ourselves that, though the revelation of Christianity began in the early dawn of history, yet its world-wide diffusion was not authorized until the fullness of time had come.

It is not an admission extorted from us reluctantly, but a patent fact to which, as studious of the ways of God, we call a special attention, that the typical institutions of Christianity were strictly local and stationary. It was not owing to human defects and unfaithfulness, that nothing was done for ages by way of propagating the true faith. This was in accordance with divine direction and interdict. The people chosen to be the depositaries of the one revelation from God, were isolated from the rest of the world by a thousand laws and limitations. Matrimonial alliances, out of their own nation, were strictly prohibited. To convert remote nations to their religion was not their vocation. The admission of proselytes from abroad, though permitted in certain cases, was guarded, according to the structure of their religious system, with the greatest caution. Everything tended to seclusion and concentration, rather than diffusion and extension.

It is of the utmost importance to be understood, that the Jewish system, notwithstanding its relations to the redemption of Christ, was as purely local as our court of common pleas. It was not designed for aggression at all. It had no agencies for propagandism. It was in no sense organized for extension into foreign parts. The high priest was a fixture. No itinerant service had he to perform in Moab or Idumea. No other man on earth was permitted to do what he was ordained of God to perform, and his service was to be rendered only within the solemn precincts of the temple. The sacred scrolls were in the custody of a particular order of men; and the rites of the true religion could only be performed by a certain line of consecrated succession. Everything was arranged to preserve the one revealed faith unmixed and uncontaminated from the profane touch of the heathen.

Observe, at the same time, how the providential condition of the world was suited to this formative and infant state of revealed Christianity. The state of the earth was unfavorable to intercommunication. There were few facilities for travel and commerce. Early in the world's history, men had sought on the plains of Shinar to centralize wealth, population and empire. By a special act, God defeated their purpose, and separated them into distinct tribes and nations, by diversities of language. Everything tended to segregation. A range of mountains, a river, a sea, were sufficient barriers to national intercourse. What an immense trial of faith was it for Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to

pass and repass between the Euphrates, the Jordan and the Nile, where now tourists from this western world find their holiday recreation. Both sacred and profane history abound with proofs of the separateness and solitariness of the nations. Homer is supposed to have lived at the very time that the splendors of the Jewish economy culminated at the court and the temple of Solomon. But the author of the *Odyssey* was entirely ignorant of countries within a few hours' sail of Greece. The Argonautic expedition is described as sailing up through the Hellespont and the Euxine, and returning by the Pillars of Hercules; as if the sea of Azof were connected with the Atlantic Ocean. The author of the *Æneid*, describing his hero landing on the shores of Carthage by the inevitable event of shipwreck, relates the consternation which he felt in expectation of losing his life because a stranger and a foreigner.

While typical Christianity, for the sake of its own preservation and purity, was local and stationary, the world itself was retained in a condition suited to the purpose. Time advances, and striking changes occur simultaneously in both. The prophecies of the Hebrew faith are kindling into the morning; all the rays of truth and hope are converging towards the advent of the Son of God; and Christianity is approaching the days of her enlargement and completion. The old walls of partition are broken down. The gorgeous pile of symbolic architecture which crowned the top of Moriah, like an immense mould, was to be broken

to pieces ; and the spiritual fabric that had been cast therein was to be brought forth to the light. The Kings of the East, the appointed agencies of God, swept down from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean, like birds of prey, and spoiled the sanctities of the Holy City. God's chosen nation, so long preserved in their integrity and separation, are dispersed like the chaff by the whirlwind, and throne and temple vanish from the earth. The nations of the earth become infused and intermixed, passing and repassing in the jostlings and attritions of war, conquering and being conquered,—all in the order of inspired prediction,—until Christianity was ready for the world, when lo ! the world is made ready for Christianity !

When the embryo religion was yet in its needful seclusion and quiet, there had been secretly and slowly coming into life a new and masculine power, which was destined to change the face of the world. It began before Isaiah had fallen a victim to the rage of Manasseh ; before Nebuchadnezzar had dreamed, and Daniel, interpreting the finger of God, had announced the rise of successive dynasties. It had more than a hundred thousand inhabitants when Xerxes marshaled his hosts on the banks of the Hellespont. Its population had reached a quarter of a million, before Alexander the Great had subjugated the East by his tremendous exploits at Arbela and the Granicus. Rolling through its successive eras, ever tending to aggrandizement, like a swelling river, it at length absorbs in its own vast supremacy all the kingdoms

of the world. Sicily, Carthage, Epirus, Macedonia, Pergamos, Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, Syria, Cappadocia, Egypt, Judea, Gaul and Britain, all became provinces and appendages of the Roman Empire. Never before was any dominion so distinguished by universality. Her consuls and her eagles, at the same time, were on the shores of Wales and the banks of the Tigris; on the summits of the Carpathian mountains, and along the Arabian and Lybian deserts.

In this new phase and condition of the world, in one of the provinces of this universal empire, the Son of God was born, the Lamb of God was slain, and the gospel was ready for the world. For the first time, since the world was made, was the commission given to evangelize all nations. An end had come to everything typical and preparatory; to everything local and exclusive. The Jew, as such, was to be known no more. To MAN is the gospel given. All mankind were now to share in privileges which hitherto had been reserved and restricted to a peculiar people. The early promise made to Abraham, in the dim dawn of the world, "All the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him," found its incipient fulfillment, when, standing on the slope of Olivet, on the morning of his ascension, the Son of God, radiant with the joys of his finished redemption, said to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Hard was it for the best and bravest of their number to comprehend this universal quality of the faith they preached. Supernatural methods were put in requi-

sition to convince Peter himself, that the old distinction between clean and unclean was abrogated forever ; and when, obedient to the mission, he visited the house of Cornelius, Jewish prejudices were so strong that he was arraigned before a council at Jerusalem for preaching the gospel to a Gentile. One by one, the scales fell ; by little and little, the truth prevailed, till at last the glorious conviction was reached, that to be a Christian was more than to be a Jew ; and that in the length and breadth, height and depth of one universal faith, all the preceding distinctions of men were to be swallowed up forever. The tiny insects of the Pacific seas, building up the reefs which breast and break the surges of the ocean, the islands and continents on which vegetation rises and cities swarm with life, can have no anticipation of the magnificent results of their subaqueous architecture. No more had the successive emperors of Rome, in the play and passion of personal ambition, in the blind impulses of self-aggrandizement, any knowledge or imagination of the uses of their success ; but these arise out of the ocean depths of God's wisdom. Their military roads and bridges were built, their consulates and prefectures were established, and along these 'highways of the Lord' came bounding the footsteps of a free and beneficent Christianity.

With these combinations of the gospel's own nature, history and providential adaptations full in our minds, let us now inquire, for our own practical help and guidance, what were the agencies by which the religion of Christ received its first rapid

and general promulgation. These were of three kinds: the *miraculous*, the *organized*, and the *spontaneous*.

The *miraculous* was of temporary necessity, and having subserved this, was suspended. Using the word in its strict rhetorical sense, we say that the *presumption* at first was against the religion of the cross; that is to say, the ‘*onus probandi*’ was with those who first preached it in opposition to long established institutions.* That obligation was not evaded, but met; the author of our religion furnishing his disciples with the power of establishing their proofs through miraculous attestations. But now, after the long and eventful history of the Christian religion, the “burden of proof” is reversed; and if miracles are to be looked for at all, they must be demanded of those who would disprove this ancient, venerable and unshaken faith of the world. If it be retorted that, in other lands than our own, in the presence of the aged superstitions of heathenism, the “burden of proof” rests upon the Christian missionaries who invade them, we admit the fact, rejoicing that such men are deputed for the service as are fully competent and equipped to meet the demands with proofs and arguments, even though the original help of mira-

* According to the most correct use of the term, a “Presumption” in favor of any supposition, means, not (as has been sometimes erroneously imagined) a preponderance of antecedent probability in its favor, but such a *preoccupation* of the ground as implies that it must stand good till some sufficient reason is adduced against it; in short, that the *Burden of proof* lies on the side of him who would dispute it. There is a Presumption in favor of every *existing* institution.—*Whately's Rhetoric*, P. I. ch. iii. § 2.

cles is now entirely withdrawn. Christianity asks and expects no more miraculous assistance in her aggressions; and we dismiss this original agency from our inventory of available forces with the single remark, that the miracles which were wrought by or in connection with the first teachers of Christianity, were all, without an exception, designed to aid and illustrate its universal jurisdiction. The miracle of tongues, the first and most notable of all, is itself a proof that the Christian faith was to be no longer restricted to one time or language,—a miracle needful once only, when men untaught and illiterate were to open communication with the assembled representatives of all nations and languages; but altogether superfluous to-day, when, by the processes of education and the intermingling of men, the acquisition of various languages is an easy and ordinary occurrence.

By the *organized* evangelism of primitive believers, we mean all such human agencies as imply method, plan, system and sagacious adaptation, whether on the part of churches or individuals. Directed to tarry first at Jerusalem, the disciples forgot their world-wide commission till persecution, with its friendly violence, scattered them like a frightened flock. Comprehending, at length, the nature of their trust, we detect wisdom and forethought in the ordination of particular men to particular services. Peter, James and John, “who seemed to be pillars,” went unto the circumcision; while Paul and Barnabas were set apart to the ministry of the heathen. What wonders of wis-

dom are suggested by the bare mention of his name who is known as "the great Apostle to the Gentiles." Lord Lyttelton, fully persuaded that the Bible was an imposture and determined to expose it, selected the conversion of Paul as the subject of hostile criticism, and was himself converted to the truth of Christianity by the very topic chosen for its overthrow. Passing by the phenomena of the Apostle's conversion, it seems to us that an irrefutable argument for the universality of the Christian religion is suggested by the qualities which met in this remarkable man and minister. The service to be accomplished was the widest possible dissemination of the new faith among all nations; the infusion of Christianity into the mind of the world. But what was the mind of the world at that time? Not simple, but complicated. Three forms of civilization there were, distinct yet related, Jewish, Grecian, and Roman. Intermingled were the representatives of each, from farthest East to utmost West. The Jew was ubiquitous, from the Indus to the Tiber, with all the memories of his religion and the pride of his ancestry. The Greek had built his commercial cities and reared his elegant academies in Egypt and Syria. The translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek by the Seventy at Alexandria; Philo, the Jewish philosopher, in the same city, and Josephus, the Jewish courtier at Jerusalem, both ambitiously addicted to Grecian literature, are evidences to what extent the Greek language and philosophy had become diffused; while, as we have seen, over

the whole, East, West, North and South, the towering eagle of Imperial Rome was in the ascendancy. How many qualities must be combined in the man who, bearing the august title of "Apostle to the Nations," was to be sent forth to persuade such a heterogeneous civilization of the truth of the Christian religion. A Jew by birth, of the strictest sect, trained in every rite and law pertaining to the religion of his fathers, thoroughly experienced in every prejudice, objection and sympathy of the Pharisee; at the same time, born in Tarsus, a Greek city, the rival of Athens and Alexandria in the zeal of letters; from his childhood a proficient in the Greek language, familiar with the Septuagint as with the Hebrew original, a reader of the Greek drama and a great master of that "mental management" which then was to be learned only within the circle of Grecian dialectics and rhetoric, among his peers on Areopagus, in the presence of Stoic and Epicurean, comprehending perfectly the scorn which sat on the curled lip and gleamed from the half-shut eyes of his erudite auditors when he preached unto them the foolishness of the cross; superadded to all which, he was by birth a free Roman citizen, the highest protection and prerogative of his age, so that in every peril from Jew or Greek he was shielded as by Minerva's ægis, the report that he was a Roman throwing open the jail of Philippi for his egress, delivering him from the scourge and the mob on the castle stairs at Jerusalem, carrying him into the presence of governors and kings; and an appeal to Cæsar, transporting him over the Adriatic to the imperial city, where he had often longed to

go, and where, with mingled dignity, heroism and success, he preached the gospel of Christ "at Rome also;" aye, within the very precincts of the palace; Who can study this correspondency of exigencies and qualities in the person of him who leads the long column of Christian evangelists, without admitting the lesson thus taught the Christian church, for all time, concerning the wisdom of preparation, method, adaptation and combination in all her missionary aggression?

Passing from those ordained and official agencies which, as we believe, are perpetual in the church for her edification and enlargement, there remains another, among the earliest instruments of Christian evangelism, which we have called the *spontaneous*, and, as we might have added, the secular and laical; which, however overlooked and suspected now, if we have rightly interpreted the facts of the New Testament, was at the beginning among the most honored and successful of all human instrumentalities, and which is to be revived again, in more than pristine force, as a grand reliance of our modern missions.

It was by no accident that so large a concourse of unofficial persons, from all parts of the world, were assembled at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. "Then they that were scattered abroad," so reads the Sacred Record, "went everywhere preaching the word."* Stumble not at the word

* To render it certain that the allusion here is not to the ordained officials of the church, it is added in the same chapter, (Acts viii.) "they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, *except the Apostles.*"

“preaching,” because of the official associations which are connected with it by modern usage. It signifies simply, in its original sense, the act of evangelizing or reporting abroad the good news of salvation. The news of a great victory outstrips the official heralds who are sent to announce it. The idea on which we would insist is already before you. Stately apostleships, ordained dignitaries were not the only channels of saving grace. The ceremonial holiness and exclusiveness which, as we have seen, belonged to the official persons, representing the preparatory dispensations of Christianity, were lost forever when Christianity had reached its ripeness and universality. Profanation was it for any mortal, save the anointed son of Levi, to touch the vessels of the local worship; but now that the fountains of life are unsealed, every one who receives of their fullness heralds it abroad in every place. A matter of personal experience, they could not leave it behind them; but bore it with them as an inseparable part of their own life.

The Christian faith was thus propagated in the easiest and most natural of all methods. It was the outbreking of spontaneous and irrepressible force. It revealed and declared itself, as light shines, without compulsion. Such is our conception of the spontaneity with which the honest self-conviction of the earliest converts to Christ made expression of itself, that it strikes us as something preposterous, to imagine the first company of disciples engaged in urging one another to a more earnest propagation of the faith by that style of arguments, drawn from philanthropy, obligation,

expediency, necessity and policy, which make up the persuasion of our modern missionary aggression. There is next to nothing of all this in the New Testament. Possessing, or rather possessed by this one fact of the gospel, that Jesus Christ had died for the world's redemption, they spread the glorious tidings wherever they went.

One of the most pregnant passages in all the New Testament, bearing on Christian missions, is that last chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which, consisting chiefly of personal salutations to private persons, might strike a superficial eye, as the least promising and instructive, containing nothing but a bare and arid catalogue of names.

There was at this time, Anno Domini 60, a Christian church, that is, a body of Christian believers in the imperial city. It had been in existence for a considerable time. It had grown to such a magnitude as to justify the Apostle in addressing to it the most elaborate of all his Epistles. By whom was that church established? By some, it has been regarded as of prime importance to hold that the Apostle Peter was the founder of that metropolitan church. By itself, the assertion is of very little consequence; correct or incorrect, not worth a tithe of the words which have been expended upon the controversy. But the assertion does not stand by itself. It is the foundation-stone of a vast system of hierarchical pretension. Archbishop Whately has a capital essay on *omissions*. We infer as much, in certain cases, from what is *not* said, as, in others, from what *is* said. The classical reader will remember that it was the mere

absence of Cato's statue in the Roman procession, which was so suspicious and suggestive. Here have we, from the pen of "our beloved brother Paul," kindly mention of all the Christians he had ever known, resident in the imperial capital, without a single allusion to him who is now claimed by the Roman primacy to have been the founder, and, at that very time, the resident Bishop of the church at Rome. By whom was it founded? The evidence is before us. Ordinary men and women, engaged in the common occupations of life, merchants, craftsmen, freedmen, who, traveling from one country to another in their professional pursuits, carried in their own bosoms the vital forces of the Christian faith. The first greeting in these apostolical reminiscences is to Aquila, and his wife Priscilla, of whom we have heard before. Five years previously, when the decree of Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome, these unpretending artisans—for they were tent-makers—arrived in Corinth, and Paul wrought with them. Eighteen months afterwards, they accompanied the Apostle to Ephesus, where they stood by him in his perils, and where a church was gathered in their house. Laical and humble in their occupations, their attainments in piety were of no ordinary kind; for when Apollos commenced his brilliant career as an eloquent preacher at Corinth, they received him to their own lodgings and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly. The death of Claudius removing the interdict by which they were exiled, this pious couple return to Rome, kindle the fires on their own altar, and forthwith Paul sends his

greetings to the “church which is in their house.” The evangelic prediction of Zechariah is already accomplished.* Every domestic utensil in the houses of men is sanctified more truly than the golden bowl on the ancient altar. Ceremonially, unholy was woman esteemed in relation to the mysteries of the symbolic temple; but no sooner are the blessings of Christianity ready for universal diffusion, than we find the Apostle here making honorable mention of the Marys and Priscillas, of Persis, Tryphena and Tryphosa, godly women, who “labored with him” in the gospel, consecrating the graces and amenities of their sex to the one end of diffusing the savor of Christ’s name in every place. Nor was this all. As a beautiful illustration of the ease and readiness with which Christianity adjusts itself to extrinsic necessities, where the vital power is within, instead of being compressed and laced within prescribed and changeless forms, the first personage introduced, in this chapter, is a woman who had an *official* connection with the church at Cenchrea—a deaconess by appointment—because the conventional usages of the times, secluding the female sex by themselves, left them accessible, even when most they needed instruction and hope, only to one of themselves; nor should the church ever forget or forego the right she possesses, of creating or pretermittting many forms of agency

* In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, Holiness unto the Lord; and the pots in the Lord’s house shall be like the bowls before the altar. Yea, every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness unto the Lord of hosts. (Zech. xiv. 20, 21.) Now that the waters of life are for *diffusion*, a cup of horn, or iron, or potter’s clay is canonical in the best of all senses, for it is useful.

which necessity and expediency may suggest, as a help to her saving work. We glory in the belief, that in all matters touching the real efficiency of the Christian church, she has received of her Lord the utmost liberty which her largest benevolence could desire. Water, air, light, are not more free in flowing into every opening and filling every cavity, than was the spirit of the primitive church in adapting its action to every exigency. We must go back to the records of Christianity themselves, if we would learn more of what the church is yet to learn much—the power and wisdom of lay-agency. Practical evangelism is not to be confined to Pauls and Peters, Brainerds and Martyns; and in the proper place, it may be well to institute the inquiry, whether among the means and methods of evangelizing the heathen it should not be projected by laymen, of all arts and professions, we do not say to be sent, but to send themselves, in the arrangements of their own trade, toil and traffic, all over the earth, for the express purpose of being succorers of the gospel, rearing churches—as did those men and women whose names inspiration has immortalized in this Roman epistle, above any emblazoned on classic pillar or tablet—in their own homes, and pouring light and love through all the channels of secular intercourse, upon the souls of the benighted.

And now, having considered the relations of Christianity and the world, at the beginning, together with some of the means by which the one was diffused throughout the other, we transport ourselves across intervening centuries and continents, to the

spot where we now stand, in the heart of the New World ; and from this position, late in time, and remote in space from the point where Christianity began its flight, we are to ask whether the relations of these two objects, Christianity and the World, are such as will justify the sentiment to which we are pledged.

And here, the first fact which stretches itself entirely across our vision, is the astounding verity that eighteen centuries have entirely passed away since the ascension of our Lord, and yet so limited is the territorial domain of Christianity, that not one whole nation under heaven can be found entirely and thoroughly pervaded by its presence and power. Scoffing skepticism would bid us answer, what else than a chimera it can be, for us to set forth the notion that the world and Christianity were made one for another, when, after so long an experiment, Christianity has not even retained its own, but has been diluted by error, subject to monstrous abuses and perversions, and has lent itself to the most long-lived and tyrannical of all superstitions, cursing the nations it should have blessed, and diverted out of its course by a thousand obstacles.

We volunteer no explanation of the mysteries of Providence, in the history of the Christian religion. The life of God is eternal ; and his plans extend through thousands of years. Speak of delays and disappointments, of long ages of darkness and of barbarism ! Tell us of the centuries in which the Christian faith was wrapped up in the mummy cerements of formalism and superstition ! The

very mistakes of men, in reference to religion, are instructive; and the experiments of human folly, though they consume ages, are a real economy of time; for men, when they are bent on making trial of their own expedients, in place of the blessed gospel, emerge on the hither side of the experiment with more of wisdom, more of self-conviction, because the lesson has been burned into them by centuries of suffering and shame. Multiply your objections to any degree, as drawn from the delays and corruptions of the Christian faith, the one fact remains, and this is all which we are concerned now to state, that Christianity has been a gainer at every stage and epoch of its eventful life. It has not merely survived opposition, but actually drawn lustre from reproach, and developed strength in every conflict, so that its practical power is greater now than ever it was before. Its power is greater to-day than when it was first preached at Jerusalem. It is greater now than when the labarum of Constantine blazoned the cross in courts and camps. It is greater now than when Britain was converted to the Christian faith; greater by far than at the era of the Reformation. It possesses a wider territorial jurisdiction than when the Puritans landed in the new world. Who can doubt that it has a stronger hold on the intelligent convictions of the world, than it had before Lord Herbert wrote his work, "De Veritate," Toland his "Christianity without Mystery," Lord Shaftesbury his "Characteristics," Collins his essay on "Free Thinking," Bolingbroke his "Essays and Fragments," Tindal

his "Christianity as old as the Creation," Hume his "Dialogues on Nature and Religion," or Paine his "Age of Reason."

If we have been instructed in observing the adaptations of Christianity and the world, one to another, at the beginning of the Christian era, who can doubt that both have proceeded from the same authorship, and have obeyed the same direction, in subsequent stages and developments?

We have spoken of *the world* as being ready for Christianity, when Christianity was ready for it. We mean the world *as it then was*. We have reason to believe that the feet of the Apostles and their contemporaries traversed the then known world, from Arabia to Britain. But how large a portion of the world we inhabit, was entirely concealed from their knowledge and approach. The roads surveyed by the last imperial decree before the advent of Christ, were less than four thousand miles in extent. The most westerly land known to the "mistress of the world" was one of the Canary Islands; the most northerly, called Ultima Thule, one of the Shetlands. Africa was supposed to be joined to Asia on the south, and was not circumnavigated till the fifteenth century after Christ. In the geography which was compiled by Ptolemy in the second century, we have embodied all the knowledge which then existed of the earth. From this we learn that the portion of land belonging to the globe, of which anything was known to Ptolemy and his contemporaries, was scarcely one-third of that which is known to us; while of the

one hundred and fifty-five millions of square miles of water covering the rest of the globe, they knew absolutely nothing. How scanty the knowledge possessed by them of the globe, appears from the belief then prevalent, that none but the temperate zone was habitable ; both the torrid and the frigid zones being supposed to be destructive of animal life.

Plainly it was the intention of Providence, that Christianity should pass through various trials before, in its highest and latest sense, it should be fitted for the literal occupancy of the whole world. The mystery of the sea hid one entire hemisphere from human sight. These broad rivers were running their long way silently and wondrously to the sea. These forests grew and decayed, and grew again in their endless reproduction. These wide and western prairies lay beneath the eye of God, in patient and beautiful trust in the future uses of the Almighty. No Tyrian ship, no Egyptian barge, no Grecian argosy, no Roman galley, no Saracen flotilla was suffered to pass the "pillars of Hercules," and break the silence and mystery of the Western ocean, and plant on these shores the irradicable seeds of their varied and mighty superstitions. The time was not yet for the widest possible dissemination of the Christian faith.

Observe the changes to which Christianity itself was subject ; trials and changes for which *time* was needful, and each and all of which were developing more and more of the universal qualities of the true faith.

The first great trial to which it was subject, was in the presence of Jewish intolerance and heathen hate. The one question was, whether it should be suffered to live. World-wide the persecution rages against the church. The Neros, the Caligulas, the Domitians of the earth resolved to drown the spreading "superstition" in blood. The more violently the storm rages, the deeper are the roots which the Christian faith strikes into the ground, and the broader the growth which it spreads into the air.

Next, Christianity was corrupted and perverted. The very power which before had assaulted the religion of Christ, now treacherously assumes the name, the crown, the robe and the sceptre of Christ, and the world became enslaved to an aged and colossal tyranny. The next advance of Christianity was to divest herself of all these falsehoods and enslavements, and come forth free and reformed.

The Protestant Reformation was a great event, marvelous in its nature and effects. But it was not an event complete and ultimate. It was only one of the demiurgic days of the world's creation. It was not the Sabbath of the world's finishing and repose. It was a movement in the right direction ; but it implied the necessity and the promise of greater changes to come.

Protestantism itself crystalized into icy forms, and Christianity was lulled to sleep in the arms of political establishments. It had its rituals, its injunctions, its forced conformities ; at length its lifeless ceremonies. It was needful that reformed,

Protestant Christianity, should have a second resurrection. At last it came. When truth had taken root, when it had become incorporated into church creeds, and had become an admitted element of national faith, then came the Puritans and the Non-conformists, an order of men whose sole desire was for spiritual life ; and now it was that Christianity, invested with all the accumulated experience of ages, crosses the ocean, and finds, in a new world, the theatre for a new and higher development.

Observe, this country was not settled, not at all in the proper sense of the term, until after the Protestant Reformation. The men who gave a soul to our history were Protestants in a double sense ; reformers of the reformation. Yet were they called of God to a service which, while it was needful and manly, was not the most favorable to spiritual extension. Times of resistance to ecclesiastical despotism are not the most auspicious for true evangelism. Those who are summoned to do vigorous battle against positive wrongs, are not always the best prepared or the most successful in making glad the wilderness with the verdure and bloom of the gospel. This accounts for the fact that, at the Reformation, Christianity, though liberated by the struggles of Truth, was not largely extended by the power and impulses of Love.

A century was allowed the new church to strike its roots deep into our soil ; a century of unmolested freedom, with just trial enough to make root and fibre tough and strong. The ocean rolled between it and ecclesiastical despotism. Here was Protest-

antism, and Protestantism free, unshackled, with none to dictate or circumscribe, and a new and boundless continent for its expansion. She planted her churches, established her schools and colleges, educated her children, reared her ministers, and with occasional follies and mistakes, such as will mar all things human, the thing attained was a community of free and thoughtful men, born and bred in the faith of God's own word.

When all this was accomplished, there occurred, throughout the Christian world, but chiefly on our own continent, an event, now little more than a century ago, which, if we rightly understand it, must be regarded as the most significant and important, and, in its relations to the future, suggestive and prophetic, of all which has taken place thus far in the history of the Christian church since the ascension of our Lord and the wonders of Pentecost. We refer to that great revival of religion, which, like the breath of spring, passed over the face of Christendom, the focal point of which was in the central parts of Massachusetts. Time enough has now elapsed for generalizing into one, events which, at the time, appeared distinct and unrelated. Methodism, as it arose in the English church, a thing, not a name, so ably analyzed and described by Isaac Taylor, and the revivals of religion in Scotland and New England, may be regarded as one historic development. The peculiarities were local and formal; the essential was the same in all. The substantial features of that great religious movement, were the waking up of personal consciousness,

a new sense of individual relationship to God, of intense life and earnest zeal for the conversion of souls. Men were converted to the truth of Christ in unusual numbers, with unusual rapidity and with unusual distinctness. The effect of that event has been felt in every part of the civilized world. The "missionary spirit," as the common expression is, that is, *active evangelism*, carrying and applying the gospel in every direction, at home and abroad, is the legitimate result, or rather the best description of that general movement. To mark the progress which has since been made by the Christian church, it must be observed that events, which once were extraordinary, are esteemed so no longer. The minds of men are already become familiar with occurrences and expectations which once were regarded as very uncommon. Many of the striking conversions recorded by Edwards, the pious historiographer of the earlier stages of this movement, would awaken no sense of surprise to-day. In the year 1820, Dr. Worcester, then Secretary of this Board of Foreign Missions, in an address to Christians of all denominations in this country, uses the following language: "By means of these establishments, [missionary,] and mostly since our last address to you, more than *thirty* persons, belonging to five or six different heathen nations, have, in the judgment of charity, been brought to the spiritual knowledge of the truth." The announcement is made as of a great event, and in very guarded phrase, as if it must meet with incredulity. Yet such advances have been made since then that,

without any surprise, we hear that *thousands*, in a single year, have been converted to God in the Pacific Isles. Should it be announced before this our annual session is closed, that twenty thousand among the Tamil and Armenian population of the East were truly converted to Christ, it would not appear half so wonderful as the conversion of the first ten or twenty at the beginning of that era of evangelism from which we measure our latest progress. We have been moving with a great current, of the swiftness and force of which, as of our Mississippi, we have but little conception while borne upon its mighty tide. The Christian sentiment of the country has deepened in its flow. There is more of active philanthropy now than ever before ; more of organized effort to relieve misery, reclaim vice, inform ignorance ; more, in a word, than at any previous epoch, to diffuse the gospel with its light and charities. Added to all which, those revivals of religion, which have given a peculiarity to this latest period of Christian development, have not disappeared ; fewer in number, feebler in power, more limited in extent than we could desire, yet sufficient in well-attested effects to keep it fresh in our minds to what period of time we belong, and always prophetic of the greater disclosures of the future.

Turning to the future, we expect and believe that the gospel, diffused and extended, by appropriate instrumentalities, throughout the world, will be accompanied by a power from on high, producing effects on the minds of men, compared with

which all that has preceded is but the shadow of the sun. We predict no smooth current of undisputed and uninterrupted prosperity. Fallings away, heresies, infidelities, strugglings, like the heathenish signs of the zodiac, may be in the path of our sun. Nevertheless, the pure truth of God will receive the widest circulation. Copies of the word of God will be multiplied, and the Christian ministry reinforced in adequate numbers. All the appliances of modern invention and enterprise, the new stimulus given to commerce, and all the facilities for international communication, will find their true dignity and use in diffusing the truth of God with ever-increasing rapidity and extent. In this service of disseminating truth, there will be a place for every kind of instrumentality. Lay-agency, introduced so efficiently by Wesley and Whitefield in the last awakening of the church, was only prophetic of that universal life and activity which are hereafter to characterize the membership of the Christian church. Here then is one definite expectation for the future. Here is an appropriate place for every good work. As God converts men by truth, it is an indispensable work. “The *knowledge* of the Lord is to cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea.”

Nor is this a service to be finished, by itself, before we are to expect yet greater things. Simultaneously with the diffusion of truth, we may expect those applications of the Divine Spirit, which will subdue opposition, conquer unbelief, and bring mankind into a personal acceptance of the gospel

in numbers, rapidity and decision, such as never yet have been seen. The great harvest, of which all preceding gatherings are but the first fruits, is yet to come. We have had, as yet, only the type and the shadow. The substantial reality is still future. Nothing yet has occurred worthy to be regarded as a fulfillment of the great promises of Scripture relative to the universal outpouring of the Holy Spirit. What occurred at Pentecost, "signs and wonders in the heavens, sun and moon changed, the heavens and the earth shaken," was only the beginning in the verification of the tropical language of Joel, the first in that long series of events which are to mark the triumphs of the Spirit of God. We rejoice over the conversion of a few, here and there; one from a family, and two from a neighborhood; but accessions are not always to be made to the church of Christ after this manner. The church will never overtake the growth of this world's population, according to such an arithmetic. We have as yet but a glimpse,—enough to bear up and guide our faith, but a prophecy still,—of the *number* of those who will be made willing in the day of God's power. They are likened unto the drops of the morning dew. The church is yet to be the joy of the whole earth; and men will flock into it as "CLOUDS AND AS DOVES TO THEIR WINDOWS."

Nor is it of numbers only that we speak. A new epoch is coming as to the character of those converted, and the nature of a religious life. We talk of men converted now; but, oh, how little do we

know of spiritual life! We are like corpses galvanized into partial vitality. We talk about the spiritual world. But how little does the strongest faith apprehend, as yet, of the powers of the world to come! Sense still holds the ascendancy. This is not to be so always. We have reason to anticipate such a new power, applied by the Holy Ghost to the souls of men, that the life, the love, the faith, the joy, the sanctity of men renewed will be so much in advance of all we now experience, that our life, compared with theirs, will appear like a sleep. Those great words, GOD, CHRIST, MAN, SIN, SALVATION, HEAVEN, HELL, over which men now slumber, even when they admit them into their intellectual convictions, will be as if illuminated with flame. We do not comprehend the gospel at all, in its richness and glory, as it will be comprehended in the future effusions of the Spirit. We see men as trees walking. We are purblind, groping our way among shadows. The time is coming when men will be as if endowed with new senses, so vivid, so intense will be their consciousness of spiritual things. God will no more be thought of as afar off, but nigh unto all who call upon him. Heaven will no more appear as a distant and dreamy world of the imagination. Its fragrant odors will be inhaled, and its happy songs will be heard by those who dwell upon the earth. Love to Christ will be no more a frozen compound of obligation and self-interest; but a well of gratitude and joy, springing up to everlasting life. Then property will all be consecrated to the best uses.

What is now extorted reluctantly, by the pressure of duty and the commands of conscience, will then be the spontaneous promptings of an ever-cheerful and ever-living love. Holiness to the Lord will be upon the bells of the horses; and commerce, and art, and enterprise, will flow on musically and joyfully in the channels of justice, love and mercy. The half-and-half life of the best Christians is only prophetic of that future power of the Spirit, when renewed man shall once more be a LIVING SOUL. The most godly men, of these modern times of revived evangelism, are but the shadows of that approaching form of the Christian man, who is to be "filled with the Spirit." Primitive Christianity did not fulfill that great promise. Beautiful was the simplicity of the early disciples of Christ. That quality is to be regained, copied and surpassed. In stature, we are children but once. But when we have outgrown infancy, and the body has reached its maturity, and the intellect its strength, the glory of our nature is in becoming little children again in simplicity of spirit. Even so the church, led through the discipline of ages, adult in strength, clothed with the sun for knowledge and power, will find her highest perfection and exaltation in superadding to all these gifts and graces the simplicity and love of those who first followed Christ as "dear children." Literally may it be true, in a sense, never imagined by ancient piety, that, as the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, even so will the coming of the Son of Man be. These electric nerves,

which make the air to throb with thought and life, not always to be the heralds of mere political and mercantile tidings, will be the vehicles of religious news and religious love. Nor is it any freak of our imagination, to suppose the time may come when, as the people of God are assembled at the rising of the sun for praise and prayer, the lightning shall report it from the east, '*The Lord is here;*' and the lightning shall flash it back from the west, '*The Lord is here,*' and so the "tabernacle of God shall be with men. He shall be their God, and they shall be his people."

Long before that time shall fully come, we, fathers and brethren, will have passed from the earth. What then? Have we no relation to it? Verily, we are living in the dispensation of the Spirit. Ours is the day of preparation; in some regards more privileged, since faith, patience and labor are the instruments of future success. Better are our times than those of our fathers. For their fidelity, for their quick discernment of the ways and work of God, we may well be thankful; but the future is all bright with promise for us and our children. Our fathers are still with us. Their grateful spirits are over us and among us, when we meet to prosecute the work which they began. As the martial hero, whom poetry has described on the eve of battle as new-strung with life, when, at the tap of his drum, the shades of his ancestors came thronging around him, in the dusky air; so do we feel ourselves cheered, ennobled and exalted, by the memory of the good and the great, whose

faces smile on us from the past and from heaven ; the serene and hopeful Worcester, the sagacious Chapin, the devout Lyman, the generous Phillips, the manly Huntington. We knew not how to spare them when Evarts, Cornelius, Wisner and Armstrong were taken from the world ; but we have found that they are not lost to us and our cause, now that the heavens have touched them. In the inventory of available means by which the church is to conduct her conquests, we could not afford to subtract the influence of those who have already died in the service. Our dead missionaries are as eloquent as the living. The brave soldier who was bearing home the heart of his King, in an urn, to be entombed in his native land, when sorely pressed and in danger of defeat, rose in his stirrups, and, before the eyes of his troops, threw the precious treasure far in advance, into the very thickest of the enemy ; knowing that this would be the surest method of inciting his countrymen to press forward to the rescue. The church has thrown many precious hearts into Heathenism, as the pledge and the motive for further advancement. Those who have sent their Newells, Lathrops and Huntingtons, their Fiskes, their Halls and their Grants, their own sons, daughters, brothers and sisters to die in Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea, have never so much as thought of abandoning a cause already endeared to them by so many precious associations. A thousand living hearts and homes in America are drawn towards the lands in which are the graves of our deceased missionaries. As

Abraham bought a cave in the field of Machpelah, as a burying-place for his household, a pledge of his faith in the divine promise, that the whole land should one day belong to his posterity, so is every missionary grave, in every heathen country, a similar proof of our belief that the lands in which they lie will hereafter be converted unto Christ. Tocat will not be Mohammedan, when Henry Martyn shall rise in the last day ; nor will Aleppo, nor Ceylon, nor the Isle of France, nor China, be lands of delusion, when those who have gone from our homes and our churches to sleep therein, shall greet the light of the promised resurrection. Towards that vast result everything advances. There are eddies and back currents in our largest rivers ; but the main course is on and on, resistless and magnificent towards the ocean. The quiet Merrimac, on whose peaceful banks this missionary organization had its inception, beareth greetings to-day to the broader and deeper Ohio ; and both clap their hands together, as they flow on to meet the Ganges and the Euphrates. These mighty valleys, covered with corn, laugh with gladness, in prospect of that spiritual affluence which they are yet to distribute over all the earth. The churches which have sprung up on the edge of the wilderness, fast as the forest has dropped before the march of civilization, instead of being themselves beneficiaries, in need of assistance, have, many of them, already become, and more will yet become, the most munificent almoners in a service which is destined to endless growth and reproduction. The footsteps

of our children are already on the shores of the Pacific. Before their fathers have left the world, from the "Golden Gates" which God has given us, they look out upon those Christian islands, which sparkle like gems in the sea, converted, in our own life-time, from barbarism to the dignity of an intelligent, self-governed and religious people. Our language and our religion already encircle the globe.

We pledge ourselves, therefore, to no doubtful issue. This world was not only made *by* Christ, but *for* Christ. Every loyal thought, every pious act, is auxiliary to that kingdom of the Redeemer which has the oath of God, and the decree of eternity for the certainty of its triumph. For that result, Faith waiteth with calm serenity; her hand upon her anchor. Christian calmness is not the offspring of doubt, but of conscious strength. God has anointed his king on his holy hill of Zion. Clouds may hang around its top, and billows may break at its feet, but that mountain standeth on its eternal foundations. Oppose in heart or life the dominion of Christ, and the wheels of the prophet's vision roll over us and grind us to powder. Acquiesce therein, and we become identified with that numberless throng who will swell the train of His triumphs and reflect and share the glories of His reign. We shall die; but Christ liveth. Because He liveth, we shall live also. Good and faithful men shall be jewels in the diadem of our God, which will sparkle when the stars are dead.

A
SHORT REVIEW

OF

DR. EDWARD BEECHER'S WORK

ON

“The Conflict of Ages.”

BY REV. T. S. KING.

RE-PRINTED FROM THE UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY,
FOR JANUARY, 1854.

SECOND EDITION.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY ABEL TOMPKINS.
38 & 40 CORNHILL,
1854.

REVIEW.

“THE CONFLICT OF AGES: Or, the Great Debate on the Moral Relations between God and Man. By Edward Beecher, D. D.”

THE department of divinity should surely be excepted from the judgment which affirms that the American mind is sluggish and tardy in its contributions to literature. New England was colonized by a theology; and the intellect of New England, loyal to its ancestry, has displayed great activity, boldness, and originality in this department of thought. The names of Edwards, Hopkins, Emmons, Stuart, Taylor, Channing, Ballou, Bushnell, Norton, Park, and Theodore Parker, are no unworthy symbols of that enterprise, daring, and persistence, that ingenuity, acuteness, and independence of traditional trammels, which have distinguished the *practical* working of the Anglo-American mind. For such qualities have been exhibited by these men, not in secular literature or science, where no discredit attaches to originality, and where glory awaits discovery, but in the field of thought most secluded from radical influences, and where novelty of speculation imperils influence and character.

The association of the name of Beecher with some form of uncompromising utterance or uncanonical speculation, has been so common, that a hasty reader is not likely to be surprised with any new and startling theory that may be linked to that heretical sign. The venerable Doctor has been called the father of more brains than any man in America. Certainly he is the father of more non-conformity than any other man can point to. The

brains which owe their parentage to him have no sleepy quality, but attest their presence by the general mental effervescence in the region where they work. The Pastor of the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn enjoys (we use the word in its active sense) a widely-questioned reputation for soundness. It has been said of him by a distinguished divine, and said as a reproach, that the only positive article of his creed is that men ought to be better; and as to the three cardinal evils, slavery, intemperance, and bigotry, he has certainly published his creed pretty widely, and interpreted it so that nobody could misunderstand him. His brother, the Rev. Charles Beecher, is known by two printed discourses against all creeds, and a report endorsing the Tartarean origin of spirit-rappings. Miss Catherine Beecher attacked the dignitaries of Yale College for upholding a young clergyman who had trifled with the affections of her friend; and gives us an amusing account of her flight from town to town, to evade her "various brothers in full pursuit," till the volume could be committed to the press. Mrs. Harriet has struck a blow upon the heathenism of the state and the hunkerism of the church, which no masculine muscles could have swung, and which is echoing yet in the public sentiment of every nation. If the new theory be true, with which the name is now connected, and which we are to consider in this article, to what family of scismatic and chivalric angels that fell with the great apostate, must they be referred. Milton tells of none quite worthy to be their darkened ancestor.

The conservative feeling and thought of the family-stock seemed concentrated in Dr. Edward Beecher, of Boston. He has always been reckoned a man of such substantial orthodoxy, such cool judgment, wide learning, and gravity of sense, as to stand for a counter-weight to the unreliable impulses of his kindred—the contribution made by the family blood to established ideas in order to maintain some equilibrium of influence in society. He has been regarded as a pledge that the stock is not entirely lawless in theology, and has even been looked upon as atoning for the rhetorical and emotional friskiness of his relations,

by the weight and stamina of his allegiance to the recognized body of divinity. And yet it has been reserved for this man to crown the pyramid of eccentricities which his kindred have reared, and to lift his name the highest of all as a dissenter from the standards of orthodoxy.

We allude, of course, to his recent publication, "THE CONFLICT OF AGES," a stout duodecimo of five hundred and fifty pages. Always held to be a man rooted and grounded in the Congregational divinity of New-England, a firm barrier against slippery Bushnellisms, a man whose moral structure was of Orthodoxy all compact, this volume has startled the community with a revelation of inward wrestlings with the system, which well nigh crushed his faith, while they trampled his peace; and we may turn to it for as uncompromising and stinging assaults upon its justice and loveliness, in its common interpretation, as can be found in any Universalist literature.

Dr. Bushnell attacked the *definitions* of New-England Orthodoxy. He would change its versions of the atonement, the trinity, regeneration, and the general office of Christ, into other statements. He denied that they are the clear intellectual equivalents of the poetic Biblical generalities of doctrine. Retaining the old canvas, he called on the church to see and admire how easily the Puritanic landscape of divinity would melt, under the magic of his chemistry, like the outlines of a disagreeable dissolving view, into the soft scenery of a genial and mystical faith. His books, if accepted, alter the whole complexion of Orthodoxy, change its expression, and supply it with another set of working forces. But Dr. Beecher does not propose to reshape the doctrines of the creed. He insists on keeping every figure and cloud in the theological picture which the old masters of Trinitarianism have left. Only he would set it in a different light from any yet shed upon it. In the light which he has discovered, and there only, he would say, its meaning comes out. There alone does it catch a glow, and warm up, and look attractive. He will listen to no tampering with the strict definitions of depravity, no paltering in a double sense about the atonement,

no sentimental mystifications of eternal punishment. The cardinal doctrines are all true, only they are combined now in such a way as to make a system too repulsive to get a strong hold of the depraved heart of the world, too gloomy to inspire a saint with joy. And so his book is really a more subtle assault upon Orthodoxy than Dr. Bushnell's. For the new element with which he offers to harmonize it is one that never can be accepted by one in fifty thousand of the human race, and not by one in a million of even the Orthodox readers of the Bible. We have, therefore, the novel spectacle in New-England, now, of a man clinging with a masterly grasp to all the fundamentals of Orthodoxy, and yet strengthening the hands of those who rebel against it, more decidedly than any open opponent could do; ardently zealous to be its champion, but dealing it a blow, in offering its advocacy, beneath which it reels as it has seldom done under any heretic's arm.

We can hardly assume that many of our readers are ignorant of the positions which "The Conflict of Ages" takes up; and yet, in justice to the work itself, we will set them forth as briefly as possible, before offering any criticisms or reflections upon them. It is only just to say, that Dr. Beecher writes like a strong, earnest, and sincere man, more zealous for the honor of religion than for the triumph of any theory. As to its literary claims, we must say that his book is quite diffuse, goes over the same ground too often, and prorogues most wearisomely the great point which it is intended to press. It might have been condensed by a skilful writer into half the space, with advantage to its force. Moreover, to use an expression of Mr. Choate, the author certainly *overworks* some two or three words of the language, such as "honor," "right," "emotion," "honorable emotion," so that we came to pity them deeply for their excess of service, before the volume was finished. But against these defects are to be set the large learning which the book displays, the careful elaboration of its plan, the vigor of the argument, an admirable fairness in treating the opinions of others, and a most

rare nobility of controversial spirit, which has suffered no sneer, no denunciatory passage, no expression of bitterness, or ill temper, to sully a single page.

All his severity is reserved to set forth the distress and the baleful influence which the system of Orthodoxy, as now adjusted, must leave in every sensible soul. The two moving powers of Christianity, according to Dr. Beecher, must be sought in a thorough doctrine of the ruined condition of man as a sinner, with all its dreadful consequences, and an equally plain development of the justice and benevolence of God, so far as He has arranged the structure, conditions, and helps of our probation. The decisive point of trial for every system, therefore, is this : Can it give a thorough view of depravity, so as to go to the bottom of the human malady with its probe, its revelations of danger, and its remedies ; and yet mingle with all this nothing that shall misrepresent and dishonor God, and so make the system logically viewed as a whole, a source of torture to the sanctified and fully developed mind, exquisite in proportion to the degree of its sanctification ? Dr. Beecher denies that the Orthodox theory, as commonly interpreted, can stand this trial. It succeeds in the first point, in making human depravity black enough, but it darkens also the character of God ; and so its forces do not play together. By a most happy and expressive analogy, the author shows us the system of Orthodoxy, in its relations to the human race thus far, as a steam-ship whose wheels play in opposite directions ; so that it has no power to resist the winds and the currents, or go ahead, but must swing round incessantly, and be wrenched and strained by the false adjustment of its machinery.

The impeachment of Orthodoxy, with regard to the dishonor which it casts upon God, is rested by our author upon four principles, which are supposed by him to be self-evident and supreme : first, the distinction that should be made between the innocent and the guilty ; secondly, the distinction that must be recognized between original constitution and responsible character ;

thirdly, the general obligations of a supreme mind to dependent ones ; and fourthly, the special obligations of the Creator to make the constitution, powers, circumstances, and probation of new-created beings favorable to them. Dr. Beecher is very bold and uncompromising in affirming the final authority of those innate sentiments of equity and benevolence which our nature possesses, as tests of theological tenets. He shows that it is hopeless and absurd to defend the dealings of God towards men on other principles than we should use to defend the dealings of an earthly ruler towards his subjects. Any suspicion cast upon the legitimacy of these sentiments, any tampering with them in favor of a cruel theology, he does not hesitate to say, will subvert the very foundations of the government of God. "How could we see or adore the glories of the divine character," he asks, "how could we ever enter into rational and joyful communion with God, if he had so made our minds that our intuitive judgments of honor and right were, or could be, opposed to his own? How could we ever correctly judge of the honor or rectitude of his conduct, if the standard of honor and rectitude revealed by him in the structure of our minds, did not agree with his own standard on the same points? Such a state of things would lay the foundation of necessary and eternal discord between him and us, and that on the most important of all practical questions.

Now, in the light of these principles, Dr. Beecher sets the statements of modern Orthodoxy without any flinching. A strong mind is bound to feel and act benevolently towards a weak one ; and yet that system is obliged to maintain that God, the greatest of beings, makes himself, and not his creatures, his great end. We cannot rightly be held responsible for any thing but our voluntary moral constitution ; and yet that system shows us man punished either for, or on account of, an involuntary constitution which he received from God. It is a first principle of right that one person ought not to be punished for the conduct of another, to which he did not consent, and in which he had no part ; and yet that system, as interpreted by the majority

of its defenders, does imply and endorse such a principle, by its doctrine of federal headship and organic corruption. Beings that do not exist by their own wills, and are to exist for eternity, ought to be endowed by their Creator with favorable constitutions and propensities ; and yet the system of Orthodoxy tells us that the original drift of man is inevitably and powerfully towards evil and ruin. A creature made for eternal bliss or misery ought to be placed by his Creator in circumstances favorable to right conduct ; and yet this system confesses that man is placed amid extreme temptations which, independent of a depraved natural constitution, would render his salvation doubtful.

Here, then, is Dr. Beecher's conflict of ages. There is radical discord between the Orthodox ideas of life, depravity, and judgment, and the eternal principles of equity, as they apply to God. He insists that the great Unitarian leaders have been justified in their declarations that Orthodox divinity is at war with the truth, goodness, and glory of the Creator. The discord is insoluble, he maintains, by any argument or any principle which old school or new school theologians have brought to bear upon it ; and, without a different adjustment than any yet proposed, Orthodoxy must be condemned to continual inefficiency and intestine war. "He who holds that God is the author of the facts alleged, finds himself constantly urged by the demands of logical consistency to evade, or else to call in question and deny, the real and self-evident principles of honor and right. On the other hand, he who holds to the genuine principles of honor and right, will be no less powerfully urged to deny the facts alleged as to the ruined state of man, and to put forth all his energies to subvert and destroy them."

Dr. Beecher attempts to show, more particularly, how this conflict has revealed itself within the Puritan domain of Protestant theology. The stricter, or old school Orthodoxy, seeking to account for the deep corruption of humanity, affirms that our nature is depraved before action, and that God may justly deal sternly with us, since we have all forfeited our rights before

birth. Its pictures of the evils and dangers of sin, of the depth to which it has struck in our nature, and of the hostility of wicked spirits, are very satisfactory to the deepest Christian consciousness, and so its views of the gospel, as a redemptive system of means is comprehensive and powerful. But no sooner does it establish itself as a theory of the gospel, than a reaction against it arises in the human mind on this ground — how can new-created beings forfeit their rights before any moral experience? How can the guilt and forfeiture of Adam's sin be transported across the chasm of hundreds or thousands of years of absolute non-existence, and be honestly ascribed to beings just beginning an immortal career, and be made the ground of punishing them with a depraved nature and inability to do good? Dr. Beecher affirms that this reaction is irresistible, and must always follow that theology so long as any ideas of equity and honor remain in the human soul by which to test the divine government. Thus a second system is generated, such as Channing and his friends inaugurated in New-England, which gives such ascendancy to the principles of justice and benevolence in God, that the depth and darkness of human depravity are overlooked, and the correlated views of atonement, regeneration, and eternal punishment gradually pushed out of sight. But against this system a reaction is born on the side of human depravity. The Unitarians are right, our author maintains, in applying the principles of equity so strictly to the divine government, and in rejecting by their sanction the common theories of the origin of human wickedness; but human life, he says, is not so rosy as the spirit of this system would have us believe, and the plain statements of the Bible, he thinks, will always generate a recoil from it as soon as it establishes itself. A third experience is manifested in a theory of Orthodox Universalism, such as John Foster held. The deepest views of depravity and all the evangelical features of the gospel are held in this movement; but the equity and honor of God are vindicated in the belief of the restoration of the wicked, through punishment, to holiness. Still the author contends that the influence of the Bible in its

plain declarations of eternal misery, must react against such a hopeful view, and prevent its general acceptance in the church. The new school Orthodox theology is the form of a fourth experience that is very interesting. Its advocates deny the imputation of Adam's sin and a strict corruption of nature in man, and affirm that depravity consists in a *fixed unwillingness* to comply with the will of God, which is nevertheless consistent with a real and proper ability to obey. It has therefore thought to save the character of God from implication in the dishonor of punishing us for our nature instead of for our guilt, and so has desired to bring the depravity of the world and the goodness of the Maker into harmony. But against this solution there is a two-fold reaction. The Orthodox mind asks, how this universal sinfulness can be accounted for, except on the ground of a sinful *nature*, back of the will. If *that* principle is broken down, the old school divines maintain that the door is open for the gradual triumph of the Unitarian theory. And on the other hand, it is affirmed that the principles of honor and right are not propitiated by this interpretation of depravity, any more than by the theory of federal headship in Adam an entire corruption of the will. For the great fact remains that men do not have a *fair* probation as new-created beings, but are suffered to come into the world by the Almighty so impotent or so imperfect, that the first thing they do is to sin and forfeit their eternal peace.

“In order to justify God and to condemn his sinful creatures, all the sentiments of an honorable mind demand that it be made to appear that God did all for his creatures that our highest conceptions of justice, honor, magnanimity, and generosity demand ; all that was needed to place them in the most favorable position possible, all things considered, for good conduct ; and that He earnestly desired their success, and that their misconduct was against reason, honor, and right, and no less against the feelings and wishes of God ?” . . . “If a powerful man should give to a weak antagonist a lead sword and a paper shield, and arm himself with a steel sword and a metal shield, would there

be any honor in a victory achieved in such circumstances ? ” —
(page 481.)

Thus if Dr. Beecher does not allow us to hope that liberal Christianity will triumph in the world, he does contend as stoutly as the loudest and most impassioned denouncers of the popular faith, that Orthodoxy, in its present form, can maintain no serene possession of the human heart. On his authority, we may say that its churches are built on the slopes of a volcano. Underneath its apparent prosperity, deep down below its sulphurous majesty and terrors, even though half consumed and charred by the lightnings that blasted our moral faculties in their fall, stretches that gigantic idea of equity, imbedded in our nature — a spiritual Enceladus, on which the Etna of theology rests its weight. When that stirs there is tumult above.

Et fessum quoties mutet latus, intremere omnem
Murmure Trinacriam, et cælum subtexere fumo.

It *will* stir, periodically, to shift its aching side, and then the sectarian belchings, and rumblings, and earthquakes, and changes of theological strata begin. For our author shows that this fluctuation has disturbed not only Protestant theology, but has also unsettled the mind of the church, from Augustine downwards. The Christian mind has had no long season of peace. Looking below names to things, we see that the springs of the internal controversies in every century have been the pressure of these ideas of right against the interpretations of God's rule and the conditions of human life, which the standards of the church have maintained.

We ought not to overlook, however, a fifth experience, which the volume refers to, and for which many of the greatest and best minds of the church can bear bitter witness ; namely, that in which the principles of honor and right are adhered to, and the facts of human depravity and ruin retained, but no satisfactory mode of adjusting them perceived. This Dr. Beecher calls

living under "the eclipse of the glory of God ;" holding to a system that is incapable of defence, and looking to a Creator whom the principles of equity forbid us to worship. And this is the state which he evidently thinks is the only natural and consistent one under the present Trinitarian creeds. However clear their statements of the condition and perils of man may be, the principles of righteousness and benevolence are just as clear, condemning the conduct of a Ruler that should bring men into existence under such unfair conditions ; and so there is nothing for a devout and conscientious mind to do but endure distraction and despair. Dr. Beecher eloquently unfolds his own knowledge of this condition thus : " Who can describe the gloom of him who looks on such a prospect ? How dark to him appears the history of man ! He looks with pity on the children that pass him in the street. The more violent manifestations of their depravity seem to be the unfoldings of a corrupt nature given to them by God, before any knowledge, choice, or consent of their own. Mercy now seems to be no mercy, and he who once delighted to speak of the love of Christ, is obliged to close his lips in silence, for the original wrong of giving man such a nature seems so great that no subsequent acts can atone for the deed. In this state of mind he who once delighted to pray, kneels and rises again, because he cannot sincerely worship the only God whom he sees. His distress is not on his own account. He feels that God has redeemed and regenerated him ; but this gives him no relief. He feels as if he could not be bribed by the offer of all the honors of the universe, to pretend to worship or praise a God whose character he cannot defend. . . . Never before has he so deeply felt a longing after a God of spotless character. Never has he so deeply felt that the whole light and joy of the universe are in him, and that when his character is darkened, all worlds are filled with gloom. . . . In contrast with this, it would be appropriate to place the experience of one who retains all the radical facts as to human depravity, and the system that grows out of it, but passes from the deep gloom of the last experience into the sunshine

of the divine glory, by discovering a mode in which these facts can be so adjusted as to harmonize with the principles of honor and right in God. The transition in my own case was as if, when I had been groping in some vast cathedral in the gloom of midnight, vainly striving to comprehend its parts and relations, suddenly before the vast arched window of the nave, a glorious sun had burst forth, filling the whole structure with its radiance, and showing in perfect harmony the proportions and beauties of its parts.”—(pages 190, 191.)

This new light which has blazed in upon Dr. Beecher, through the architecture of Trinitarian theology, transforming it from a tomb to a temple, is *the idea of human pre-existence, and a former fall*. As a general thing, the church has assumed that we are new-created at our birth into this hostile and corrupted world. But the Doctor thinks that this is a sheer assumption, and that all the troubles of the church for thirteen hundred years have arisen from the deep rooted prejudice of theologians in favor of this hypothesis. If now the church will only eradicate this prejudice, and strenuously affirm that human infancy is the narrow gateway through which troops of tough old angelic apostates squeeze themselves into a new and earthly probation, the aspect of the world will change at once from gloom to splendor, and the lurid lights of Calvinism, which now seem upcast glimmerings from the pit, will gleam as the rays of God’s infinite equity and mercy.

With great labor and considerable ability the author shows us that all troubles which have marked the development of Orthodox theology, are reconciled or obviated by this slight change in the laws of genealogy, which dissipates our supposition that we are children of our visible fathers and mothers, and assures us that we are slips of pre-adamite iniquity grafted by deception into earthly homes. With this view there is no danger, he thinks, that the church will slide into superficial estimates of man’s depravity and ruin. The old school theology is justified and accounted for, that our natures are thoroughly corrupt.

We come into the world with the habits of antique crime in our spiritual blood. The rust and stains of pre-existent infamy are upon all the apparently infant tendrils of our spirits. Every baby is the pluperfect tense of some convict from the infernal realm. The instinctive song of our sinfulness should be "Auld Lang Syne." And then, again, this idea of pre-existence, saves us from implicating God with our natural depravity, in any way that violates the highest principles of honor and right. Does he create us evil! Is not our corruption the baggage that belongs to us, our inalienable personal property, secured by check on the spiritual railroad that lands us here from the mysterious country of our rebellion? God simply *renews* our probation in this world. Under sentence before, it is of His free mercy that we are suffered to stop here for a few scores of years, and try another wrestle with his laws, with the open opportunity of redemption. This world, therefore, stands out to Dr. Beecher's eye, through this new theory, in the light of mercy alone. God created us at first fair and pure, and with most favorable chances for salvation. He, doubtless, did every thing which he was bound in equity and benevolence to do for new-created souls; and we ought to believe that the immense majority of the Almighty's offspring in the spiritual world did keep their allegiance, and are now in bliss. But as every spirit that comes to this world richly deserved damnation in its former state, as its entrance here is a reopened possibility of grace, every soul that is redeemed here is a glorious ascription of praise to the mercy of the Creator; while the loss of mortals is no impeachment of His justice, since that was their due before this earthly trial. Joy unspeakable may, therefore, fill the soul of the devout Orthodox believer. God has fitted up this world to be the moral hospital of the universe; and it is simply of his voluntary mercy that, instead of dropping directly from primeval sin into the abyss, they are gathered here with the possibility that the Gospel may infuse into some of their decrepit constitutions the vivifying breath of grace.

Thus, then, the moving forces of Christianity are re-adjusted in Dr. Beecher's estimate; the great wheel of depravity reverses

its motion, and comes into play with the wheel of equity; the conflict of ages is arrested, and the Calvinistic steamer may move on in power and majesty over the ocean, to rescue a scanty freight of immortals from the floating wrecks of the aboriginal storm.

Before proceeding to present some of the correlated positions of this theory, as given in Dr. Beecher's book, we will consider how far it is satisfactory as a solution of the difficulties it proposes to meet. There is certainly an admirable boldness in developing such an hypothesis, so startling to common sense, through several hundred pages; bringing something which must look to most minds like a phantasm of an insane imagination, or a half sportive vagary, to solve discords and appease doubts that perplex the faith and break up the peace of thousands of honest and consecrated men. But metaphysics is accustomed to deal gravely with phantom questions; and so we may seriously ask how far this new hypothesis would heal the troubles of Orthodox theology, if it could be accepted. We are ready to confess that a theory of pre-existent life and fall, and of this world as a freely appointed sphere of moral probation, if it were consistent in all its parts, and if all the arrangements of this world corresponded to what such a probation ought to be, would ease very much the strain upon the popular creeds, and offer a view of Providence to our faith much less repulsive than Orthodoxy upholds. Dr. Beecher certainly has a right to feel that his assumption of a former state, in which we were endowed with pure constitutions, and surrounded with attractions to virtue, from which we deliberately fell, is a more pleasant conception of the problem of life than the common one, that God suffers us to be created impotent and corrupt, and allows us to have one chance in a hundred thousand for an escape from hell.

If this earth should answer to all that Dr. Beecher's theory allows us to expect from it, the great difficulty to be solved would centre in this original gift of free-will, and refer also to the kinds of temptation with which the prince of wicked spirits was allowed to ply us in our former state. Will our instinctive sense of right and benevolence justify any scheme of creation,

however fair its opening seems, which, after two limited seasons of probation, exposes innumerable millions to indescribable and unmitigated woe? It is useless to say that this tremendous risk is inseparable from free-will. What hinders the probation from being extended? What compulsion is there, in the nature of things, which our sense of right discerns, that the possibility of return to goodness must be concluded, by an arbitrary decree of God, after *two* trials? Reasoning rigidly from those principles of equity, whose right to criticise the divine government Dr. Beecher strenuously defends, is it not a fair claim of every created soul against its Maker, that, if such an awful peril as moral misery is appended to the existence which it did not seek, the opportunity to repent of disobedience and return to loyalty should *always* be open to him? The theory of "The Conflict of Ages," to our view, fails here fundamentally. However serious our philosophy of free-will may be, it seems to our mind a perfectly clear right of new-created beings that they shall not be born into a system where the laws and methods of *education* are not supreme; that they shall not be forced into an economy which by one, or even by fifty, arbitrary seasons of probation, shuts off the opportunity of penitence and opens an eternity of woe. No soul, it is probable, would accept an existence, however smiling the dawn of it might be made, in which such a horrible possibility of infamy and suffering was suspended against any temporary probation. And if we may doubt that a soul would freely stipulate thus with its Maker, is it right for God to force it into existence where the scales are so unbalanced?

Or, if Dr. Beecher is insensible to this argument, we have the hypothesis of annihilation to urge against him. If the principle of finite probation is a moral necessity with the Creator,—something he must recognize in his government, or not create free beings at all—certainly the destruction of sinners is not an impossible process, or offensive to our ideas of equity. Is it not infinitely preferable, if we decide by our moral instincts, that the wicked should expire all their miserable breath into the night, when the sun-set of hope arrives, than that they should be kept

in bitter and everlasting malignity, to show the strength of the eternal rule? These queries pursue Dr. Beecher's hypothesis back into the antecedent paradise. They darken the air of that primeval dawn, when innocent free-will was unsuspecting of the awful future before myriads of immortals. They call into judgment the beneficence of the scheme which allowed the wily and magnificent archangel to bring his resources to bear upon feebler natures. They overshadow that morning loveliness with doubts of the beneficence, or symmetry, of a system, which offers only two steps of probation into a possible eternity of woe.

Dr. Beecher urges the point very earnestly, that it degrades the idea of moral freedom to suppose it capable of nothing better than the history of this world, and the present state of character in it, reveal. To his mind it depresses and darkens the conception of the universe itself. "Indeed," he asks, "what motives can God have to create free agents, if free agency, in its own nature, is capable of nothing better than it has disclosed in this world?" But how does the theory of pre-existence eradicate this difficulty? All the depravity visible in this world is, by that theory, simply the manifestation of evil into which spirits, created perfectly pure, sunk themselves, by freedom, in an anterior sphere. Does Dr. Beecher reply, that the *great majority* of souls created in that state doubtless maintained their innocence, and therefore that the evil of this world is the *exceptional* action, not the *rule* of moral liberty? But what have majorities to do with principles? In morals, the test of the wisdom and equity of an economy must be the quality and depth of the misery and wrong finally produced by the system,—no matter whether the wrong be revealed in a myriad souls, or only in a thousand. It is impossible to overbalance the horrible fate of several millions of spirits, created solely at the pleasure of the Almighty, by showing us the joy of several hundred millions, whom the same fiat waked to life. Moral equity and perfection relate, not to proportions of numbers, but to principles. We can retort upon Dr. Beecher the whole philosophical force of the question

which he puts to the Unitarians. What motive can God have had to create that proportion of free agents, even in the former and perfect world, who, He must have foreseen, would fall, without hope of restoration, in this world? And still further, what motive can he have to keep them in existence forever, after the possibility of renewal has past, simply to darken his universe with their depravity and woe? The idea of equity is a weapon, that has no handle which any Orthodox system can take hold of, to wield against one of its neighbors. To them it is nothing but a naked blade—sharp from end to end, and will cut the Orthodox hand that foolishly seizes it, in proportion to the intensity of the blow which it aims. The old school fraternity are the wiser men, for they let the dangerous implement alone.

But in all this, we have glanced only at the abstract and metaphysical objections to the fundamental principle of Dr. Beecher's theory. It is essential, however, that his system should be not only in harmony with a strict ethics of Providence, but also that it should show this world to us in the light of a "moral hospital," with all its arrangements, as to discipline and help, in perfect conformity with our ideas of what a second state of probation should be. Can our author's view stand an examination in this light? We were put here, he says, by a device of infinite mercy, to enjoy an opportunity of moral renovation. We are told that the idea of equity condemns God's plan, if the other doctrines of Orthodoxy are accepted, and this one is not added. Well, then, what does equity say,—yes what does simple science say, about the provisions in this world to carry out such a scheme as the theory we are treating suggests? Does the history of Asia read well, as a series of reports from a moral hospital, arranged by a perfect providence, for the reformation of sentenced souls? Do the annals of Africa seem to be a chapter from the records of a providential infirmary? Is Patagonia to be accepted as a fair show of what one of the wards in a sanitary asylum should look like? Does the story of our race in the past,—do the features of its experience outside of Christendom

now,—suggest that this world is the theatre of a medical treatment for poisoned, crippled, insane, cancerous, withered and perverse spirits from all quarters of the universe, by all the correctives and antidotes, the captaplasms, and detergents, the regimens and stimulants, and surgeries, which the infinite Physician could provide? There is really something sublime in its way, in the idea of this world as the benevolent penal colony of the solar system—perhaps the Botany Bay of our firmament. But during the few years that we are here for advice and medicine, ought not the forces of this world to be a little more interested, than they seem to be in our behalf?—a little more plainly arranged with reference to a pharmacy and therapeutics, whose benefits must be secured now, or lost forever? This world a moral hospital for such diseases as Orthodoxy describes! Why, modern science,—to say nothing of strict equity—would condemn it, if told that it was a pest-house; that is, if Dr. Beecher's theory is to be set in the back ground of its phenomena. In our best modern *prisons*, where punishment is the primary object, we do not allow felons to huddle together, and live all the time in their own polluted moral atmosphere! In a hospital for the small-pox, or cholera, where physical life alone is involved, physicians are anxious about the air and the separation of the patients. We think, therefore, that Japan and China, Ceylon and Siam, must present a beautiful spectacle to the patron of Dr. Beecher's theory; inveterate cases of pre-existent malady, sent to those lands for their last chance of restoration, and there crowded together in an atmosphere of heathenism, that is thick with spiritual death; and never for once informed by the physician that they are under merciful treatment for chronic disease, and therefore that they will please to get well before an attack of cholera, or an edict of the Emperor, or a bite of a cobra di capello, gives them their passport to eternal damnation!

Not only are the arrangements of this world very strange for a beneficent hospital, but *we are not told* that we are here under sentence and for inward renovation. So far as justice is con-

cerned, it certainly seems a little queer to continue a stern discipline over offenders, and let them plunge in the river Lethe just before the discipline begins. We should hardly applaud the project of a statesman who should propose to give some moral chloroform to every sentenced rogue, that would deaden his memory, just before he donned the uniform of the prison. But we might get along, perhaps, with the question of justice, in regard to our ignorance of a former fall, if *benevolence* had nothing to object. Is it not probable that the knowledge of this antecedent experience, a thorough consciousness of one's demonic personality, would have a strong influence in urging us towards the means of help? If we come into the world on this dreadful drift of anterior depravity, is it quite fair that we should be cheated by the Almighty as to our identity, and imagine ourselves children of human parents with Christian names, when our passports are copied, with cognomens that we should not recognize, into the police books of the skies? If the consciousness of every spirit on the globe firmly embraced the two cardinal facts of its life,—first, that it is a curtailed devil, sheathed in a human body for mortal purification; and second, that if unpurified here, it will sink forever into its proper gloom, would not the impulse towards goodness be considerably increased? And is there any reason why this knowledge should not be given to us, since the simple and fundamental truth of the case requires it? Ought we to be suffered, at this moment, to spend our time in discussing whether Dr. Beecher's theory is, or is not, a mere will-o'-the-wisp, born on the marshes of Calvinism, instead of giving all our time to disinfect our souls of the diabolism with which they are permeated, and for which our few mortal years will supply the only medium of cure?

Surely, we ought to bring this knowledge with us into the world. The first thrill of infant intelligence, it should seem, ought to overleap the gulf that divides this world from the country of our fall; and underneath our mature experience the

solemn certainty should press upon the heart, that only here can the damage to our angelic constitution be repaired, and our nature restored to its native glory and bliss. But what shall we say when we find that *Revelation* itself is silent as to our lineage and the peculiar character of this earthly existence? We have read all that Dr. Beecher has said to relieve his theory from the stress of this difficulty, without one whit of satisfaction. We bear cordial testimony to the vigor of imagination, the splendor of spiritual coloring, and the massive thought, which distinguish his development, in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of his fifth book, of the relations of the church to the great plan of God's government in the universe. It is far superior to any theory which any Orthodoxy, in good repute, can bring against it. But all its magnificence cannot stand before a cross examination which asks, why he, in the nineteenth century of Christendom, is the first to discover and unfold this view? We have heard of the inmate of an insane asylum calling his crazy companions together, and informing them that they were not lunatics, but senators, representatives, and cabinet officers of the United States, whom he would politely request to listen to his presidential message, in which the true policy of the nation was, for the first time, to be set forth. Is not this story typical of Dr. Beecher's relations to his fellow convicts? Why does the Old Testament kindle into no suspicion, and glow with not a single hint, that this world is the providential penitentiary for pre-adamite offenders? Why was no prophet visited with an intimation that the meaning of this world is a significance of a merciful jail, over which hosts of immortal spirits swarm,—dropping into it on the way from a celestial fall, and leaving it, to receive their final doom?

It would have given, too, quite a peculiar coloring to the appeals and the system of thought in the New Testament. Was St. Paul acquainted with this genealogy of souls? Did he understand the glorious office of the gospel, as the offering of health and the publication of pardon to sin-stained felons, transported here from paradise? If he did not understand it, certainly it

was a curious reserve that withheld it from the fifth chapter of Romans, and prevented it from leaking out of his *cautious* mind, through his *prudent* pen, into any verse of his epistles. If he was not acquainted with it, would it not be well, at least, to have his ignorance accounted for? And when we ask the same questions concerning Jesus, what has Dr. Beecher to say? Here is a globe, built slowly through thousands of centuries to be a penal island for the eternal world,—fitted up to be the theatre of an incarnation, a revelation, and a church, that are to rescue ranks of souls from a primeval ruin and curse,—a world having no other meaning than as the whirling temporary home of these convicts, and the footstool of a cross which is to spread the light of God's long suffering and love throughout the universe,—and yet the spirits that come here, are not suffered to believe in their own identity; the introductory revelations do not shed any gleam of light across their misty memories; the great preachers of the central scheme of redemption do not suffer a ray of explanation to break upon the dark relations and beneficent purposes of this world and of their message; and the incarnate deity himself carefully guards his lips as to that which alone interprets the essence and glory of his mission, and never lets any language, appropriate to it, escape him, except perhaps when he said to a few Jews, “ye are of your father, the devil!” We recollect that Mr. Macauley, in an argument with a Benthamite, has said, that “to believe in a theory, and a fact which contradicts it, is a sufficiently hard exercise of faith; but to believe in a theory, because a fact contradicts it, is what no pope or inquisitor ever thought of before.” “The Conflict of Ages,” if taken in connexion with the Four Gospels, stands in just about such relations to human reason.

If it were merely a question of abstract truthfulness, perhaps some subtile casuist might account for the silence of the New Testament upon Dr. Beecher's theory. But the whole moral government of God, and the dearest interest of millions of souls, for eighteen centuries at least, are involved in it. Does not Dr.

Beecher prove to us that the gospel has had but slight power as yet because of this very ignorance of what this world is? Has not this deplorable blunder crippled the church by misadjusting all its machinery? If it had been known, would not all this discord and inefficiency have been prevented? Hear what the author's own confession is: "A God who was seen and felt to avow and act on the principles of honor and right which I have laid down, and to manifest the feelings which I have set forth, would exert inconceivable moral power; for the mind of man is made to be acted on by such feelings and principles, clearly apprehended in such a being as God, with inconceivable energy. There is no power like it, or to be compared with it. It can agitate the nations, and shake the globe. All this power Christianity now loses, and encounters an equal and all-pervading repulsion. Never—I say it confidently—never will Christianity bring out the whole power of human emotion in sanctified forms, till it is based upon pre-existence." (Page 526.) We should really like to know, now, what the instinctive sense of equity, or benevolence, pronounces upon a system of government that allows the great movement for which this world was built, to be crippled, simply by not revealing in the records of that movement, what its fundamental idea is. Will Dr. Beecher make a calculation of the number of souls that have probably been lost, during the last eighteen centuries, on account of the inefficiency of the church, or their own repulsion from a misadjusted and darkened gospel, and tell us to whom, on "the principles of honor and right," their damnation should be charged?

While we are utterly unable to comprehend how his system can stand the blow which our last query deals, it is simply fair to notice the ways in which the author treats the scriptural silence, and the ignorance of society thus far, concerning his theory. The facts, he says, are all revealed in the Bible, which nothing but the idea of pre-existence can harmonize; just as the physical facts and motions are all in space, which nothing but the Copernican astronomy can explain. The world was ignorant for thousands of years of the true relation of the earth and sun.

The real truth contradicted all prejudices and the very senses themselves ; and so God waits for a great spiritual discoverer and mathematician, kindred to Copernicus and Newton, to detect and prove the true system of his moral astronomy, out of the facts of the Bible and the eccentric cycles of human experience. Can it be that Dr. Beecher is blinded by such a superficial analogy ? The deepest spiritual interests of men were not suspended on their knowledge of the Copernican system. But these interests do hang on their acquaintance with a theory of the gospel that shall save its truth from seeming hideous. Besides, what revelation and its prophets were sent here for was precisely to tell us of our condition, our perils, the goodness of God, and our single avenue and short opportunity of salvation. The state of things thus far, relative to the gospel, would find a fair analogy, if we should imagine the world waiting, through centuries, for a revelation of the true system of the universe, needing such instruction for their eternal welfare, and learning from Copernicus and Newton, who were inspired at last to teach them all which they ought to know, simply that the earth is one planet of a great number that exist in space. Nothing said about the motion of the earth about the sun, although they knew all about it, and were sent to reveal it, and saw that the universe must seem all discord, and that millions must suffer forever, if they did not declare it ! To our mind Dr. Beecher might as well hope to show that revelation need not mention moral principle, as to try to find any justification for its not making the doctrine of pre-existence, and its correlated facts, blaze upon its records, if that doctrine alone makes Christianity powerful.

We must not forget, however, the final resource of Dr. Beecher, in accounting for the general ignorance, thus far, in the church concerning our pre-existence. It is a *device of Satan*, who delights to hoodwink and blind believers. Who can help admiring the admirable provisions in Orthodox theology against all the assaults of philosophy and logic ? To cut every tangled skein into which the strain of argument often knots its doctrines, the

two unfailing shears are ready—mystery and satanic influence. Dr. Beecher does not put the first to much service ; but he makes up for the omission, and helps himself out of many a straight, by a liberal use in logic of his very “enlarged views of the antiquity, origin, and progress of the kingdom of Satan.” Evidently the greatest mystery of Providence to his mind is the fact that “the great enemy has been allowed to effect so much by means of good men.” If, therefore, the sublime truth which harmonizes Christian theology has never dawned upon the church, is it not plain that Satan has stretched his dusky wings across its disc ? See how grandly Dr. Beecher puts it : “If there is in fact, a malignant spirit, of great and all-pervading power, intent on making a fixed and steady opposition to the progress of the cause of God ; and if he well knows that there is one truth, of relations so manifold, important, and sublime, that on it depends, in great measure, the highest and most triumphant energy of the system of Christianity,—then, beyond all doubt, he would exert his utmost power in so misleading the church of God as to fortify them in the strongest possible manner against its belief and reception. He would, as early and as far as possible pervert and disgrace it. He would present it in false and odious combinations, and thus array against it the full power of that most energetic faculty of the human soul, the association of ideas. He would fill the church and the ministry with a pre-judgment against it : not founded on argument, and yet so profound as to make its falsehood a foregone conclusion, and that to such an extent as entirely to prevent any deep and thorough intellectual effort on the subject. He would, after succeeding in this, paralyze them with an effeminate timidity with reference even to any serious and thorough discussion of the subject ; so that even men who are in general the boldest advocates of free inquiry, shall tremble and grow pale at the thought that any one with whom they are associated shall dare to avow an open and firm belief of the proscribed truth.”—(Page 223.)

We dislike to step down from so sublime a eulogium upon Lucifer ; but really is not this rich ? Here is a world built and

furnished, as we are told, to save souls, through the medium of Christianity, from the ruin produced by the former wiles of Satan ; and yet the very Christian theology, which Heaven devised at great expense to work against his kingdom, is inspired by him with discord and falsehood ! It is *his* theology, rather than that of Jesus. Mephistophiles instructs the students from the professor's chair, as in Goethe's Faust, and well may he say to his pupils what Goethe makes him say : " As for theology, it is so difficult to avoid the wrong way ; there is so much hidden poison in it, which is hardly to be distinguished from the medicine." The reason why the doctrine of pre-existence is not plainly printed in the Four Gospels, is due to Satan ; Satan confused the mind of Paul, so that he omitted to group the doctrines of grace around the only centre that would harmonize them ; Satan turned the thought of the early church into a wrong and shallow channel ; Satan perverted the mind of Augustine, so that his eye just grazed the edge of the great mystery, and then wandered off into the fog ; Satan has puffed out every little flame of the true light, as it has been kindled in meditative minds since the fifth century ; but Dr. Beecher has now beaten him off, and in revenge, Satan is inspiring the Doctor's friends to turn pale, or to jeer, at his theory ; and so the harmony of the church and the efficiency of this world as " a moral hospital," are still postponed ! Is not this pretty well for a theory that holds up ordinary Orthodoxy to the severest condemnation in the light of perfect equity and benevolence ? Would it not seem equitable that condemned and depraved spirits here should be relieved from the arts and temptations of the adversary, that their probation might be a real one ? At any rate, is it too much to expect that Lucifer should be restrained from acting as general commentator on Christian theology ?

We cannot but think, also, that in some respects, Satan, thus far at least, must be quite well satisfied with the issue of things in this world, as Dr. Beecher interprets it to us. Of course, thus far in history the immense majority of the myriads of millions

that have colonized the globe, failing of regeneration here, must have returned to the sphere of darkness. From present appearances, it is not likely that the church will very soon be harmonious enough to gather in a very large percentage as a harvest of grace. When Satan sees, therefore, with what pains this world was arranged by the Almighty to restore those whom he had seduced, must he not divert himself sometimes with the spectacle of theology on this planet, which he has so skilfully unhinged from its pivot, and crippled for the work of salvation? And when the millions return to his dominion—second comers after a probation devised by the Almighty—and he compares the full ranks of his conscription with the scanty regiments that re-ascend the skies, will he not have some reason to be pretty well content with the issue of the divine scheme for wresting his former subjects from him? And if the few that are saved illustrate the divine perfections, will not the larger numbers that are lost again brilliantly celebrate his superior subtlety?

We regret that the proper limits of an article will not allow us to give the attention here that is due to the fourth book of Dr. Beecher's volume. In that book he sketches with masterly hand the developments of the Orthodox doctrine of depravity, in the mind of Augustine and of the prominent theologians of modern times. It would be difficult to find, within the limits of a hundred pages, any treatise or essay, bearing upon the popular theology, that can compare in importance with this analysis of Orthodox theories by Dr. Beecher. He confesses that in Augustine, who died A. D. 430, a satisfactory theory of depravity appeared for the first time in the literature of the church. The earlier fathers indeed, held firmly that all men are sinners, needing salvation by grace through Christ; but they were blessed with no rich and thorough doctrine of total depravity; they awakened no "keen sense of the utter moral weakness of man;" they were accustomed to make prominent the energies of the human will; and so, for nearly four hundred years, especially in the Oriental church, Christianity was in so sad a state, that it

did not hold any such theory of human corruption as produced an open conflict with the ideas of equity and benevolence !

Augustine roused the church from its torpor, Dr. Beecher thinks, by the truth which his deeper experience disclosed to him, that our nature, back of the will, is morally impotent, thoroughly vile, and under the eternal condemnation of the Almighty. But something must be done to reconcile with the justice of God the idea of creating beings so corrupt and so exposed to infinite peril ; and Augustine, who contended that every new-created being ought to have a fair probation, maintained that our rights were forfeited before birth. He supposed and believed that all men so pre-existed in Adam that they could and did act in his act, and forfeit together all their rights in that great and original forfeiture of Adam. In this view we are all minute subdivisions of the first earthly sinner, homœopathic globules of that large lump of taint ; and all history is only the great act of Adam beaten out thin. By such a verbal trick as this did the hot mind of Augustine think to save infinite benevolence from impeachment. If he had made the pre-existence real and intelligible, Dr. Beecher maintains that all trouble in the church would have been obviated ; but alas ! Satan, who delights in metaphysics, intruded into his brain the entertaining subtlety of a federal fall in our progenitor, and so the great truths of theology were jostled into a lie.

Dr. Beecher's picture of the hypotheses to which Augustine's doctrine of total depravity has given rise, effectually dissipates the claim of unity in faith, which Orthodoxy so often boasts. Scarcely any two positive thinkers of the strictest schools have agreed in their theories of the fall. Every form of subtlety, hair-splitting and juggling with words, has been invented, to avert the condemnation of conscience and the feelings, by keeping the doctrine as a puzzling logical toy before the brain. Acute inventions of the schoolmen, such as modern language is not mean enough to convey ; statements that the sin of Adam is *really*, but not *personally*, ours ; theories that Adam's sin is past upon us *truly*, by *imputation*, though *privately* it does not be-

long to us ; the conception of federal headship, by which Adam's transgression is not ours, but merely regarded and treated by the Almighty as ours, (think of that word "merely" in the light of eternal punishment, to which it is the finger point ;) suppositions of a nebulous stretch of our consciousness back into the morning of history, which made all men, in some sense *co-agent* in Adam ; hypotheses that God established a personal identity between Adam and us with respect to his first sin, but not with respect to any other ; bald affirmations that Adam's sin was ours just as much as it was his ; nice dissections of the *peccatum naturale*, from the *peccatum personale*,—which, if they only allowed us to be damned *naturale*, instead of *personale*, would be of trifling consequence ;—such are some of the ways in which the human mind has strained on the tether that binds it to Augustine's barbarous formula ; so that, in the sweep of its unrest, it has touched opposite points of the diameter of morals, and then called the circle of its aberrations by the name of unity of belief. Dr. Beecher enumerates at least six dissimilar and conflicting solutions, by Orthodox theologians, of the alleged forfeiture of rights by the human race in Adam ; and he begs his brethren not "to attempt to represent men as standing together on one side, who, though in general on one side, are yet, while there, engaged in mortal conflict with each other."

Thus the "Conflict of Ages" is very valuable as a thorough exposition, from a man within the ranks, not only of the baseless claim to any unity of faith, on the part of Orthodoxy, but also of the hopeless discord, on all fundamental principles of right, which confuses the ear so soon as positive minds begin to utter their solutions of the common creed. Dr. Beecher is interested to publish this discord so that his brethren will feel it, because he maintains that his theory alone can harmonize it. It is time surely that the idea of any general consent in the gloomy theories of the sacrificial faith should be done away ; and for the honor of human nature we rejoice that the volume we are considering completely scatters that dream.

In considering the attitude of the New-Testament towards his theory, Dr. Beecher of course pays particular attention to the remarkable passage, Rom. v. 12-19. The most of the New Testament simply ignores by silence the idea of pre-existence; but these verses deliberately stop short with Adam, in tracing backwards the lineage of human sin and wretchedness. The case would be too obstinate for ordinary logicians; but Dr. Beecher storms this Pauline battery, that faces his doctrine with such threatening muzzles and determines to level it against the standard Orthodoxy of his church. He denies that the passage intends to teach that our moral guilt is, in any way, connected with the fall of Adam. This interpretation was not heard of, he says, before Tertullian, nor established till the time of Augustine. He atones, in part, for abasing the early church before the bishop of Hippo's view of depravity, by abandoning Augustine and all his successors on the great proof-text of their position, and siding with the earlier fathers. Were it not for this passage in Romans, troops of Orthodox theologians would be glad to modify their views of original sin and complete depravity; Dr. Beecher adheres to the doctrine of a universal fall, but upsets the supposed scriptural foundation of it.

After showing that there is the widest diversity in the Orthodox versions of the verses, he maintains that the term "death" refers only to natural death, and that the whole passage presents a typical fact appointed by providence to be used as language to state the regenerated influence of Christ. "God was pleased to establish, immediately on the sin of Adam, and through that sin, the sequence of condemnation to natural death upon all men; a sequence linked to Adam's act by no causative power, but established solely as a type and illustration, both by similitude and antithesis, of the sequence of justification and life eternal from the obedience of Christ,—a sequence in which there is a real and glorious causative power." The fallen condition and depravity of man are independent of this act of Adam, but the events connected with the introduction of the race into this world by one man, were so ordered and fitted into a system of sequences, as

to form a type of the relations and acts of the coming Messiah in redeeming the church. Thus, the cure of the poisoned Israelites by looking to the brazen serpent, which had no healing power, was an arbitrarily appointed type of the real power which Christ would exert upon those who should look to him. In almost all scriptural types, the order of causation in the symbol is *apparent* only ; the real causation is in the spiritual sequences which fulfil the type. So Dr. Beecher maintains that the theology of his church has wandered from truth, and involved itself in pernicious subtleties by not seeing that the whole passage, Rom. v. 12-19, is typical and not antithetic ; setting forth natural death, which God arbitrarily appointed as a sequence of Adam's sin in this world, as the symbol of the spiritual life which really flows from Christ to all true believers.

Of course, this elaborate criticism upon the fifth of Romans, adds not a particle to any scriptural evidence in favor of pre-existence. The most it can do is to neutralize a passage that seems hostile ; and then, the mysterious silence of the New-Testament concerning a doctrine that is essential to the working power of Christianity, remains no less insoluble than before. Yet, we could not but feel something like gratitude for a personal favor, as we read Dr. Beecher's vigorous onslaught upon the horrible interpretations of this chapter. It is not easy to explain the Providence, that has permitted the Apostle Paul to be held accountable for a theory of divine government which his soul abhorred. There would be about as much congruity in hoisting the proem of the Declaration of Independence over a slave-auction, as in making the epistle to the Romans the banner of a theory, which affirms any hostility of God towards the human race, and the need of any placatory sacrifice. Without entering at all into the question here of the strict meaning which the word " death " bears in the fifth of Romans, we will only express our conviction that Dr. Beecher has struck upon the right principle in his theory of typical interpretation. We do not accept at all the details of his exegesis, but he has come into the right latitude for understanding St. Paul's mind.

The worst errors of Orthodoxy, we believe, are traceable to a radical misconception of the mental structure of Paul, and especially to an oversight of the fact that the book of Romans is, in the noblest sense of that word, a *rhetorical*, rather than a logical or dogmatic, composition. It does not pretend to give truth cold-pressed into a formal treatise ; but it shows us truth jetting hot out of a passionate soul, for immediate practical effect, for the most efficient service against prejudices, that must be offended as little as possible, but which, for the honor of the gospel, must some way be stricken down. The positive and eternal principles of the gospel, therefore, are not set in a philosophical form, as though the apostle were drawing a creed for all ages, to be rigidly interpreted by the intellect ;—but they are interfused with rhetorical conceptions ; they are set in historical lights, that will make them most available for the practical crisis which the apostle would meet, without any damage to their spiritual authority and force. A great lawyer, arguing an important cause to a jury, whose habits of mind and prejudices he is familiar with, and whose favorable verdict is immediately necessary, puts truth in a different attitude, and uses other laws of impression, than would be proper if he sat on the judge's bench to write a decision in the same case, that must stand for all ages as part of public jurisprudence. The same truth might appear in both instances ; but if the same verbal methods were applied to the interpretation of it,—if constant reference was not made to the rhetorical purpose in the first case, and the cold abstract aim in the second, a perfectly false system might be evolved from the speech of the pleader, and principles be attributed to him which he would thoroughly detest.

Thus, it was the object of St. Paul to root out of the Jewish mind every notion of a covenant relation between them and God, that could be suffered to pledge His providence to a peculiar favoritism for them through all history. The proper breadth and harmony of the church were not possible, till this conceit should be expurgated from their brain. So he seeks a

universal stand-point, in the first place, which will bring Jews and Gentiles together before the government of Heaven. With the latter there has been the covenant of conscience and natural morality ; with the former the covenant of election and the Mosaic code. How do the human parties stand, he asks, as to these common covenants ? They have equally broken them,—the Jews, by not living in conformity with their revealed code, and the Gentiles, by violating their inborn sense of right. If *covenants* are to be talked about, therefore, Paul means to show that neither party has anything to claim from God ; and if God, abandoning the whole principal of covenants, chooses to meet the whole race with a fresh and surprising mercy, what has the Jew to object to the universality of the new system ? what has either party to do but acknowledge the grace of Heaven, and strive together in a fellowship of gratitude, because of the common boon ? Such a mercy, Paul argues, has been displayed towards the whole race in the gift of Christ, who published the paternity of the Infinite, promised blessings that no souls could have expected on any grounds of covenant, and offered helps to a holy and filial life, which neither natural conscience nor the Mosaic law could supply. Just as the mercy seat in the Jewish temple was the visible sign that God had chosen the Hebrew nation once, for blessings to which they had no legal claim, so Christ has become a new propitiatory or mercy-seat, and stands as the sign of a freely manifested love towards the whole race ; so that all sins are fully forgiven, and a new light imparted to every soul that comes into communion with him by vital faith.

And then Paul brings out from the Hebrew records the universal principles which are implied in their chief documents, and the great types which the Messiah should be expected to fulfil. He shows that Abraham was first chosen on account of faith ; so that in blessing the Gentiles on the ground of faith, in the Christian system, God is only giving full sweep to the principles which the Hebrew records themselves lift into light. Again, the

great troubles of humanity are *common* ones, and have descended from Adam, the ancestor of Gentiles as well as Jews. And shall not Christ stand in as broad relations to the world as the first man? Shall he not be the head of a spiritual lineage, including all races, just as Adam stands at the fountain-head of a common sinfulness and wretchedness? Furthermore, does not the Pentateuch, does not the book of Isaiah, show plainly enough that God has always held the lines of his government in his own hands, unhampered by covenants with men, so that He could choose those to be his people who were not his people? The Jewish exclusiveness, therefore, he argued, is riddled every way—by reason, by the principles of their own traditions, and by the open declarations of the records to which they appeal.

Now, Orthodoxy perverts the argument, and mistakes the sweep of this epistle on every point. The vivid pictures which Paul paints to show that Jews and Gentiles have broken their covenants with the Almighty, Calvinism interprets as a mathematical projection of the doctrine of total depravity. Paul's idea that they have nothing to claim of God on terms of bargain, Calvinism stiffens into the dogma that the human race are born under the shadow of infinite wrath. The apostle's poetic conception, in the third chapter of Romans, of Christ as a new *ilasterion*, or mercy-seat, whence God freely dispenses the richest favors to all men who have the filial spirit, Calvinism deforms into the hideous proposition that Christ was needed as a sacrifice to enable God to be propitious to a revolting race. The allusion to Abraham, intended by the apostle to lift the Jewish mind above the idea of covenants, is perverted into the idea that the Christian Church is founded on a strict covenant of faith, which forbids any Heavenly mercy to stray beyond the believer in a propitiatory offering. The reference to Adam is dwarfed from its typical breadth and rhetorical magnificence, to the idea of federal headship, or a corrupted nature flowing from that fountain into every breast. And the references to the Old Testament, by which the apostle proves that God had never given up

the right to turn and broaden the channels of his providence as he pleased, have been frozen into the dogma of personal election, and a fore-ordination that annihilates free-will.

If we stand at the spring of principles from which the book of Romans issued, we see a stream of thought as different from Calvinism as the waters of life¹ are sweeter than the pool of Marah. Dr. Beecher, by his typical interpretation of one great proof-text of his brethren's theology, has called their attention to the character of the epistle, and of the genius of its author, which imply the rhetorical structure of the whole argument, in the light of which, when once seen, the whole system of Orthodoxy must change. His chapters, therefore, on the fifth of Romans, although they do not strengthen his own theory, and do not include the whole truth, are very valuable contributions, from the Orthodox side, towards a worthy conception of the great apostle's thought.

Extended as our article is, we should do wrong to refuse a passing notice to Dr. Beecher's theory and justification of eternal punishment, as unfolded from pages 156-159. It is always interesting to watch the mental gymnastics among verbal artifices, by which noble natures try to evade the horror of eternal misery, as a fact, busying themselves with the adjustment of certain logical relations of the doctrine as a *thought*, and so keeping away from its tremendous import as a *reality*. This volume offers a new speculative subtlety, which acts as a screen to guard the author's sense of equity and benevolence from scorching before the heats of hell. All sin, he says, grows out of selfishness, and selfishness is essentially cruel. No holy instincts are shocked when cruel purposes are disappointed and thwarted. Now the root of future misery will be the just defeat and exposure of the spirit of cruelty, by infinite love armed with infinite power. So that God will be glorified, and pure minds can rejoice in the future and unending suffering of the wicked.

This argument, on a close examination, certainly reveals some strange features. Selfishness is cruel, because it is an entire disregard of the interests and welfare of others. The saints, therefore, by becoming regenerate, lose every trace of this disposition, and so of all cruelty. Now is it not rather troublesome to conceive of their satisfaction in the eternal sin and eternal wretchedness of millions of their fellows, just at the time when selfishness is rooted out, their cruelty withered, and their regard for the interests of others most intense? Does not this principle cut two ways? Must it not balance the satisfaction which the holiness of the saints will feel in the defeat of malice, by their keener sensitiveness, as unselfish and sympathetic beings, to the misery and woe of the malicious souls? And then, as to the methods of this defeat of evil. If the contest is between finite cruelty and resources, on one side, and "infinite love armed with infinite power," on the other, is there no danger that saintly sympathies will be perplexed with some slight sense of the inequality of the combat? Dr. Beecher stakes his argument on this figure of an engagement, and he must be held to it. If infinite power must be brought in at the close of the system of probation, to ensure the victory to infinite love, is not the triumph essentially a physical one, and so unworthy the sympathy of holy minds? And further, if this power must be invoked *at the close* of the system of probation, to ensure God's victory, why might it not have been applied, in *earlier stages* of that system, to prevent the spread of malicious influences, to restrain the agency of Satan, to make the sphere of probation more promising, or to offer a little assistance to souls in the critical perils of temptation? If power is to be wielded to give the supremacy at last to love, one can hardly understand why an unselfish Deity, that is, a being with no element of cruelty, and full of sympathy, should withhold that power, to use it in its full sweep against the outward effects of evil at the consummation of his government, instead of bringing it to bear in larger measure upon souls, when their inward redemption might have been ensured by it?

We confess to a feeling of disgust in playing with these metaphysical foils, over such a subject as eternal punishment, which involves the whole question of government and order in the universe. But Dr. Beecher's principles are so hostile to the conclusion he brought them to cover, that it is only just to turn them round. Let a man treat the great question of order as a reality, and like Abbot Samson, look steadily into the pit, when he would reason about the justice and beauty of eternal suffering, and his metaphysics become enlightened, his principles insensibly broaden, so that, like John Foster, he will feel that nothing can be so certain as that such a doctrine is not true. If, however, this question is treated as a speculative problem, an idea which, by some subtlety, must be brought into fellowship with other ideas which seem hostile to it, the mind will come to regard it about like the questions before the schoolmen, of the real presence in the eucharist, or the possibility of an angel passing from one point to another without traversing the intermediate space. Speculative logic can be demeaned to any service; Christianized feeling must swell underneath the brain through all its exercise, making the problem a real one, if we would know what the mind has to say about the harmony of eternal woe with the highest goodness and equity.

We have been struck, in reading his volume, with the easy indifference the author shows to all the difficulties with which the methods and laws of birth and family life surround his thesis. Are the homes of this world repetitions of the alliances and kindred that existed in the angelic state? Is there a truth deeper than has been imagined in the old saying, that matches were made in heaven? If the family bonds of this world are not co-ordinate with relationships that existed in our first estate, what a deception is practised upon the young parents, who suppose that they are fondling an infant creature, born of their characters and blood, when really they are caressing an abridgment of an imp, which God has cast into their domestic care to hide its depravity, for a season, in a sunny glee, and to prattle its

old pollution through nursery rhymes. We read that in the spiritual world, "they neither marry nor are given in marriage." Is it not rather hard then, that so many parents should suffer so much from the thought of the probable damnation of their more sinful children, when they might be relieved by knowing that these family ties are delusions; and that the wandering one who bears their name is of no nearer kindred than any of the yellow editions of fallen spirits in China, or of the black-letter re-publications of Nubia?

What becomes, too, of the children that die? Their infancy is a temporary device; and so, of course, they stretch to their old proportions, so soon as the scarlet fever or the measles restores them to eternity. They are not old enough to receive an interest in the atonement on the earth. If they are lost on that account, has their probation been fair? If provision has been made for them, so that their salvation is secured, is probation equal for all the colonists of this globe? And on any view we can take of it, does Dr. Beecher's theory show us an equal earthly trial for all that are here? Surely not; he cannot pretend that opportunities and chances are in equilibrium for those brought up in an atmosphere of pollution, and those born into Christian homes; for Heathen and Christian people; for those who die at five, ten, twenty, fifty, and seventy years. And so, is not his great scheme of a *second* probation burdened with the same moral injustice, which he exposes so eloquently in the common Orthodox view that this is our first trial? According to both theories, this is our *last* opportunity of escape from perdition; and both alike show most startling inequalities, directly established by Providence, in the opportunities for redemption.

Surely, this book is a strange phenomenon, even for the domain of theology, where portents are not rare. A most singular spectacle it would be, should Dr. Beecher be summoned before a council, and probed with questions to settle the charge of heresy. How savory would his answers seem, as

returned in detail! "Do you believe the Trinity?" "Yes." "Do you hold to universal sinfulness?" "Yes." "Do you accept the doctrine of total depravity?" "Yes; I hold to complete corruption of nature antecedent to all volition." "Do you believe in eternal punishment?" "Yes." "Do you acknowledge this world as a final state of probation?" "Yes." "Do you hold strictly to the atoning mission and death of Christ?" "Yes." "Do you believe that faith in the atonement, and a consequent regeneration by the Holy Spirit, open the only avenue of salvation?" "Yes." "Do you believe that Dr. Bushnell is a heretic?" "Yes." Surely the accused must be acquitted by acclamation. But let us imagine one question more. "You hold, then, firmly to the Orthodox system of theology, as organized in the prominent Confessions?" "No; I believe that every one of its theories of forfeiture involves God, and his whole administration, and his eternal kingdom, in the deepest dishonor that the mind of man or angel can conceive, by the violation of the highest and most sacred principles of honor and right, and that on the scale of infinity and eternity. . . . The human mind cannot be held back from abhorring such theories, except by the most unnatural violence to its divinely inspired convictions of honor and right." (Pages 225 306.) We will not try to imagine the perturbation of the council, nor their expressions, when told by the defendant that the idea of pre-existence is the only theory that will bind the tumbling arch of their theory into symmetry and strength.

Dr. Beecher's brethren, as a general thing, will, no doubt, smile at his theory of pre-existence. But when they turn it off, what is to be done with the arguments that have led him to it? *They* are called upon to answer them. They are solemnly bound to show that his impeachment of their system in the name of benevolence and equity is invalid. A voice within their own circle tells them, that a satisfactory response to the indictment of Orthodoxy by liberal Christians, at the bar of justice and mercy, cannot be made by any combination of the elements that have

thus far appeared in its creeds. More rigidly Orthodox, in most of its details, than the real views of many modern subscribers to its symbols, this volume strikes a fatal blow at every form of the popular faith that is not organized around its own fantastic hypothesis. Orthodoxy *plus* pre-existence, or, as the alternative, a hopeless wrestle with the noble elements of human nature—such is the formula with which Dr. Beecher astonishes his friends. If they deny his solution, they have to fight for the moral nobility of their system with a man who knows what logic is, and can put the truth in vigorous words. If they turn it off with a sneer, they trifle with the deep experience of a man as sincere, learned, and pious as any opponent can claim to be.

To all who live without the circle of the sacrificial faith, Dr. Beecher's volume is of the deepest interest, as a new index of the disquiet and the struggles which heave underneath the formal assent to its propositions. Human nature was not made to live contentedly on such a faith. The great majority of its adherents, not intellectually and vitally experiencing the tough problems which it raises, are swayed by its master motives, fear and selfish hope, and so live in the service, not the liberty, of religion. Others find some nutriment for their souls in the great principles of Divine holiness and the love of Christ which permeate its structure, and pay little attention to its horrors, as a theory of Heavenly government, or an interpretation of human life. But there are others still whose intellects demand that their religion shall present them with something like a consistent and noble theory of the universe, a theory that shall satisfy and inspire every faculty of their nature. They examine their theology, and are perplexed in mind by the elaborate confusion of its *analytic* dogmas about an *incomprehensible* Trinity. Their moral sense is offended by its pictures of a placatory and substituted sacrifice. Their sense of equity is pained by the disproportion between a short earthly probation, and an eternity of consequences. The inequalities of earthly lot, too, complicate this difficulty. And their benevolence is utterly overwhelmed by

the vision of unending suffering, as the destiny of myriads under a nominally perfect rule. They cannot reject the doctrines, and they cannot deny that the doctrines war with their peace. In every age of the church, such men have lived in the gloomy latitude of such a faith, and have repeated the experience of Milton's fallen angels, when they explored the landscape of their infernal home :

“ Through many a dark and dreary vale
They passed, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp,
Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death.

* * * * *

Where all life dies, death lives and nature breeds
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feigned or fear conceived,
Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire.”

Dr. Beecher knows what this condition of mind is ; and the fantastic weakness of his solution only betrays the depth of the inward disquiet which disposed his intellect to seek relief in upholding it. The offence his theory gives to our common sense, is a measure of the turmoil which popular Orthodoxy had stirred in his soul. Who can tell how many thousands are represented by these experiences that break into expression ? And is that the highest interpretation of Christianity, which introduces such discord into the bosoms of the sincerest believers ?

Dr. Beecher has used the proper word, in maintaining so strenuously that the elements of Christian theology are “ mis-adjusted.” However deep the depravity of man may be ; whatever theories of a corrupt lineage may be necessary to account for it ; however serious the call to a consecration of the will, that comes to us through the religion of Jesus, it is absolutely essential to any symmetry of faith, that all doctrines be set in the light and under the control of the absolute perfection of God, as the human reason and the human heart would naturally

interpret that perfection. If there seem to be any mystery in the idea that God suffers so many human beings to come into existence here, amid hostile circumstances and with damaged constitutions, we must solve it by looking ahead,—by believing in an infinite vista of hope, in which all the hard conditions of the dawn of being may be compensated by a greater good which they render possible at last. There is no other way to vindicate the government of a good Creator, no other way in which infinite perfection can be manifest. The human soul must wrestle with every system of theology which does not interpret infinite goodness in ways that fill the heart with cheerfulness and joy, making life seem when taken in connection with its great future, the greatest privilege and blessing.

The deepest troubles of the Orthodox systems are connected with the two ideas of the sovereignty of God, and a limited probation for man. All the ethics of the sacrificial forms of faith are stained more or less deeply with the assumption, that God as the legitimate emperor of the moral realm, has the right to establish such a system of government as He may please. Regard for His own holiness and worship, rather than a constant effluence of His own life for the good of His creation, is practically considered the highest law of the heavenly administration ; while *in men* the supreme type of goodness is seen in the disposition that seeks the happiness of others, and is never weary in labor and charity for their welfare. And then the idea of a limited probation entangles the whole system of life into an insoluble confusion. First, the principles are wrong ; and second, the scanty time allotted for their working would not allow any thing but anarchy, as the result, even if the principles were right. The misadjustment is as strange, as if the cold, dull disc of Uranus were put in the centre of our family of worlds, and the sun were banished, as a satellite, to the outskirts of the planetary fold. What life, what order, what beauty there would be in such an arrangement, a moment's thought will set before us. And no less derangement of balance, consistency and peace,

will there be in a theology which puts the gloomy principle of justice, divorced from love, in the centre of its elements, and banishes the idea of grace to a subordinate and far-off position. The principle of infinite goodness must take its natural office in our scheme of religious thought, including justice as the gravitating principle of order, in the same way that the sun hides within its bulk the energy that binds the planets into harmony, but pouring everywhere unstinted rays of light and heat ; *then* truths will stand in right relations, and their apparent perturbations can be interpreted as contributions to a vast, intricate, and enduring harmony.

The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

A S E R M O N

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

SYNOD OF NEW-YORK AND NEW-JERSEY,

IN THE

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, NEWARK, N. J., OCTOBER 17, 1855.

BY THE

REV. HENRY B. SMITH, D.D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF NEW-YORK.

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF THE SYNOD.

NEW-YORK :

JOHN A. GRAY, PRINTER, 95 & 97 CLIFF ST., COR. FRANKFORT.

1855.

The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

THE Inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments has been assigned to me by this Synod, as the theme for its annual discourse. In the present state of controversy, and in the midst of so many uncertain theories, no one can speak upon so vital a topic without deep solicitude; the preacher needs the guidance of the same Spirit that inspired the Holy Scriptures. The Protestant position, of the supreme authority of the Bible, stands or falls with the evidence for its infallibility. Our controversy with a rationalistic infidelity centres in the inquiry, whether the Scriptures are the Word of God. The importance of the subject and the character of this assembly equally demand a didactic, rather than a merely popular discussion of this theme, to which our thoughts may be directed by the words of Paul, in

2 TIM. 3 : 16: "ALL SCRIPTURE IS GIVEN BY INSPIRATION OF GOD."

Though this passage refers most directly to the Scripture of the Old Testament, yet it distinctly declares the nature of all inspiration; it is from God, it is God-breathed, (Theopneustic.) This is the radical import of the term; and it implies, that if a scripture be not from God, it is not inspired; that if it be from God, it is inspired. The text does not assert, as some interpret it, that all inspired Scripture is profitable for doctrine, for such

a construction is contrary to the grammar of the sentence ; but, that each and all of those Scriptures to which the Apostle refers are inspired and profitable.* We are to adduce the evidence that this position holds true of the original, canonical Scriptures, that they are given by a Divine Inspiration, that they are the Word of God, and as such, an infallible and final authority for faith and life.

We assume, in this argument, the proof of the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures ; we start from the position, that these writings have been shown, by adequate evidence, to be canonical, and their authors to be credible witnesses. Standing on this ground, our proposition is, that these Scriptures are inspired ; that they are not merely the words of men, but also the word of God. Here is the living pulse of a divine life ; here is an indwelling divine Spirit ; the words are both human and divine, a divine voice speaks through human language.

Some speculative minds meet us on the very threshold of this hallowed temple, by the assertion of an antecedent impossibility of any such inspiration.† The finite, they tell us, can not receive the Infinite, the sinful can not know the perfect, nor can human language express the thoughts of God ; and, therefore, finite, sinful man can neither grasp nor utter the oracles of Deity. But though the finite can not comprehend the Infinite, yet the Infinite One may condescend to reveal himself to his creatures ; and man, though sinful, does yet ever know the law he always violates. Human language, too, with all its imperfections, if it can convey any real truth, may also impart such knowledge of God and man as is fitted to our needs. Hence the only alternative left, is utter scepticism, or the admission of the possibility of inspiration. To deny this is to limit Omnipotence. And such rationalistic assumptions also run counter to the faith of the race. They declare that that is impossible, which almost all nations have believed to be not

* "The word here translated *scripture*, which properly means simply a *writing*, occurs fifty-one times in the New Testament ; and in all these fifty-one places, it is applied to the writings of the Old and New Testaments, and to no other." (Wordsworth on the Canon, p. 159, American edition.)

† See Strauss, *Glaubenslehre*, I. 261 ; and the reply by Philippi, *Kirchliche Glaubenslehre*, I. s. 154 seq.

only possible, but real ; they are in conflict not merely with Jewish and Christian convictions, but with that universal religious instinct, which in Vedas and Korans has welcomed the supposed voice of Divinity. Man's religious wants lead him to long that an Infinite Being may impart himself to the finite, and that the Perfect One may have pity on our very sinfulness.

And if such Inspiration be possible, then, we add, it may be recorded ; it may be given in a writing, a Scripture. Of this, again, there is no antecedent impossibility. Those very sceptics, who have been most earnest in contemning a "book-revelation," have also written books, containing, as they assert, absolute and final truth about human nature and destiny. They believe in a universal inspiration, and in the possibility of recording its utterances. If they may write down perfect verity, why may not others do the same ? Their own pretensions refute their own objection:

Upon this preliminary ground we may advance yet another step, in the position, that if such an inspired record of Divine truth exists, it is found in the Bible, or nowhere. This is the only book which, on the basis of history and general consent, can pretend to hold such an eminent and supreme place. Here is the perfect revelation, or we have none. Here are the words of God, or we have them not in any credible form. No creed, no system, no book, in its probable claims and paramount influence, can be compared with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

We make only one other statement in the way of anterior presumption ; and that is, that the contents of the Bible, taken as a whole, afford a high probability of its inspiration. It is every way unique and wonderful. Its separate portions were composed by some forty writers, during a period of fifteen hundred years, and yet they all make one book, with one consecutive plan, from Genesis to the final Revelation, more regular, more progressive, more stately, than any epic or drama. All in it centres in one Person—that of the Redeemer ; and has respect to one object—that of the redemption of the race from sin. Its special doctrines, too, bear the marks of super-human truth and grandeur. Nowhere does the Divine Being

appear so majestic and so condescending, so holy and so loving; nowhere is man so truly portrayed in his dignity and humiliation, in both his native and his regenerate estate, and in his immortal hopes and fears. The unity of the race and of the divine government is every where implied and enforced. Central in this marvellous volume, its very centre of unity, is the God-man, our Saviour, our Prophet, Priest and King, the ever-living Head of a divine kingdom, which is never to pass away. Miracles attest his divine commission, and that of his prophets and apostles also; while Prophecy speaks of him in her most exalted strains, proclaiming his advent through thousands of years, and announcing the perpetuity and final victory of his kingdom in those daring promises, which only Omniscience could truly utter, which Omnipotence alone could carry into execution in a manner so indubitable and unexampled. And all this is presented in such a wondrous style and method, that human literature has nothing of stateliness or of simplicity, of poetic inspiration or prosaic fidelity, of that self-forgetfulness in the writers, which is one of the surest tests of genius, of largeness of grasp and accuracy of delineation, of fervid eloquence, touching appeal and concentrated aim, to be compared even in fugitive analogy with these utterances of the seers of Judea and the apostles of Jesus. History and experience too add their testimony; for this Book of Books has had a divine efficacy; its words are spirit and life; penitence still confesses its abasement in the language of David; faith lingers upon the rapt visions of Isaiah; with John we meditate upon the very words of Jesus; with Paul we receive the assurance of redemption in looking unto Christ; with the oldest of the prophets we still anticipate the day when the seed of the woman shall crush all the powers of sin. The human heart knows no depth of spiritual sorrow, no height of spiritual joy, no elevation of faith, no wonder of divine or human love, for which it may not here find fitting speech. And to all the perplexing and final problems of human destiny, this same volume offers a definite, a truly rational, and an authoritative solution. Beyond its revelation no scheme of human wisdom has ever reached. The most arrogant system of pantheistic infidelity only resolves the Christian faith into barren and abstract ideas.

Such is this Book ; and if it be such, if such a work has been written by fallible and sinful men, then we claim that there is an antecedent probability, that it is also from God, and not from man alone ; that it is given by the Inspiration of the Almighty.

Inspiration is possible ; it may be recorded ; if it be recorded, it is only in the Bible ; and the very contents of the Bible are such as to give an antecedent probability that it can not be the work of man, that it may be the Word of God. This antecedent probability, on such grounds, we set over against the sceptical assumption of the impossibility of inspiration, and proceed to consider our subject under four points of view : the Idea, the Proof, the Theory, and the Objections.

I. What is the true Idea of Inspiration ? How is it distinguished from analogous conceptions ? Careful statements are here needed, for much confusion has resulted from an ambiguous use of the word. One of the chief artifices of modern infidelity is seen in an illicit wresting of the term Inspiration from its proper historical and theological import.

Some of our modern transcendental naturalists tell us, that "inspiration is the consequence of the faithful use of our faculties ;" "men may call it miraculous, but nothing is more natural." Another, in unusual English, declares, that "it is the elevation of our intuitional consciousness ;" many aver that it only indicates such a heightening of the faculties as is common in all the productions of genius. But such an inspiration is no matter of debate or of consequence ; it is not only thoroughly unscriptural, but it evades, in a most unphilosophical manner, the whole purport of the inquiry. Such a perversion of terms is simply an easy way of sliding over a difficult question by vague generalities, which seem profound only because they are somewhat uncommon. Almost any one of moderate capacity, after a few easy lessons, can talk glibly in such a style, without any great elevation of "intuitional consciousness." This is, in fact, a heathen rather than a Christian mode of speech ; Cicero long ago said, "In every good man there is a divine afflatus."

Nor is Inspiration merely equivalent to a divine illumination ; it is that, and something more. Illumination is promised to all of God's children ; it belongs to the common work of the Holy

Spirit ; but in prophets and apostles, it is represented as having a specific dignity, as being pure, necessary and final. Divine illumination may be doubtless found in high measure in the symbols or confessions of the Church ; but in these it is not of the last authority, it is not infallible ; in these it has the relation of the stream to the fountain, and that fountain is Inspiration.

A distinction, in this discussion, is also to be made between Inspiration and Revelation. The specific question in respect to the inspiration of the Bible presupposes a revelation as given, and asks whether the *record* of that revelation be inspired ? Many of the current objections to inspiration rest upon the assumption that it is identical with a direct divine revelation, and lose their force when this distinction is clearly drawn out. The usage of the terms is variable, and hence in such a discussion they need to be carefully distinguished.

The term revelation is sometimes employed in a wide sense, as signifying all the manifestations of God, whether by deed or word, whether in the kingdom of nature or of grace. But it is perhaps best restricted to the special and direct communications which God makes to man, equivalent to ἀποκάλυψις, which has the definite sense of a revelation of what was before hidden, which could not otherwise be known. The term inspiration, in the discussion respecting the inspiration of the Scriptures, covers a broader sphere of the divine influence ; it has special respect to the Sacred Scriptures ; and it thus embraces much of history, fact and detail, which is not a matter of direct revelation, but which came to the writers from other sources, from personal experience or testimony. All of the divine revelations, which are here recorded, are also inspired ; but all that is the subject of inspiration need not be conceived as directly revealed. Inspiration designates that divine influence, under which prophets or apostles spake or wrote, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Christ is the great Revealer ; the Holy Spirit inspires.*

* This distinction, though long recognized in a general way in our theological discussions, has not been thoroughly applied to the subject, so far as we are aware, by any English writer, excepting Mr. William Lee, in his recent able work, "The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, its Nature and Proof," in eight discourses before the University of Dublin. This is the most learned and complete treatise upon the sub-

God has revealed himself and his will to men in a great variety of ways ; by ministering angels ; in visible signs and tokens ; in voices to the rapt ear ; in visions of the night ; in deep sleep, as to Abraham (Gen. 15 : 12 ;) to Moses, mouth to mouth, as he beheld the similitude of the Lord (Numbers 12 : 8 ;) in pictures of future events, spread out as on a prophetic canvass ; sometimes, even, in such prophetic ecstasy, that the recipient seems conscious of naught else ; in words at the time but indistinctly understood, and again in words felt and known in all their fullness of wisdom and of grace. Such divine revelations, too, are progressive in the sacred annals, given as men were able to bear them, ever advancing with man's need and preparation, and in every stage fitted to his immediate wants, as also to prepare for yet higher manifestations. Three such eras are distinctly marked in Scripture, the legal, the prophetic, and the apostolic, the last centering in the person and words of Christ the Son, by whom He who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us. He is the grand Revealer, described not as receiving but as making a revelation ; he is the crown and centre of these divine works ; in him the revelation is final and complete.

Of Inspiration, now, in distinction from revelation, the proper and Scriptural function is to declare unto the world, through divinely-commissioned prophets and apostles, either orally or by writing, under the specific influence of the Holy Spirit, whatever has been thus revealed, and also all things pertaining to the kingdom of God, which are to be a matter of permanent record and instruction. It is a special divine influence for a special purpose. Its object is the communication of truth in an infallible manner, so that, when rightly interpreted, no error

ject, that has yet been given to the English public. It discusses the leading theories and objections of Coleridge, Morell, Tholuck, Schleiermacher, and others, and shows ample mastery of all the literature, German as well as Anglican. The fourth and fifth chapters are given to an elucidation of the distinction between revelation and inspiration. Nitzsch, *Syst. d. Christlichen Lehre*, § 23, gives the sense of revelation in accordance with Romans 16 : 25. Twisten defines it, as the "manifestation of divine grace for the salvation of fallen man, considered in its primitive influence upon human knowledge." Lee cites Jerome (p. 4) as saying, "that the word revelation is peculiar to the Scriptures, and is not used by any of the wise men of the age among the Greeks. New words are used to express new things."

is conveyed. At times the revelation and inspiration are, doubtless, inseparable ; as when a prophet or apostle at once utters or records what is revealed. This definite usage of the term inspiration is authorized by our text, which declares that all Scripture is inspired, theopneustic—using a word found nowhere else in the Bible, and here applied to written documents. This term was translated “*inspirata*,” in the Vulgate, whence the word, inspired. In 2 Pet. 1 : 21, it is said, that holy men of God *spake* as they were moved (*φερόμενοι*, borne along) by the Holy Ghost, in which the same fact of a specific influence in respect to the Scriptures is clearly implied, as is apparent from the preceding verse.*

The same passage, from the second epistle of Peter, may be used to elucidate another fact as to the nature of Inspiration ; that in all the Sacred Writings, both divine and human elements and knowledge coöperate and concur, the divine being supreme and controlling. “Holy men of God *spake* as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ;” they were *men*, holy men, retaining this character, while influenced by the Spirit. The reverend Scriptures, it has been well said from ancient times, like the adorable person of our Lord, who is their sum, are a union of the divine with the human ; and the chief errors as to the nature of inspiration have been finely compared with the heresies about the person of the Redeemer ; they sprung from insisting upon the one side to the exclusion or suppression of the other. In both cases we have Docetæ and Ebionites, those who demand pure divinity and those who insist upon mere humanity. But all in Scripture is both divine and human ; here, too, “the God shines gracious through the man.” The very word inspiration implies that a divine influence moves men to their utterances ; and it is applied to the books, or the words they utter, considered as the result of such an influence. “We are witnesses of these things, and so is also the Holy Ghost,” says Peter (Acts 5 : 32.) That man can thus be made the medium for the very oracles of God, gives the highest evidence of the possible capacities and dignity of human

* Josephus and Philo both assert a special inspiration for the “sacred writings,” “the holy words” of the Old Testament. See Lee, p. 54, and Appendix ; also, Stuart on the Old Testament Canon, p. 428–30.

nature, and illustrates the doctrine that he was made in the image of his Maker.

That the sacred Scriptures do contain human elements, and in their human integrity, though never separated from the divine, is apparent in their very structure. They are given us in human language, in the languages and idioms of their times—which is necessary to the proof of their authenticity. If we could show, as some uninspired men have tried to do, that the New Testament was written in classic Greek, we should also prove that it could not have been written by the men whose names it bears, nor in their times. Each leading book, too, has the impress of its special author in style and sentiment; if it had not, how could we show that it was genuine? Inspiration does not annul, it elevates individuality. Prophets and apostles, too, *testify* as to what they have heard and seen; they come to us as witnesses; and when they speak as such, the Spirit of all truth could not and would not lead them to say what they had not seen and heard. The writers, too, make faithful use of antecedent documents containing historic facts, and, it may be, the record of more primitive revelations; and these are of value and need even to inspired men. The human elements of Scripture come out most fully in its history and biographies, where neither the errors nor sins of men are withheld or palliated. Bad men speak as well as good; the angel of darkness as well as the angel of light; Peter denies his Lord; Paul rebukes Peter to his face, because he was to be blamed; David lapses into gross sin; the majesty of Solomon is tarnished; Abraham deceives; Adam falls; and of all these facts and sins, we have an inspired record, giving us the truth. And if inspiration did not give us all these things, of what value would it be in respect to history and fact? Even the most trivial personal details may serve an important office, such as inspiration could not neglect, in verifying the authorship, and proving the authenticity of epistles and prophecies. That cloak of Paul, of which it has been said, that it “has come to higher honor than even the mantle of Elijah,” that cloak which has been made the covert of so much scepticism, and the parchments, too, may help to identify the writer to the reader for all times; besides teaching, what is not directly intended, that

we should be careful of clothing and manuscripts. And Paul's dietetic advice to Timothy about the "little wine," he must needs write, as an inspired friend, when and as he wrote. His epistle would be hardly genuine without it; it would lack verisimilitude. Did he, then, need inspiration to write it? The inspiration of Him, who counteth the very hairs of our heads, might extend to this, since it helps to prove the genuineness of the epistle; to say nothing of the capital argument for temperance, incidentally conveyed.

So wonderfully do the divine and human elements commingle in the Scriptures, as do first and second causes also in all the realm of Providence, that it is in vain to try to limit inspiration to doctrine and truth, excluding history from its sphere. The attempt is as unphilosophical as it is unscriptural. No analysis can detect such a line of separation; it is both invisible and not to be spiritually discerned. Historic facts contain as well as enforce truth and doctrine. The fact of the death of Christ contains the truth of the atonement; it is that truth. Genealogies instruct us in the truth of the Messiahship. Such a distinction lacks evidence, coherence, and possibility. The whole divine revelation is an historic matter; Christianity is a body of facts, and not of mere doctrines; Christ is a historic personage, and not a congeries of abstract truths; history and theology are in their inmost nature one.

Nor yet, again, is it possible to draw the line, and satisfy the conditions of the case, by the Arminian and Socinian formula, that the Bible contains a revelation, in distinction from the position that the Bible, as a whole, is an inspired book. The apparent truth in this position is due to the want of discrimination between revelation and inspiration. It is a fact that the Bible contains a revelation; it is also a fact, that all that is in the Bible is not a matter of revelation, in the strict usage of the word. But these points do not help us at all about the real question, unless it be arbitrarily assumed that inspiration extends no farther than revelation, which it is impossible to prove, either on rational or historic grounds.

To the idea of inspiration, then, it belongs that it should be considered as *plenary*—that is, the divine influence, which is its source, extends to and pervades the whole contents of the Scriptures, both historical and doctrinal; it includes the whole

of the strict divine revelations, and also whatever the sacred writers utter as historians and witnesses. Inspiration is the organizing principle of the whole Bible, just as the principle of life is the organizing energy in every bodily frame, extending to all its parts, even those seemingly the most insignificant. It is not confined to new truths, it rehearses the old ; but of both the old and the new it makes one coherent whole. It comprises both the matter and the form of the Bible ; the matter in the form in which it is conveyed and set forth. It extends even to the language, not in the mechanical sense, that each word is dictated by the Holy Spirit, but in the sense that, under divine guidance, each writer spake in his own language, according to the measure of his knowledge, acquired by personal experience, by the testimony of others, or by immediate divine revelation. They spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. And thus is the inspiration plenary, since the Holy Spirit works in all parts of the Scripture, and makes of the many one, of terrestrial dialects a celestial tongue, out of human and divine elements one divine work, God's Book, given by men and for men.

This doctrine of plenary inspiration is not inconsistent with the acknowledged fact, that different parts of the Scripture are of different grades of importance, for our immediate spiritual benefit. The books of the Chronicles are of importance for the history of God's kingdom, and to give us that history is one object of inspiration. Nor does the doctrine prevent us from recognizing the fact, that the ceremonial law has passed into desuetude ; for it was the historic type of Him who fulfilled the law ; and without inspiration it could not have had its accurate prophetic character. Nor does plenary inspiration forbid us to say, that some portions of Scripture are of relatively greater, and others of relatively less moment ; all parts of it are needed as parts of the one whole ; the head can not say to the hand, I have no need of thee, nor the eye to the foot, I have no need of thee ; but yet the head is better than the hand, and the eye is quicker than the foot. There are fundamental truths, and truths not fundamental ; some parts have a majestic dignity, others are lowly and obscure ; but the great and the small, the necessary and the contingent, together make one whole. As it is in the material Kosmos, so is it in the fair

order of the Book of God—one mind working to one end pervades the whole; and the very marvel is, that such innumerable facts and details are wrought together into one plan.

Nor does the doctrine of plenary inspiration demand absolute and final perfection in each writer, or in each individual statement. The whole of revealed truth is to be gathered only from the whole Scriptures: nor is all truth revealed even here, but only what is necessary to the great object of the book—the manifestation of God's redemptive love. The statements of each writer, it is well said, by Dr. Alliott,* “may be partial and imperfect in point of fullness, while complete and perfect in point of truthfulness.” We need all the Gospels to get at the entire Life of our Saviour; each is to be harmonized with the others; the four Gospels combined together, realize that beautiful comparison which of old was made of them, to the cherubim, one living spirit, yet a fourfold form.† The whole doctrine of the New Testament is to be gathered not from Paul alone, nor from John, nor from Peter, nor from James, but from James, Peter, John and Paul together. The harmonizing of different historical statements, and the analogy of faith, are as necessary in the interpretation of the Scriptures as of any other writings; and only a very mechanical and human notion of inspiration has ever led to a different conception.

Much less does plenary inspiration demand, that the sacred Scriptures shall contain all truth on all subjects, or the scientific form of truth on the matters to which it incidentally refers, but about which it does not pretend to teach. Its popular statements in natural science are to be received as popular; they do not claim to be anything more. If we have entire truth on the subjects for which the Scriptures were written, and no error on other incidental matters, it is all that can be needed. And one of the most wonderful indirect testimonies to the Bible is found in the fact, that science has not been able to establish conclusions inconsistent with the narration of the creation, or overthrowing the unity of the race. One of the ablest naturalists of Germany, Wagner, the succes-

* *Psychology and Theology*, by Richard Alliott, D.D. Lond. 1855: p. 317.

† Ezekiel 1: 10. Rev. 4: 7.

sor of Blumenbach, at Göttingen, maintains, as did Blumenbach, "that the latest results of scientific investigation leave the Biblical account of the descent of mankind from one pair wholly unmolested."*

As to the nature of Inspiration, then, we conclude, that it is to be distinguished from direct revelation, that it involves a combination of human and divine elements, with the constant supremacy of the divine, and that it is best described as plenary, extending to all parts of the sacred record, giving us in the whole Scripture all needful truth, in respect to the history and doctrines of the kingdom of God.

II. We pass now to the Proof of the Inspiration of the Bible. Can such inspiration be proved on sufficient evidence, to be a fact in respect to the Holy Scriptures?

Here again we are met by the assertion that this proof cannot be conducted. Dr. Norton,† in a posthumous work, affirms, that such inspiration "supposes a miracle, of which no proof can be afforded through the evidence of ocular witnesses;" but this statement is refuted as soon as a miracle is defined; inspiration, though supernatural, is not strictly miraculous. Strauss‡ is much more acute in his statement of the objection; he says the proof runs in a circle; that we must believe what the writers say because they are inspired, and must believe that they are inspired because they say so. But this circle is simply made out by ingenuity in statement. The real statement is this: we must believe them, because they are credible witnesses; as such credible witnesses, they assert that they are inspired; and we receive their testimony, not because they

* "Menschenschöpfung und Seelensubstanz," p. 17. To this recent testimony of this distinguished naturalist, we may add that of the ablest living geographer, von Ritter, of Berlin, as to the Book of Joshua in its geographical details. "Its accuracy has been fully established in the minutest particulars, even when the examination has been pursued into the most unimportant and trivial local details." (E. g. Joshua 11: 16 sq. 15: 21 sq.) "Most decisive is the rebuke which infidelity has received from this new species of testimony; it has been compelled to confess with shame, that it has imposed on itself and on others by the unfounded doubts which it has raised against the truth of the Scriptures." (Cited in the Christian Review.)

† Internal Evidence of the Genuineness of the Gospels, by Andrews Norton: 1855.

‡ Strauss, Die christliche Glaubenslehre. I. s. 414.

say so, but because they are worthy of credit. And we show that they are worthy of credit, on grounds independent of the supposition of inspiration. The only difficulty here springs from the sceptical assumption which Strauss makes in the immediate connection, that no amount of human testimony can establish a supernatural fact. Take away that assumption, and the circle is resolved into a chain of argument. Prophets and apostles testify, that they speak not the words of men but of God ; by signs and wonders they prove their divine authority. And thus, when we ask, on what ground we receive the Scriptures as the Word of God, the final answer is, on the authority of God himself, speaking to us by the sacred writers, who give credentials of their divine commission. Nor can any circle in reasoning be made out here, unless we assume, that all testimony involves such a circle ; and if it does, then there is no more logical difficulty on this ground, in accepting the testimony of Paul as to his inspiration, than of any other man as to what he may have seen and known. The sophism becomes apparent as soon as we apply it in a general way, and say, that all testimony is reasoning in a circle, since it implies that we must believe a witness because he is credible, and he is credible because he says so. The objection resolves itself into that utter scepticism which is to be refuted on grounds independent of this special subject of inspiration.

The direct proof of the Inspiration of the sacred Scriptures is derived from a variety of sources, and not from a few isolated texts alone : yet it ultimately centres in the credibility of our Saviour, and of his Apostles. He testifies to the authority of the Old Testament as the Word of God, and He promises the Spirit, who was to guide and inspire the Apostles. So that the proof of inspiration stands or falls with the authority of Christ.

Of such Inspiration there may be said to be an anterior probability, on the general ground, which we here take for granted, that God has made a revelation to man. If He would make a revelation, it is natural to infer that He would secure the record of it from error. With the fact of a revelation we naturally connect the idea of an authoritative and final Scripture, valid for all times. He who gave the greater would not withhold the less. He who proposed to redeem mankind would

not leave them without sufficient and authentic witness of his gracious will.

The Scriptures of the Old Testament are pervaded by the most frequent claims of divine authority. The law given by Moses was to be kept by the side of the Ark of the Covenant, (Deut. 31,) within the Holy of Holies: it was to be read before all the people every seven years; it was to be copied by the kings of Israel (Deut. 17:18;) the subsequent writings were added to it; individual writers testify that they had a divine command to write; as Moses (Exod. 34:27; Deut. 31:19;) Isaiah (1:2; 8:1;) Jeremiah (1:2; 36:2;) Daniel says, "The spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue." In an unbroken tradition these Books have been revered by the Jewish people in all times as the Word of God. Josephus and Philo testify to this fact,* and to the canon of the sacred books at the time of Christ and the Apostles, including in them none of the Apocryphal writings. Remove from the Old Testament its own claims of divine authority, and it becomes a chaotic mass of superstition; concede these claims, and all is light and order. But the chief and crowning proof is from the testimony of Christ and the apostles. They refer to these writings, and to these alone, as having divine origin and authority; they call them *the Scripture*, and apply this term in this sense to naught else. Our Saviour declares, and not as Tholuck maintains, in the way of accommodation alone, that the Scripture cannot be broken; that one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled (Matt. 5:18;) that the writings of Moses are to be believed (John 5:47;) he rebuts Satan by saying, it is written (Matt. 4:4 sq. ;) beginning at Moses he expounded to his disciples

* Josephus says, "It has been implanted in every Jew, from the hour of his birth, to esteem as the ordinance of God, and to stand fast by these writings, and in defence of them, if need be, cheerfully to die." (Contra Apionem, i. 7, 8.) He calls Isaiah, "a prophet confessedly divine," and declares that all the events of his nation had occurred according to the prediction of the Prophets, (Ant. x. ii. 2.) The words of Moses, he says, are to be regarded as those of God (Ant. iv. viii. 49.) Philo gives a full theory of inspiration, distinguishing between the Prophets and the Interpreters. The Prophets, he says, are Interpreters; God makes use of their organs to manifest his will. Moses possessed "a divinely inspired wisdom;" "Isaiah spake by divine inspiration." See Lee, pp. 54-60, and Appendix F. pp. 466-70.

in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself (Luke 24 : 27;) he views the whole of the Old Testament as fulfilled in his Messiahship, as divinely prophetic and typical of himself, and in his last moments, as has been admirably said, he dies with its sacred words lingering upon his tongue. And his apostles ever refer to these hallowed writings in the same spirit. In the epistle to the Hebrews, God and the Holy Ghost are constantly adduced as the speakers in the citations from the Old Testament; Peter declares (1 Pet. 1 : 11,) that the Spirit of Christ was in the prophets, and that prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost (2 Pet. 1 : 21;) and he calls these Scriptures the oracles of God (1 Pet. 4 : 11.) Paul uses the same phrase (Rom. 3 : 2,) and in our text sums up and completes the proof, when he says, that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God. So that he who rejects the inspiration of the Old Testament must also reject the authority of Christ and his apostles.

While the apostles thus testify to the inspired authority of the older Scriptures, they also claim that their own writings are the Word of God, and are to be received as having at least an equal divine authority (1 Thess. 2 : 13; 2 Cor. 5 : 20; 13 : 3; Eph. 3 : 3-5.) Apostles are coördinate with the prophets (Eph. 2 : 20.) Thus is the proof of the inspiration of the New Testament linked with the evidence for the inspiration of the Old Testament. In some respects the apostles claim, as throughout the Epistles to the Galatians and Hebrews, that the new is higher than the old. Moses was the servant, but Christ is the Son. While they testify to the inspiration of the Old Testament, they also claim for themselves a new, a higher and a final revelation.

The direct evidence for the inspiration of the New Testament goes back to the testimony and authority of the Saviour; he declares of his own, as of the Old Testament words, that they shall not pass away (Luke 21 : 33;) that the word that he speaks shall judge men at the last day (John 12 : 48;) in his last intercessory prayer he pleads, that he has given to his disciples the words which his Father gave unto him (John 17 : 8.) Four times, during his earthly ministry, he gave a special promise and pledge to his apostles, that in all they said as apostles, the

Spirit should guide them into the truth. The first occasion was when he sent forth the twelve (Matt. 10 : 19, 20,) saying, it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you ; the second is narrated in Luke (12 : 11, 12,) take ye no thought, for the Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say ; the third is in the week of his passion (Mark 13 : 11 ; and Luke 21 : 14, 15,) to the same import ; the fourth and final pledge is preserved in the Gospel of John, in the full and abundant promises of Christ's parting lessons ; his disciples were to receive the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth (John 14 : 16, 17 ;) He was to teach them all things, and to bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever Christ had said unto them (14 : 25, 26 ;) He was to guide them into all truth, was to shew them things to come (John 16 : 12, 13.) Such were the promises and pledges of the Redeemer, and they were most perfectly fulfilled in the royal Pentecostal gift (Acts 2 : 4 ; 4 : 31,) whereby the disciples received wisdom and boldness which none were able to gainsay or resist. And the promise includes and covers their writings as well as their sayings ; if it did not, it were broken in that which is most important. They themselves say they write as they speak (1 John 1 : 3, 4 ; 2 Thess. 2 : 15 ; Gal. 1 : 8, 12.) And through their writings there is but one strain, one language. Paul begins each of his epistles, excepting that to the Hebrews, with a claim of divine authority and commission, which never deserts him ; he proclaims as under a conscious divine influence, in a lordly strain, the very oracles of God. He declares to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 2 : 11, 12,) that he has received the very Spirit of God, who alone knoweth the things of God ; his words are in demonstration of the Spirit (1 Cor. 2 : 4, and 2 Cor. 2 : 17 ;) he has a revelation of the mystery not made known in other ages (Eph. 3 : 5, and Gal. 1 : 12 ;) the word which he declared to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 2 : 13) was in truth the Word of God ; even the words he speaks are those which the Holy Ghost teacheth (1 Cor. 2 : 13.) It is indeed said, that Paul twice disclaims inspiration ; even if he did in the cases alleged, he by inference claims it elsewhere ; but when he says (1 Cor. 7 : 12,) I speak and not the Lord, and, that he has no commandment (v. 25,) he is not distinguishing between what is inspired and uninspired, but between what is

a matter of direct command and of apostolic advice. That this advice was inspired appears from verse 40, when he adds, I think also that I have the Spirit of God.*

Peter, too, reckons Paul's writings as Scripture (2 Pet. 3 : 15, 16,) and claims like authority for himself, (1 Pet. 1 : 12 ;) he preaches the word which endureth forever (1 Pet. 1 : 25 and 4 : 11 ;) he puts his sayings on the same ground as the Old Testament (2 Pet. 3 : 2.) The authority of Mark and Luke is resolved by the universal consent of the Church into that of Peter and Paul. The Apocalypse in its very form is an immediate divine revelation.

Such is the substance of the evidence, which leaves us only the alternative between imposture and inspiration. Self-deception to such an extent with such men is incredible. And these isolated citations give us the bare outline of the proof; the full evidence can only come from reading the Scriptures themselves, and seeing the unequalled majesty and authority with which the prophets and apostles discourse of those high themes upon which the wisest of men lisp and stammer. An air of conscious truth pervades their discourse; they speak as by a divine impulse, and in the name of Him, from whom there is no appeal. Their authority is from Him. The Spirit of Christ was the spirit of prophecy; the Spirit of Christ is the spirit of the apostles.

We rest here upon the authority of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. The argument for the inspiration of both the Old and New Testaments runs back to, and centres in Him, who is the way, and the truth, and the life. The ultimate testimony to inspiration is thus not human but divine.

And to this external evidence is to be added the witness of the Spirit in our hearts; as our Confession admirably says, (c. I. §§ 4, 5 :) "The authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God, who is truth itself, the author thereof; and, therefore, it is to be received, because it is the Word of God. * * * Our full per-

* See Dr. Woods' Works, vol. I. p. 151, sq. Alliot's Psychology and Theology, p. 323, sq.

suation and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts." This is the "*fides divina*," that divine faith, often contemned, here nobly confessed, which is the root of entire assurance, the *aliquid inconcussum* in the fluctuations of argument and opinion. He who hath this witness is firm and unmoved; others may be rationally convinced, he knows that his Redeemer is the truth. And here, again, is an argument in a circle, only because, when the spirit of man is firmly united to the Spirit of God, the circle of man's being is completed. In all our primitive beliefs, in all last things, there must be a circle in the argument; and the union of man with God is the first and last thing in all true religion. Calvin says, even as we discern light from darkness, black from white, bitter from sweet, so, under this ultimate divine influence, we discern between truth and error. Strauss tells us, that this argument is the "heel of Achilles in the Protestant system;" if we may also use a Pagan illustration we would call it the shield of Jove. We must rest on some rock, and the rock of the Christian is the testimony of his God.

III. Having thus considered the Idea of Inspiration, and presented a cursory outline of the evidence for its reality, we now pass, as was proposed, to a statement of some of the leading theories as to its nature.

After what we have already said, it is apparent that the tests of a correct theory are chiefly these three: first, that it should conform to the proof that all Scripture is given by Inspiration of God; secondly, that it should be consistent with the actual character of the original Scriptures, allowing due integrity to both the divine and human elements, the divine being the regulating and shaping agency; and, thirdly, that the theory should have supreme regard to the main object for which the Scriptures were given, which is to instruct mankind in the facts and truths of the kingdom of Redemption.

The plenary inspiration of the Scriptures was an uncontested point within the Christian Church for sixteen hundred years, with the possible exception of Theodore of Mopsuestia, of Abelard, and in the fourth century, of such heretical sects as the Ano-

mœans, an extreme branch of the Arians.* But no developed theory was given, excepting so far as conveyed in vivid illustrations, as when Justin Martyr says, "that the divine plectrum, descending from heaven, made use of the holy men as a cythera or lyre, to reveal to us the knowledge of divine and heavenly things, (Cohart ad Graec. ;) or as when Augustine declares, "We can not say that Christ wrote nothing, since the apostles were merely his hands in writing," (De Cons. Evang. l. i. c. 35 ;) or as when Athanagoras compares them to "flute players." The prophets are sometimes spoken of as if their reason was suppressed, while they received revelations. But this was originally a heathen rather than a Jewish view. The Jews expressed the strict verbal theory much more definitely than any Christian fathers ; though Eusebius says, "that it were rash to assert that one word could be exchanged for another by the sacred writers." And Irenæus has a marked passage to the same effect.† The Scriptures are constantly referred to as the work of the Holy Ghost, and cited by the formulas, "Thus spake the Holy Ghost ;" "The Holy Spirit spake by Isaiah," and the like. Irenæus declares, "that the Scriptures are perfect, being spoken by the word of God and his Spirit ;" and again, "that there is nothing in the Gospels or Apostles, which did not descend from the plenitude of the divine majesty." Cyprian terms them "the fountains of the divine plenitude." Gregory the Great says, "it is useless to seek who wrote the Book of Job, since we may faithfully believe that the Holy Ghost was its author."

During the mediæval corruptions, the book of God had a

* The opinions of the Fathers have been collected and arranged with great care in Lee's work on Inspiration, Lecture second, and Appendix G. He contends against the opinion of Neander, that Theodore of Mopsuestia held laxer views on this question. The Anomœans, when pressed in controversy, were wont to say : "The Apostle makes that statement merely as a man ;" "Why do you quote the Old Testament against us ?"

† Irenæus says, "Matthew might no doubt have said, 'The generation of *Jesus* was on this wise ;' but the Holy Ghost, foreseeing that men would deprave the truth, and fortifying us against their deceptions, says by Matthew, 'The generation of *Christ* was on this wise.'" (Contra Haer. lib. III., xvi. 2.) Justin Martyr, rather than assert that "the Scriptures contradict each other," would "confess that he does not himself understand what is said." Origen does not believe "that one jot or one tittle of the divine instruction is in vain."

less prominent place ; and Rome has favored a laxer view of inspiration, that it might maintain a stricter view of church authority. But when in the Reformation the Scriptures emerged from their obscurity, and their final and supreme authority became of the highest moment, the theory of inspiration began to be more thoroughly discussed and defined. Luther's doubts were not about the inspiration of the Bible, but had respect to the canonical authority of certain books. In the Lutheran Church, the strictest verbal theory was developed, in which the sacred writers were described as the "amanuenses and notaries of the Holy Ghost," as the "pen rather than the penmen ;" and even the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel points, which were probably not added before the seventh century, was maintained by the Buxtorffs, and sanctioned by one of the less influential Reformed confessions. This verbal theory, in some extreme forms, declared that the Holy Ghost was "the sole author of the Bible." The Hellenistic idiom itself, which has been aptly termed "a symbol of the union of the Greek and Hebrew world," was declared to be pure classic Greek. Partly as a reaction from these extremes, we find the Arminians and Socinians of the seventeenth century advocating the indefinite theory, that the "Scriptures only contained a revelation," and maintaining that there were errors in the record. This was the general position of the German rationalism, and it has infected, with few exceptions, the whole of modern German theology. Its indefiniteness allows all shades of opinion. Some maintain that that only is a matter of divine teaching in the Scripture which is conformed to human reason ; while others, as Neander and Tholuck, attribute error only to unimportant and trivial details.

In the progress of this discussion various modifications of the leading views have been proposed, ranging between the two extreme positions, that all the contents of the Bible were dictated word for word, and syllable by syllable ; and the naturalistic theory, that the Bible has no other inspiration than that common to all works of genius. The one sees in the Scriptures only the divine influence ; the other, only human imperfection.

The strictest verbal theory may be compared to that view of divine sovereignty which annuls human agency, and makes every act to be from an immediate divine efficiency. Few of

those in modern times, who advocate the verbal theory, go to the extremes of other days. As Dr. Woods, for example, explains and defends his view, there is little room left for objections. We may sympathize in the general scope of Gausson's treatise, without sanctioning its rhetorical phrases. All who believe in the doctrine, will concede that in many cases the inspiration must be verbal; that the apostles often spake in words which the Holy Ghost taught; almost all grant that we can not separate in consciousness between thoughts and language. But when this theory is given as the final statement, and as designating the exclusive mode of the Spirit's agency, it seems to violate the principle that we can not know accurately all these modes. And when it is explained so as to be consistent with different reports of the same sayings, and with different details of the same facts, and with different citations of the same passage, we do not see that much room for controversy remains—the dispute becomes a *verbal* one. To call this theory, as thus explained, *mechanical*, seems to be as unfair as it is to term the theory of plenary inspiration *dynamical*, in the sense of merely signifying an indefinite influence; and these two terms, mechanical and dynamical, may well be banished from the discussion, since they are really more ambiguous than what they mean to explain.

In exact opposition to this verbal theory, is that which lays the sole or chief stress upon the human side of the Scriptures. Spinoza first openly advocated this position, which has been repeated with various modifications. Some, like Mr. Francis W. Newman, assert boldly, "that an authoritative external revelation of moral and spiritual truth is essentially impossible to man." All the plausibility of such a statement consists in the fact, which nobody denies, that a revelation must of course be primarily received and apprehended by the mind, the spirit; but why after it is thus received, it cannot be committed to an inspired record, Mr. Newman fails to show, and it is impossible to see.

Mr. Morell, in his "Philosophy of Religion," takes a somewhat higher, but kindred view, that inspiration consists in the elevation of the intuitional consciousness for the discernment of spiritual truth; and he virtually denies any special commission for writing the books. This theory slides off from the main question. The question as to both revelation and inspira-

tion, is not about intuitive truths, or intuitional consciousness. Intuitive truths are not the subject-matter of a special revelation. No heightening of our intuitions would give us a knowledge of Redemption, or the solution of the problems of our eternal destiny. The revelation imparted through the Scriptures presupposes, and is consistent with intuitive truths, but does not consist in them. The spiritual mind of Scripture is not the spiritualism of modern philosophy. The inspiration of Scripture embraces, undoubtedly, the elevation of the whole consciousness; but its special object is to give to man, in a permanent record, all needful facts and truths pertaining to the kingdom of God in Christ. This theory, which is also in substance that of Scherer, is a virtual denial of the proper inspiration of the Scriptures.

An intermediate view, most definitely stated by Twisten, maintains that the Bible is inspired in proportion to its relation to Christ, but leaves room for the inference that it is not to be considered as inspired where we can not discern in its facts or teachings any such direct reference to the Saviour. Still less satisfactory is the principle, which Schleiermacher proposed, that the Scripture of the New Testament has a normal dignity, since it contains the primitive utterance of Christian faith, as found in its most complete form in the Apostles of Christ, who had the fulness of the Spirit. This, besides excluding the whole of the Old Testament, thus setting at naught the authority of Christ and the Apostles, is liable, as a mere philosophical explanation, to the objection which Strauss urges, that on all grounds of merely *natural* analogy, we could not expect to find the first stage of any institution or religion to be most perfect. "Nothing," he says, "is complete at the beginning; only at the end." And if refuge from this objection be sought in the supernatural authority of the Apostles, then the principle does not reach as far as their claims, which are undoubtedly to a full and final revelation in an inspired form.* Under

* This view, though in a higher form, including the Old as well as the New Testament, is advocated by Bunsen, in his "Philosophy of History," vol. 2. p. 311, sq. He confounds revelation and inspiration, making the first subjects of inspiration to be the great heroes of Scripture history, preparatory to Christ, and Christ himself; and its second subjects to be the writers of the Books, whose "inspiration is in just proportion with what they undertake to represent, and with the measure of the Spirit which they manifest in treating it." The Gospel of John is highest, and Esther is lowest in the scale.

the influence of such speculations, it has been well said, that "the eternal Alp of an infallible Bible, the same in sunshine as in storm, melts away in the haze of a *fata morgana*, reflected from below, and varying with the changes of the atmosphere."*

The theory of plenary Inspiration, as we have already given it, comprises whatever is true in any and all these views, subordinate to the prime position, that the Bible not only contains, but is the Word of God. It agrees with the three proposed tests of a correct theory : for it allows that all of Scripture is inspired ; it recognizes the relative integrity of the divine and human elements ; and it judges all parts of the Bible with respect to the great object for which it was given, to redeem mankind. Men are the free organs for this high communication of divine truth ; they are selected and trained for this special work ; and the divine influence elevates and purifies their faculties, their thoughts, and, where needful, their very language. And the Book, written under such Inspiration, for our instruction, contains whatever is needful for all mankind, whether in this life or in that which is to come, and is thus a treasury for all times. Solomon gives us the maxims of worldly wisdom, and John discourses of the heavenly Jerusalem ; we have that marriage song of earthly love, which only the impure revile, as well as the promise of that blessed estate where they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God. Temperance and chastity are enjoined for the care of our mortal bodies, while by faith we look forward to the time when this mortal shall put on immortality. History here instructs us even in minute details as to the chosen people of God, for of them the Redeemer was to come ; and in his Sacred Person the sum of type and prophecy was fulfilled. The same history tells us of the relations of the ancient nations to this one central kingdom, while prophecy, not yet consummated, but ever in the course of fulfilment, holds up the elevating vision of its final triumph to cheer us in all our conflicts. The highest

* North British Review, November, 1852, in an able article on the "Recent Theories of the Inspiration and Infallibility of the Bible," in which the theories of Gregg, Newman, Schleiermacher, Neander, Tholuck, and Scherer, are discussed. On the views of Scherer, see the Princeton Review, July, 1851, on "Inspiration and Catholicism," where the patristic testimony is collected.

truths, beyond which thought can not reach, as to God and man, and their relations to each other, centre in Him, who is both God and man, and the king of this divine empire. All, even the most insignificant portions of the original Scriptures, have their life from His Spirit, even as the principle of life embraces the hairs of the head as well as the beating of the heart. All is shaped by the wise builder into one glorious temple, which speaks of Him from the foundation to the topmost stone, and whose arches reverberate with the songs of saints and angels, magnifying the glories of His grace.

And hence, in conformity with the teachings of Scripture, with the confessions of the Church in all times, with the demands of Christian experience and of a wise philosophy, we judge that Inspiration is to be defined as *plenary*, working in all portions of the Bible. It is unwise and mechanical to try and measure it out by degrees, here a suggestion, there an elevation, again a direction, and in fine a superintendency. It is more than a superintending guidance; for that expresses but an external relation between the Spirit and the writer. But Inspiration is an influence within the soul, divine and supernatural, working through all the writers in one organizing method, making of the many one, by all one Book, the Book of God, the Book for man, divine and human in all its parts; having the same relation to all other books that the Person of the Son of God has to all other men, that the Church of the living God has to all other institutions.

IV. In the introduction to his *Analogy*, bishop Butler cites a remark of Origen, which is worthy of being carefully weighed, in discussing the last point we propose to consider, that is the Objections to the doctrine of Inspiration. "He who believes," says Origen, "the Scripture to have proceeded from him who is the Author of Nature, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it, as are found in the constitution of Nature." "And in a like way of reflection," adds Butler, "he who denies the Scripture to have been from God, upon account of these difficulties, may, for the very same reason, deny the world to have been formed by him." Against the doctrine of Providence there lie difficulties of the same nature as those urged against Inspiration. In both cases there are some phe-

nomena, which we can not fully solve, yet in both cases the objections are vanishing factors in the progressive series of argument; they leave but a minimum of doubt against a maximum of proof. The logical objections to the doctrine of Inspiration we have already considered, and the others we can here dwell upon only in their most general aspect.

Some of these objections are of weight only against vicious methods of interpreting the Scriptures. Thus the allegorical interpretation seems to demand that we find a moral or spiritual significancy in every verse or word of the Bible; and hence many conclude that what has only a plain historical sense can not be from God. But such difficulties are refuted as soon as we recognize the fact, that the Bible must be historical as well as doctrinal, if it is to instruct us truly and fully in the things of the kingdom of God. Even those who do not allegorize, yet who hunt out lessons of spiritual edification in all the verses of the Chronicles unconsciously nurture the same expectation in their hearers. But those long lists of names and genealogies were meant to be—just what they are; and we need not try to gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. Those commentators who would find the whole of Christ, not in the whole of the Old Testament, but in each separate part, not only do violence to all sober rules of interpretation, but also lead us to imagine, that unless we can do this the Scripture is not inspired.

The neglect of the distinction between a direct revelation and Inspiration gives plausibility to many other objections; for example, to most of those urged by Mr. Coleridge in his unsatisfactory “Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit.” He seems to imply, that no theory of Inspiration is generally held, excepting the dead-letter one. The silent assumption in his eloquent descriptions of the song of Deborah and of the Book of Job, is, that all there uttered is supposed to be a direct dictation, a specific revelation, of the Holy Spirit, each clause containing the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But not the strictest verbalist is so lost to common sense as to take such ground. Deborah’s Hymn is a nation’s exultant pæan; the Book of Job—of which even Mr. Carlyle says “every word is true; there is no book of equal literary merit in the Bible or out of it,”—is a high argument, in which Satan and false friends speak falsely upon the grand problem, How can the sufferings

of the comparatively righteous be vindicated? In most of the historical portions of the Scriptures the same distinction between revelation and inspiration has a valid application. The recorded facts are derived from testimony, from personal experience, or from antecedent documents, and not from direct revelation; and here the office of inspiration is to be conceived as extending only to the truthful record of the facts. Many errors and false opinions of men are truthfully reported, but not divinely sanctioned. In this point of view, Dr. Pye Smith (*Script. Testimony*, vol. I.) is correct in saying, "that those who affirm in a general and indiscriminate manner that all and every the parts of the Old Testament were immediately dictated by the Holy Spirit, appear to me to go farther than the evidence warrants, and to lay the cause of revealed religion under the feet of its enemies."

Among the objections most frequently urged are the apparent discrepancies, especially in the statements of the Evangelists. Some of these rest on the assumption that the Evangelists all profess to follow a strict chronological order, as if that were the most essential point in history. But it is now generally conceded that Matthew does not follow such an order; for he groups together similar facts and sayings from different periods of our Lord's ministry, in conducting his main argument for the Messiahship of Jesus; and this is a familiar and suitable method in biography and history.* Other discrepancies are made out by the assumption that our Saviour never repeats his deeds and sayings; but the report of the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew and Luke disproves this.† The feeding of the multitude is twice narrated by Matthew alone. The purification of the temple must have occurred twice, since it is put by Matthew near the beginning, and by John at the close of Christ's ministry.

But contradiction is especially alleged in those cases in which the same fact is differently stated, the same sayings differently reported, and the same passages differently cited. It is said, that if there be a divine Inspiration, professing to give the ex-

* Compare, for example, the eighth of Matthew with Mark and Luke. *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April 1854, pp. 71-110.

† Compare Matthew 6 : 25-34 with Luke 12 : 22-31; Matthew 7 : 12, 13 with Luke 13 : 23-34.

act words and facts on the authority of an Omniscient Spirit, we are here involved in contradictions, for the words and facts are differently reported. Thus is it, for example, with the inscriptions on the cross ; with the railing of two thieves or one ; with the healing of two, or one, possessed (Matthew says two, 8 : 28 ; Mark, one, 5 : 2 ; compare Luke 8 : 27 ;) of two, or one, blind, (Mark 10 : 46 ; Luke 18 : 35 ;) with the healing of the blind near Jericho, where perhaps are two distinct cases ; with additional details in one and not in another, (as Matthew 14 : 21, adds, “ besides women and children ; ”) and with the frequently varying reports of our Saviour’s sayings.

Into the details of these difficulties we can not, of course, now enter. The general principle to be applied is that of the law of evidence, upon which every lawyer proceeds in addressing a jury, and every historian in his criticism of documents : and that is, that there is no contradiction, if the details can be brought into harmony by one credible hypothesis. Such an hypothesis is made in every examination of evidence ; and there is not any case of such differences in details in the Gospels, for the explanation of which some credible hypothesis has not been made. Thus, for example, with the cock-crowings and the denials of Peter ;* with the incidents connected with the observance of the last Passover, and with the resurrection and ascension of our Lord ;† and with the double calling of the Apostles.‡ Thus, too, when Mark says that Christ was crucified at the third hour, and John at the sixth, they are harmonized by supposing that the former gives the Jewish and the latter the Roman reckoning of time. And many other difficulties might be solved if we had access to all the data as in this case ; for even if we can not in all cases present an entirely satisfactory hypothesis, we should not be warranted in affirming a contradiction until we can show that no such hypothesis can be found.

We are also to bear in mind, in accounting for the different reports of verbal sayings, the fact that the Evangelists and other writers speak as witnesses, not professing to give all the

* See *Journal of Sacred Lit.*, April 1854, pp. 85–92.

† Compare Dr. E. Robinson, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. 2, pp. 162–189, and 405–436.

‡ See the explanation by Tholuck, in his “ *Credibility of the Gospel History.* ”

details, but what they themselves had seen and heard. And variety in detail, with substantial truth in the whole, is an argument in favor of independent witnesses, and adds to the strength of testimony; else why do we have four Gospels instead of one? The inspiring Spirit guides them as witnesses, and, doubtless, in his guidance, observes the laws of evidence, and preserves their truthfulness as witnesses. Our Saviour made a specific promise, that he would call all things to their *remembrance*: We are witnesses of these things, says Peter, (Acts 5 : 32; compare 2 Peter 1 : 16-18;) John, throughout his epistle, claims that he declares what he has seen and heard. Paul makes it necessary to his apostleship to have seen the Lord (1 Cor. 9 : 1.)

Inspiration itself, then, to be truthful, not only allows, but must often demand differences in details, according to the observation and experience of the writers, guarding against error, but leading them to say what they had seen and heard. Gaussen unadvisedly says, "that the Holy Spirit has not the writers themselves for his object, but the holy books which were to abide;" but the Spirit must have had for his object both the writers and the books, and the books as composed by these writers and by no others, aiding doubtless even their memory, but still not surpassing the sphere of their experience, when they speak as witnesses. Tholuck, in an essay,* in which he insists upon conflict of the writers in small things, and disproves disagreement in important matters, cites the expression of Paul, "besides, I know not whether I baptized any others," (1 Cor. 1 : 16,) as an instance showing the possible lapse of memory in an apostle; but the exigencies of Paul's argument do not seem to require that he should here remember; not even an apostle need always remember every thing; but if, speaking as an apostle, he needed to remember, the promise of Christ would doubtless stand. However much these differences in details may be inconsistent with the theory of strict dictation, making an Omniscient Spirit directly responsible for every fact and word, they are certainly not inconsistent with the view which allows due integrity to all the human elements of the Bible, superintended by a divine guidance.†

* Deutsche Zeitschrift, 1850, 1, translated in Journal of Sacred Lit. July, 1854.

† I have not entered into the question of the alleged "lost books," nor into that

A special argument is made against Inspiration on the score of the citations from the Old Testament in the New, on two grounds: that a "fulfillment" is declared where there is no prediction, and that the citations are incorrect, being often made from the Septuagint instead of the Hebrew, and sometimes differently made.* As to the former of these cases, the general principle of interpretation upon which the solution of the difficulty must rest, is, that the old economy as a whole, and in many of its parts, foreshadows the new; its words are prophecies, its facts are types. This is the broad, historical character of that elder dispensation; it can not be explained from any other point of view.† The principle is not that of accommodation, which Coleridge calls "the favorite ornament and garnish of Jewish eloquence," but that of type and anti-type. This does not take from the passages of the Old Testament their historical character; but runs back into the well-known law, that the same event may have different bearings and relations, and the same words different fulfillments. To this is to be added the fact, that the phrase, "It is fulfilled," is not always used in the sense of strict prophecy; but sometimes as signifying a type, sometimes an analogy or correspondence. And as to the significance of some of the types, which we might not otherwise know, the Spirit may be our instructor.‡

As to inaccuracy in citations, and the use of the Septuagint, a careful examination seems to show, that in no case is the real

of the multiplicity of readings in the MSS., since these points affect the question of inspiration only indirectly; they are properly discussed in considering the Canon and its integrity. The question of inspiration refers, in its most direct relations, only to the original Scriptures. But the variety of these readings, unimportant as most of them are, should keep us from laying undue stress upon unimportant words and phrases. Many argue against inspiration, as if they supposed a painful accuracy in writing down particular words were the chief office of the Spirit.

* Upon the first of these objections, see Woods' Lectures, vol. I. The second is ably discussed in Lee on Inspiration, pp. 324-352.

† See Tholuck, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1854.

‡ Martensen, in his "Dogmatik," § 123, says: "The chosen people is the typical people. The idea of the typical is inseparable from the idea of a teleological development, in which the present is pregnant with the future, and where the end works through and in all that goes before. As the realm of nature is full of types of the realm of spirit, as every significant mythology contains profound images of the historical future of the nation; so is the history of Israel the holy type of that kingdom of grace, which was to come in the fullness of times." Compare 1 Cor. 10 : 11; Heb. 10.

sense of the original improperly conveyed or implied, even where the exact terms are not employed. A freedom is allowed in citing *ad sensum*, and not *ad verbum*, such as is found in all literature, and such as has force only against a mechanical theory of inspiration. Thus the difficult passage, (Heb. 10 : 5,) "a body hast thou prepared me," is from the Septuagint, while the Hebrew reads, "mine ears hast thou bored;" yet both express the state of a servant, which is the idea for which probably the citation is introduced. Sometimes there is a deviation from both the Hebrew and the Septuagint, to bring out the sense of the passage yet more fully. Nor can any instance, says Mr. Lee, be adduced in which they quote merely from memory, if that means, that they so quote as to give an incorrect idea. These citations, while they disprove a mechanical, prove a real inspiration.

In thus noticing some of the main grounds of objection to the doctrine of the plenary Inspiration of the Scriptures, with the general principles upon which they are to be obviated, we are far from taking the position that there are no difficulties, or that, for all of them we can offer the best solution. Some of the data necessary for harmonizing all the facts of the Old Testament history and chronology we may no longer have; but this at least may be said, that for each difficulty a credible hypothesis may be, and has been suggested, as, for example, in Hengstenberg's able examination of the objections to the Pentateuch; in the case of the genealogies; and the taxing under Cyrenius. In such instances we may favor one or another of the hypotheses; if one be not correct, another may be; or, we may leave the difficulty without solving it, yet, also without saying, that it can not be solved. Humility and not arrogance best befits us, where the matter at stake is of such vital moment. And every candid person will allow that the chronology and history of the Old Testament are not involved in any such inextricable confusion as that of the contemporary ancient nations.* Moses, on all historical grounds, is more trustworthy than the fragments of Manetho, with their fluctuations between 300 and 500 kings; the records of India have been in vain ransacked to show a greater antiquity

* See *British Quarterly*, Jan. 1855. 1

than that of our sacred books ; the 30,000 years of China have been all brought this side of the deluge ; Nineveh was declared a myth, and we are witnessing its resurrection ; no ancient zodiac reaches beyond 747 B. C. ; the hieroglyphs of Egypt have not disproved our venerable documents, and the two most eminent Egyptologists are still in doubt whether certain signs mean, shepherd captives or shepherd kings. While the two Greek historians of Egypt are every day proved more and more untrustworthy, our Scriptures have been constantly receiving fresh increase of evidence to their truthfulness. The sceptical canon, in defiance of all sound rules of testimony, that the Scriptures are to be considered guilty until proved innocent, has been recklessly applied ; and the Scriptures have stood even this hard test. Coleridge concedes that the errors in detail may be reduced to some half score of apparent discrepancies—"a petty breach, or a rat-hole in the walls of the temple."

And over against these difficulties and objections we may put the wonderful congruity of the Scriptures in all other things: their coherent unity, their pervading plan, their matchless morality, their majestic simplicity and simple majesty, their fitness to all times and men, their divine efficacy and life-giving power; their redemptive economy, their unsurpassed influence; and in view of these, well ask, what are all such objections in the comparison and contrast? They are at the utmost but as the spots on the sun, as straws floating upon the surface of a stately river which irrigates all the lands through which it passes, and bears upon its bosom innumerable barks freighted with immortal hopes and destinies. Every one of these difficulties might be unsolved, and the main object of the book still secured. Let some points of unimportant and remote chronology and history remain, for which we have no more than a fair hypothesis—what is this, in any candid judgment, in comparison with the broad fact, that for all the problems and questions of man's eternal destiny, the Bible has a definite and an authoritative response? What is here at stake, is not the inquiry, whether we can master all the genealogies, and give every name in order, but whether God has appeared in history, in the person of his Son for the redemption of a

lost world, and left a record thereof. In the blaze of the central sun of Scripture, the puerilities of sceptics vanish into insignificance with him whose eye has caught the sacred radiance.

A glory gilds the sacred page,
Majestic, like the sun ;
It gives a light to every age,
It gives but borrows none.

Yes, it gives but borrows none ; all literature has drawn deep and precious draughts from this unfailing fountain ; its orient pearls are scattered through all lands ; philosophy has there found the test of its errors and the lordliest of its truths ; for four thousand years its words have been inspiration and life, comforting the downcast, and breaking the oppressor's rod ; pledging peace to the penitent, and opening to all the very gates of endless life ; subduing with imperial might all other words, speaking in such tones of authority as you read in no other book ; and in the very name of the Lord proclaiming a kingdom, which has been ever advancing yet never subdued ; and thus like a living power has it been doing a living and abiding work among the children of men, in every clime, in every language, and now wider than ever before are its words rehearsed—its lines have gone out through all the earth and its words to the end of the world.

And such a Book is not inspired ! What then is ? Your modern gospels ? your philosophical evangelists ? a Carlyle, a Gregg, a Strauss, a Parker ! The Bible not inspired, or inspired only like such ! Moses the lawgiver, and David the psalmist, and Ezekiel the prophet, and Paul who made human language utter a dauntless faith ; and John with his words of heavenly contemplation ; and Jesus the Son of God, speaking in the name and love of his father ; these not inspired, and to give place to the arrogance and conceit of those false Christs and false prophets, who deny not only a Saviour, but full often God and immortality also ! Call out these heroes of our ancient faith, and match them against their modern antagonists ! Who will enter the lists with Paul ; who will speak to the soul with John ; who will prophecy with Ezekiel and Daniel ; who will give laws like Moses ; and who, but another Barabbas, chosen by another mob, will be put into comparison with the

hallowed majesty of the Son of God ? And what names has the infidelity of all times to put into the scale against the defenders of the faith ? Has it not in every age been over-matched, in whatever makes the patient scholar and the profound thinker, in keenness and comprehensiveness of argument, in manly sense and large humanity, in depth even of merely human philosophy by Augustine and Aquinas, by Luther and Calvin, by Pascal and Fenelon, by Edwards and Chalmers ? And it is the Bible that has made such men strong in thought and heart ; and it is the Bible which sets in the clearest light the ignorance and the arrogance of its opponents.

The Bible as an inspired record, is an infallible, and it is the final, authority for faith and life.

Its Inspiration involves its infallibility. Interpreted, as all works must be, by its real spirit, it gives us truth without error. Light and life come from the ministry of the Word. Its hallowed sayings are our stay, when all other support fails ; our rock amid the billows ; the songs of our pilgrimage ; the pledge of our final rest. Such implicit faith may be stigmatised as bibliolatry ; but where else can we go to find the words of eternal life ? Bibliolatry clings to the letter ; spirituality, in the letter finds the spirit, and dares not disown the letter which guided to the spirit. For the enduring wants of the soul, for the problems of sin, salvation and eternity, we here find an unwavering authority, and rest in faith and joy upon the last assurance of the highest testimony, Thus saith the Lord.

And as it is an infallible, so is it a final authority. No man may add unto, or take away from, the words of this Book. "Here is the judge that ends the strife." Like its divine author, it has full oft been called before human tribunals, been reviled, spit upon, yea buried—that it might rise again with new power and bless even its persecutors. Of controversy, as history testifies, it has ever been the arbiter ; of opposing systems the invariable conqueror : every scheme of men has become wan and shrivelled at its touch. Beyond its revelations and its prophecies thought can not reach : it contains as well the oldest of records, as the most living of prophecies. New assailants in the flush of self-consciousness call it antiquated ;

and its antiquity is as that of God himself ; it is older than the stars and the earth, and awaits their dissolution, that all its revelations may be fulfilled. But it is also ever new, as well as ever old, the most progressive as it is the most conservative of influences, the counterpart of the wisdom of God.

From these divine oracles, let us, my fathers and brethren, gather new faith ; for all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. Let us trust in the power of the Word ; let ours be the ministry of the Word. What is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord : is not my word like as a fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces ? Let us not cease to declare the whole counsel of God ; and in doing this, let us rely on his effectual aid.

And unto all this word speaks, in its hallowed and earnest wisdom : Come ye to the fountain ; come to the Saviour ready to receive you ; here is the cure of death and the pledge of life. Heed its warnings ; hear its invitations ; accept its offers. It is our Redeemer that says, heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

THE DOCTRINE
OF
ENDLESS PUNISHMENT

FOR THE SINS OF THIS LIFE,
UNCHRISTIAN AND UNREASONABLE.

TWO DISCOURSES,
DELIVERED IN HOLLIS STREET CHURCH.

BY REV. THOMAS STARR KING.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

BOSTON:
CROSBY, NICHOLS AND COMPANY,
117 WASHINGTON STREET.
1858.

Geo. C. Rand & Avery, Printers, 3 Cornhill, Boston.

DISCOURSE I.

MATT. XXV. 46: "AND THESE SHALL GO AWAY INTO EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT; BUT THE RIGHTEOUS INTO LIFE ETERNAL."

I SHALL ask your attention, in this discourse, to some of the language of Jesus concerning Eternal Punishment.

A few words are requisite, however, by way of explanation and preface. I must beg you to believe that I do not approach the subject with any desire to lighten in your minds the sense of the evil of sin; or to intimate that the four Gospels, by any possible interpretation, patronize or justify any theory that seems lenient towards an unconsecrated life. There can be no religion worthy of the name, which does not imply and assume that the distance between right and wrong is immeasurable. The difference in worthiness and health, in quality and tendency, between a man who lives in the choice of evil, and a man who lives in loyalty, charity, and aspiration, cannot be fully expressed by any imagery drawn from space. Such persons are in opposite conditions. The one is in harmony with God—with all His justice and all His love. The other is at discord with the truth of things, and with the nature, will and mercy of the Infinite Father.

It is no part of a religious teacher's office to make such things as lying and stealing, lust and avarice, pride and slander, drunkenness and slavery, wrong voting and indifference of any kind to the rights and welfare of humanity, look

otherwise than heinous and hateful. It is his office, as it is a prominent office of the New Testament, to interpret the dreadfulness of a selfish will, and an impure and callous heart. Living in such vices, we ought to see that we live in alienation from God, and, in greater or less degree, in the state which the Scripture calls "death." The mission of the pulpit and of the New Testament is discharged by leading us to see what bondage, and misery, and deepening spiritual peril, attend depraved affections and evil habits as God regards them from His perfect freedom and purity; and by supplying the motives and forces that will restore us to inward harmony and reconciliation with God.

It is not, therefore, our primary duty, as Christians, to calculate the duration of the punishment of sin. We are rather to appreciate the wrong it does to ourselves, the mischief it works in the world, the offence it offers to the holy love of the Infinite, and the distance it creates between us and Him. This, I believe, was the custom and tone of the thought of Jesus Christ. To rise into fellowship with his feeling about evil, we must banish conceptions of the duration of its penalty, or even of the pain that may attend it. We must learn to measure its wretchedness by the state to which it tends to sink the spirit, in which,—and just so long as the state endures,—all the laws and the very beneficence of the universe are hostile to it. If Christianity had not been perverted from the directions in which the language of Jesus pointed, we should not be involved in such sad discussions as we are now often forced into, concerning the duration of punishment.

Ordinary Orthodoxy tells men that, unless they live according to a certain scheme of thought and service in this life, a *doom* of misery will be executed upon them in the life to come, from which God will not allow them any escape or return. This is the doctrine with which we take issue.

The ordinary Universalist conception is, that Christ has revealed with definiteness and fulness, as one of the central and textual doctrines of his religion, that the punishment of the wicked is to cease at a certain time, and that all will be restored to purity and joy.

The Orthodox doctrine is, to my mind, dreadful and monstrous. Nothing, it seems to me, has wrought, or can work, so much damage to Christianity, as the belief that, by the decree of God, this life is the final probation of all souls for an eternal destiny. Such a limitation of mercy, such a doctrine of doom, such a theory of mechanical separations, and of judicial, never relaxing retribution in the world to come, forbids any pure conception or powerful preaching of the essential evil of sin and vice, and turns attention to external and arbitrary penalties and perils. It corrupts our philosophy of the divine government. It breeds distrust, and gloom, and slavish fear, and skepticism. It sets Christianity at war with our constitutional instincts of justice and charity.

And yet I freely say that I do not find the doctrine of the ultimate salvation of all souls clearly stated in any text, or in any discourse, that has been reported from the lips of Christ. I do not think we can fairly maintain that the final restoration of all men is a prominent and explicit doctrine of the four Gospels. We needlessly narrow the grounds of opposition to Sacrificial Orthodoxy, by attacking it from such a position. *This* we can say with assurance and emphasis: The doctrine of Eternal Punishment, as a judicial penalty, is utterly opposed to *the principles* of the religion of Jesus. We need nothing more than the conception he has given us of God, to make us sure that no spirit will ever be debarred from returning to allegiance whenever it desires;—that there can be no period in eternity when the Infinite arms will not be wide open for any prodigal, penitent and poor, that longs

to escape from his miserable husks. There is no doom that will ever prevent this. And if we know that the love of God will never be withdrawn from any soul he has made; if we feel sure that the tremendous justice He has organized in the spiritual universe is secretly related to the health of the vilest man, our hearts can be at rest as to the problem of divine order.

The religion of Jesus does inspire this confidence in God. When we read it rightly, it forbids us to limit his mercy within this short life. There is nothing final in the divine government of souls. Into whatever district of the universe we move, we are in the embrace of perfect justice and perfect love. Seeing this truth clearly, Jesus did not attempt to write for us a calendar, or cipher the arithmetic of retribution. He endeavored rather to make men feel that an evil state is the worst thing in the universe, and that so long as they remain in it, they are aliens from the Infinite love who always desires their repentance and return.

The mission of Christ was to publish principles and pour regenerative life into the race—leaving it to our reason to balance truths, dispose them into system, and draw out all their logical contents. He taught men the infinite goodness of God and how to interpret his goodness. He unfolded the majestic and constant laws of the blessed life, and of the life to which a wrong choice tends. He disclosed the inmost evil of sin, and in what the deepest sin consists, and the path out of it into liberty and peace. He lived to illustrate the possibilities of our nature and the excellence of God; in order thus to leave in the world the germ of a sacred future for humanity, and of a church that should triumph over all social iniquity. There is no argument for the final triumph of goodness recorded in the four Gospels, nor any dogmatic textual assertion of that doctrine; but all the principles glow there, vivid as the sunlight, that

are required to give us the most consoling trust in God through eternity, and the most cheering hope for man.

With this introduction, we approach the particular question to be treated now. Is there not a doctrine of doom revealed to us in the language of Jesus? Did he not teach that there is an irrevocable and everlasting penalty to be executed upon sinners, at some future day, by the Infinite Judge? The discussion of this point has very important bearings upon theology, apart from the great question of the retributions of the future world.

In the first place, as we have already implied, our conception of the character of God and of his government, is involved in it. It is utterly impossible for a man to believe in an infinitely perfect ruler of the universe, if he believes that a never-ending penalty of pain has been deliberately established by that ruler, for all those who pass out of this life unreconciled to his will. A man who believes this may *say* that he believes there is an infinite excellence enthroned over the world. But he cannot interpret that excellence so as to make it harmonize with our conceptions of perfect equity, wisdom, and love. We have the deepest interest, therefore, in examining the language of the New Testament that seems to teach that doctrine. For if the four Gospels are committed to it, then *they* do not present to us an infinitely perfect being for our worship and trust. And if the God to whom they point us is not infinitely perfect, the religious character they will educate will, of course, be false and low.

In the *second* place, a right understanding of this language of Jesus which speaks of eternal punishment is intimately connected with an understanding of the mind and office of Jesus, as a religious Teacher. How are we to interpret his language? How are we to come into fellowship with

his thought? In what mood are we to listen to his reported words? Shall we regard him as an inspired poet, or as a scientific teacher,—a judge who accurately weighs his words, and gives them to the world to fix the proportions and the whole outline of theological truth for all time?

I have taken for treatment the strongest passage upon which the believers in unending misery rely: "These shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal." Our Orthodox friends say that we are to take this language in its literal sense—that we must interpret it as we would a book of science, or a calm, elaborate decision from a Supreme Court.

All essential theological truth is to be drawn, we are told, from the New Testament. We are not to speculate beyond its plain declarations. And if we must not interpret its language according to the natural meaning of words in daily intercourse, we might as well have no revelation,—since everybody will be at liberty to stretch or compress the language of Jesus, to suit his own desires or fancy. The only reverence towards God, and the only safety, they say, lies in adhering to the literal meaning of the words of the New Testament, which God has given to us as our theological chart. And, they continue, if these words "everlasting," "eternal," do not mean strictly *everlasting* in *our* usage of the terms, we might as well have no revelation as to human destiny. For the phraseology which the Book deals with is not governed by the sense which we give to the words, and therefore the pretended instruction from Heaven is practically useless.

Of course the main interest in this question centres in the meaning which belongs to the original Greek word here rendered "everlasting." We shall take that up shortly. But we ought to say, as a comprehensive answer to the Orthodox methods of dealing with Scripture, that the New Testament is *not* given as a full and accurate theological chart for hu-

man thought. Its relations to the intellect are entirely different from those which Orthodoxy assumes; and it can only be misunderstood, if we persist in treating it as though God had put there a symmetrical theology, which can be reproduced by a cunning arrangement of texts into mosaic work.

See how fragmentary the New Testament is! How little is preserved to us of the instruction of Jesus! Not a thousandth part of what he uttered; and very rarely any consecutive talk, or conversation, that would have occupied five minutes in utterance! Parables are saved without the subjects which they illustrate; so that we must sometimes construct the subject from the illustration. Condensed reports or briefs of long addresses are given; snatches from controversies; sentences that cut to the heart of a proud man's self-sufficiency, or a Pharisee's formalism; strains of melody from large movements and phrases of sacred music that died on the air of Palestine. In some chapters, miracles, and in other chapters parables, and in others unconnected paragraphs of the most searching wisdom, are crowded together, without regard to the time or the occasion of their utterance; because the recorder had forgotten the time and the precise connections, but was not willing to lose a single act or tone, which his memoranda furnished, of that holy mind. You know what the closing words of the Gospel of John are: "And there are also many other things which Jesus did; the which, if they should be written, every one, the world itself could not contain the books that should be written."

I have sometimes thought, that the very best help to a right reading of the four Gospels would be afforded by an edition, printed separate from the rest of the New Testament, and without a word of comment, that should break up our absurd division into verses and chapters, and show, by large margins and blank spaces between the paragraphs, how little, comparatively, is saved from the instruction of Jesus, and how frag-

mentary that little is. According to one estimate, the public ministry of our Saviour lasted sixteen months; according to another theory, it occupied three years and a half. And yet all the words of Jesus that have been saved can be put into the compass of half a dozen ordinary sermons, and could be published as a pamphlet. This, too, must be distributed into something like a hundred portions.

Suppose now that we should open a volume, in which a score of pages should be devoted to the birth and childhood of the Saviour, and in these pages we should find two very brief narratives, which commentators have found it very difficult to harmonize. Turn over several leaves appropriated to his youth, and find nothing but a few verses, concerning the visit to Jerusalem, when twelve years old, and an unrecorded conversation with the Doctors in the Temple. On the ensuing leaves, set apart for the whole period between twelve and thirty, not a word of biography, not a sentence of tradition! Next, a short account of the Baptism, but no announcement from Jesus himself of the outline and character of his mission. The forty days in the wilderness, and the temptation, appear in a dozen verses. If we adopt the longer chronology of his preaching, which most of the Orthodox critics in this country accept, we must pass over six months of his ministry, and find them dotted simply with the narrative of the marriage feast, and the few sentences in which some of the apostles were called. Then turn to a whole year of that ministry, in the course of which Jesus travelled over the length of Palestine. We should not find so much instruction saved from it as would make the half of an ordinary sermon. And this would consist chiefly of the sketch of the interview with Nicodemus, and the dialogue with the woman of Samaria. Another year would be indicated by fragments, amounting in all to less than fifty 16mo pages of open printing, which must be distributed over more

than thirty occasions, and a considerable portion of which will be parables of "The Good Samaritan," "The Lost Sheep," "The Prodigal Son," "The Unjust Steward," "The Rich Man and Lazarus," "The Importunate Widow," "The Pharisee and the Publican," and "The Laborers in the Vineyard."

Would not the four Gospels thus printed, so that the eye could not help reading them as fragments and in relation to a chronology, be studied in a very different spirit, and so, possibly, yield very different results from those which theologians have drawn from them? Would not the asterisks of such an edition be more effective than any commentary in teaching us how to approach them and interpret them? Do preachers and critics deal fairly with records of this character—thrown with such disorder into literature that an undisputed chronology of the Saviour's life cannot be deduced from them, and so detached that scarcely a chapter is ever devoted to a single subject,—mere crumbs and driblets from a great career and soul,—do they deal fairly with them when they treat them as if they were one cool, consecutive, systematic discourse or treatise from a divinely appointed professor of theology for all time?

If we had time for it, we should see that the same principle is applicable to the Epistles. These are generally rhetorical and passionate in their purpose and tone. They are not judicial papers, or theological essays. They are hot arguments and exhortations to meet instant emergencies; and their language is shaped and colored by controversies and modes of thought that have utterly died. Nothing can be more certain than that the Epistles were written without any suspicion by the apostles that they were to be used in after centuries, amid new conditions of Christian society and life, to determine the intellectual boundaries of Christian truth, by such cold-blooded textual squeezings as theologians employ.

We say that no one can appreciate this fractional character of the New Testament records, and especially of the records of Jesus' instruction, without coming to this conclusion:— Providence intended to give us through these pages, *hints* of truth, and not *a scheme* of truth; seed thoughts, not developments or systems; a few principles kindled into vividness to be unfolded and applied by the growing mind of the church, and not rigid conclusions to which its intellect in all ages was to be tethered. The character of God; the true consecration; the acceptable worship; the laws of the soul's peace; the constant presence of the spirit: these, and the life of Christ, whose perfectness and proportions are hinted through the dotted outline and the exquisite tinges of celestial beauty, that are saved for us in the pages of the biographers,—these were given by infinite grace to the church, as the literary and historic centre of Christianity. They were given to quicken its thought, to hallow and stimulate its imagination, and to leaven its life.

The method, therefore, which so many pulpit teachers pursue, of bringing texts together and pressing words to the utmost limit of meaning which dictionaries will allow, is a most dangerous method of handling the scripture, an almost hopeless mode of reaching truth, a puerile style of discussion, and the last way of paying reverence to the New Testament.

But, still further; Jesus was a poet. Not only do we have his truth in fragments, but we have it almost always in fragments of poetry. The Oriental mind uses language and interprets language, especially in regard to the religious sentiment, in a way very different from our customs. And it is mere commonplace to say, that a poetic mind, in its highest moods of feeling and vision, wields expression as the logical man never does, and must be approached with other measures of sense.

It was very rarely that Jesus uttered any spiritual truth in cool and abstract phraseology, in sentences that are literally true. He loved indefinite language, vast expressions, paradoxes, gorgeous imagery, vivid parables. Hardly the simplest idea passed from his mind into speech, without the ample robe and lustrous turban of eastern imagination. "Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood ye have no life in you." "If any man come to me and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven." "I am not come to send peace but a sword." "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible to you." "All things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive." "I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven." Such is the atmosphere of thought through which the Saviour's mind moved. Such is the temperature and coloring of the passages that Providence has suffered to be wafted down to us from his ministry in Palestine. Does it not seem as though the problem was to leave in the world the smallest quantity of record, vitalized with the utmost intensity of spirit?

Our Orthodox friends never weary in telling us, that we must not go beyond the Bible; that we must take the plain, literal meaning of the New Testament for our guide on the highest themes. But do you not see that if God has chosen to instruct the church through a few fragmentary flashes of poetry, he forbids us to use cold, scientific methods in drawing out their sense? An intelligent and sincere Calvinist told me, not long since, that he wanted to read the New Testament just as he would read a leader in his morning newspaper. He wanted to open it with entire confidence that the writer was instructing him by means of la

used in its ordinary, every-day acceptance. Otherwise, he said, he could not feel that he had a revelation. But, brethren, the question is not what we want, but what Providence has chosen to supply. And if he has given us poetry instead of logic, and isolated, dishevelled passages from an inspired poet's soul, to hint his deepest truth, does he not forbid us to use grammatical microscopes and metaphysical dissecting knives, to learn what he would communicate through the four Gospels? Does he not tell us to rise, if possible, into sympathy with the state of spiritual exaltation in which such a poetic nature as Jesus dwelt, and read his language from that elevation,—receiving its meaning by general impression, by the aroma that floats from it and penetrates the soul like fragrance from flushed rose-leaves, rather than by analysis of words? “How wretched a spectacle,” says Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, “is a garden into which cloven-footed beasts have entered! That which yesterday was fragrant, and shone all over with crowded beauty, is to-day rooted, despoiled, trampled, and utterly devoured, and all over the ground you shall find but the cuds of flowers, and leaves, and forms that have been champed for their juices, and then rejected. Such to me is the Bible when the pragmatic prophecy-monger, and the swinish utilitarian have toothed its fruits and craunched its blossoms.”

You will think that this is a long introduction to the theme which the text opens. But it is only from the level of the principles which we have thus attained, that we can properly approach the language of Jesus about future punishment. Ah yes, some Orthodox literalist may say, you are laboring very hard to get rid of the tremendous import of that word “*everlasting*.” All this talk about the poetic structure of the mind of Jesus, will not alter the force of that word to a reader of the New Testament who desires to receive the solemn truth of heaven.

We will therefore pause here in our consideration of the method in which Jesus used language, to deal with the Greek word, which, in the text, is applied to punishment, and translated "*everlasting*." The Greek word is *aionios*. The noun from which it is derived is *aion*. The liberal Christian Church have a clear right to complain of the manner in which the Orthodox clergy usually deal with these words, in the discussions about future punishment from the pulpit. They usually speak with as much decision on the subject, as though the noun always signifies eternity, and the adjective always means everlasting, in the biblical use and in the Greek classics. The impression is given that Unitarians and Universalists trifle with the settled meaning of language, and tamper with the most important human interests, in refusing to consider the controversy settled by these words. If the facts of the case were fairly stated, people would know that these words have a large range of meaning. The best scholars of the world have disputed over them. Men as eminent for learning and piety as any the Christian Church has reared: men, orthodox, too, on most other doctrines, have believed and defended universal restoration, being satisfied that the word which our translators render "*everlasting*," is too indefinite to decide the question.

The noun from which the word translated "*everlasting*" in our text is derived, is used about a hundred times in the New Testament; and yet some thirty times our own translators have rendered it "*world*." Thus: "The care of this world and the deceitfulness of riches;" "the children of this world;" "since the world began;" "from the beginning of the world;" "be not conformed to this world."

The adjective formed from this Greek noun has the same indefiniteness of meaning. It is very often applied in the Old Testament to objects and events that could not be everlasting,—to customs and laws that pass away; to land-

marks; to the time in which a person might be held as a slave; to the doors of the Temple. It frequently signifies ancient, established, long-enduring, without any regard to precise chronology. There are passages in which *aion* and *aionios* refer to the present life; passages in which they refer to past limited duration; passages in which they refer to future limited duration; as well as passages in which they mean strictly everlasting.

I hazard nothing in saying, that the more broad and delicate a person's Greek scholarship is, and the more clearly he appreciates the poetic quality of the mind of Christ, the more ready he will be to say that the application of the word translated *everlasting* to the punishment of the wicked, does not forbid belief in universal restoration. He would say that the word, in its nature, is capable of such a variety of meanings, that it does not determine and clinch a conclusion.

We have a right to complain that Trinitarian and Calvinistic preachers so often speak as though it is only now and then, in some rare instances of startling heresy, or by incompetent scholars, that this ground is taken with regard to *aionios* and kindred words. I could fill a page with the names of theologians in Germany, men of vast erudition, and orthodox men besides, who have seen that this word does not settle the question in favor of the eternity of punishment; and who have cherished and published faith in the doctrine that the opportunity of repentance and deliverance from evil would be open to every soul forever. It is but a few days since a Trinitarian gentleman of this city told me of a long conversation which he held, not many months ago, with the celebrated Orthodox professor and theologian, Dr. Tholuck, who maintained that the Scripture phrases concerning punishment do not shut out mercy from the future world. And the late learned Professor Stuart, of Andover, in an article published in 1840, in which he speaks of the distress which the

doctrine of eternal punishment inflicts upon "the great mass of thinking Christians," uses this language: "It would seem to be from such considerations that a belief in a *future* repentance and recovery of sinners has become so wide-spread in Germany, pervading even the ranks of those who are regarded as serious and evangelical men in respect to most or all of what is called orthodox doctrine, saving the point before us."

Within a few years a paper has been printed upon the Greek word *aionios*, by Mr. De Quincey, one of the nicest scholars in Greek literature in England, maintaining that the sense of the word must be determined by the nature of the thing it is applied to, and not by any fixed quality of meaning it carries within itself. It is often said that, as the same word is applied to the punishment of the wicked and to the life of the righteous, the argument that damages the force of the term "everlasting," when used of the first, imperils also the last. Mr. De Quincey does not scruple to say that "all this speculation, first and last, is pure nonsense." "That man who allows himself to infer the eternity of evil from the counter eternity of good, builds upon the mistake of assigning a stationary and mechanic value to the idea of an *aeon*; whereas the very purpose of Scripture in using this word was to evade such a value." [Theological Essays, Boston edition of De Quincey's works, vol. I. page 145.] Mr. Isaac Taylor, also, whose learning and orthodoxy will not be questioned, says of this word that Scripture usage has given it a very great latitude of meaning, which therefore must, in every place receive its specific value from the subject in hand. And, referring to the idea of never-ending existence, as implied in the words, "The gift of God is eternal life," he says: "Our persuasion of this fact must not be made to hinge on the native or independent force of the adjective there employed, but upon the evident intention of the writer,

as illustrated and confirmed by other means." [Saturday Evening, page 311.]

More important than this testimony of modern learning, is that which comes to us from the early age of Christendom. The most learned and accomplished theologian and scholar of the early generations of the church, was Origen, born in the year 185. Greek was his native tongue. He was the first accurate philological scholar whom the church reared after the time of the apostles. This great man, who knew the scriptures by heart in their original tongue, was passionately devoted to the doctrine of the final restoration of the wicked,—even of the devil and his angels, in whose existence he believed. Yet he used this term "everlasting" with regard to the punishment of the wicked, which he contended would have an end. A work also in circulation thirty years before Origen was born, "The Sibylline Oracles," speaks in the same way of the everlasting punishment of sinners, and yet affirms that they will all be saved. Still more striking, a learned and excellent Greek Christian, in the century after Origen flourished, Gregory of Nyssa, who believed in the restoration of all the wicked, declares that sinners are to be restored by means of "everlasting punishment." It was only about the year 400 that the belief in ultimate restoration was arraigned in the church as heresy; and it was not till about the year 550, when the eclipse was settling upon civilization, that it was decisively condemned.

We have support from such furnished scholars, and from such facts in church history, when we affirm that the word rendered "everlasting" in our text cannot be considered final, in regard to the duration of punishment. Furthermore, the doctrine of eternity of punishment was either denied or doubted by such English divines as Archbishop Tillotson, and William Law, and Dr. Thomas Burnett, and Dr. Henry More. Isaac Newton questioned it. Dr. Doddridge was uncertain

about it. Even Dr. Watts, who has written the most awful hymns about hell, came to believe that a penitent soul might be saved hereafter from its terrors. Dr. Paley was suspicious of the doctrine. Mr. and Mrs. Barbauld entirely rejected it. Dr. David Hartley argued for universal restoration. The great Dr. Johnson, whose reverence for scripture was most solemn, confessed that the passages that speak of eternal punishment admit of a mitigated interpretation. Dr. Abraham Tucker, not a Unitarian, opposed the dogma of unending suffering, and maintained that the Greek words by which it is chiefly defended are strained beyond what they will bear in such a service. Dr. Macknight, the celebrated Orthodox commentator on the epistles, remarks:—“I must be so candid as to acknowledge that the use of the terms *eternity*, *everlasting*, *forever*, in other passages of scripture, shows that they who understand these words in a limited sense when applied to punishment, put no forced interpretation on them.”

You know that John Foster of England, the profoundest intellect of this century among the Baptists, threw off belief in the perpetuity of misery. Mr. Maurice of the English Episcopal Church, and certainly one of the most earnest and accomplished of her present clergy, denies that our text shuts out all hope for the wicked, and has been engaged in a strenuous controversy in justification of the denial. He says, “I know that there is something which must be infinite. I am obliged to believe in an abyss of love which is deeper than the abyss of death. I dare not lose faith in that love. I sink into death, eternal death, if I do. I must feel that this love is compassing the universe.” Mr. Kingsley, also, has most severely attacked, by implication, in his published writings, the doctrine of eternal doom. Mr. Carlyle, according to a recently published report of a conversation with him, said, “I am satisfied that no intelligent clergyman among us embraces it;” and

he declared further, "it is certain that the Greek word *aionios*, which is sometimes applied to punishment in the gospel, does not prove its eternity."

Now when we think of these names which are given only as samples, without reference to the long list of accurate scholars among the modern English Unitarians, who have denied and thoroughly discussed the eternity of punishment, on grounds of scripture and reason—must we not smile rather than be angry or be ruffled, when Orthodox clergymen assume that the plain sense of scripture is against us?—when they declare that we trifle with its authority, in denying that Jesus taught an unremitting vengeance against all who go out of this life sinners? The fact is, that the more free the church thought has been, and the more extensive and original its learning, the more numerous and able have been the impeachments of this doctrine, as a settled tenet. The position of the Orthodox Church in this country upon that question, and the discussion of it, as also upon the question of inspiration, is provincial.

Consider, I pray you, that all which it is necessary for us to show, in criticising the Greek word translated "everlasting," is, that it is indecisive. For this there is abundant evidence. If the four Gospels were one calm and consecutive treatise by a cool-blooded writer, and this word with its associates should be found in it, there is uncertainty enough about them to make it doubtful if the doctrine of unchangeable, hopeless misery, could be considered as set beyond question.

And now what shall we say when we find these wavering words used by an inspired *poetic* teacher, appearing in gorgeous paragraphs, not written coolly by him, but caught blazing from his lips by a reporter, or remembered in after years, and penned when the whole connections had faded from the mind of the scribe? Shall we build a theology, shall we

demonstrate the most dreadful doctrine which the human brain can conceive, by words, irresolute even when used by careful writers, that appear in the poetic speech of a teacher who rarely uses *any* words in their accurate sense,—who talks of temporal things in large, vague, metaphorical diction? When God gives us revelation in torn and brilliant leaves from a prophetic soul, whom we are to understand by rising into sympathy with his insight, shall we insist on applying mathematical measures to his imagery, which might be inapplicable to the same words even if they were used in logical address?

Moreover, there is hardly any other phrase, or passage, in the four Gospels, that is quoted to sustain the doctrine of remediless condemnation in the life to come, about which a serious scholarly dispute has not arisen; so that learned and prominent Orthodox commentators can generally be quoted who concede the propriety of liberal Christian interpretations. The expressions, aside from the word rendered “everlasting,” which are usually considered most difficult, and indeed decisive, are these: “in danger of hell-fire;” “to be cast into hell;” “where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched.” Every person who has read any commentary on the New Testament knows that the word which, in such instances, is translated “hell” is the compound word “*gehenna*,” meaning originally, the Hinnom valley just without the walls of Jerusalem, near Kedron. In this valley the Jews once offered sacrifices, even their own children, to an image of Moloch, which had the face of a calf and the hands of a man. (See I. Kings, xi. 7: II. Kings, xvi. 3, 4: and xxiii. 10. Jeremiah vii. 31.) It was afterwards, on account of this pollution, accursed; and the filth of the city and sometimes corpses were burned there. Thus the expressions “unquenchable fire,” and “the worm that dieth not,” were naturally suggested by its horrors.

Afterwards, the word passed up into a general and poetic signification, so that a Gehenna punishment, or judgment, meant a terrible overthrow, a condign and awful retribution; just as we use the phrase "a Waterloo defeat," to express a thorough and total rout. Still later the word dropped its broad and imaginative meaning, and became the technical expression among the Jewish writers for the fiery abyss of hell, where the worst sinners were supposed to be tormented in flame. Now the simple question to be determined in relation to our subject is, when did the term *ge-henna* drop its loose, poetic meaning, and assume its fixed and technical value as the name of the pit of torture? Was it before the time of Christ, or afterwards? Did the Jews of Palestine, during the Saviour's ministry, understand, whenever the word *ge-henna* was used, that allusion was distinctly made to a fiery gulf in the lower world; or were they at liberty to interpret it as a wide, vague word, suggesting severe, revolting, but indeterminate retribution?

Now in the Old Testament there is no instance of the employment of the word *ge-henna* to represent future misery. There is no allusion in the Old Testament to punishment at all in the unseen world. So long as the Jews were under the exclusive influence of the Old Testament literature and inspiration, they held no doctrine of future punishment. Down to the time of Malachi, it had not appeared among them. That doctrine came into their mind from heathen sources, chiefly from Alexandria in Egypt, and their connection with Greek mythology and speculation. It is only in the later books of the Apocrypha, approaching the time of Christ, that the dogma is detected in their literature. But in no instance in the Apocrypha is the word *ge-henna* used to represent it. Josephus, the Jewish historian of the first century, who describes the faith of his countrymen, does not employ the term *ge-henna* in allusion to the future world. The first

usage of *ge-henna* as a technical expression for hell in the Orthodox sense, occurs in undated Jewish writings, which the weight of scholarly judgment ascribes to a period some 700 hundred years after the ministry of Jesus.

There is no doubt that the Pharisees of the New Testament times believed in eternal damnation. Let the doctrine receive all the strength and respectability which such an endorsement may confer. But there is no proof that they had so fastened the word *ge-henna* to that belief as to contract it from an unsettled, ambiguous and poetic word, connected with and colored by the corruption and the curse of the literal Hinnom valley, to the technical title of a flaming crater in Hades.*

Indeed one cannot easily see how the word, having such an origin, could pass completely over from an uncertain to a technical sense, so long as the Jewish state remained, and the polluted valley was there, shedding its historic and moral associations into the mind of the people of Palestine. After the destruction of Jerusalem, and the uprooting of the Jewish polity, the word could become unfixed from all geographical restraints and imaginative capabilities, and wither up into a dry Rabbinic designation of a place of torment in the future world.

Bear in mind, then, that the idea of everlasting torment does not have any root in the Old Testament. It was not born of the literature of revelation. It edged its way, or oozed, into the Jewish mind, at first, from Alexandria and

* We are persuaded that Biblical scholars have not given the close and careful attention to the details of this subject which its great importance deserves. We have not room, even if we were competent, to treat the question with anything like fulness in a discourse. But we desire to make reference to the patient, comprehensive, and masterly discussion of the subject in the early volumes of the "Universalist Expositor," by Rev. Dr. Ballou, now President of Tufts College, and one of the most thoroughly grounded Biblical scholars of New England. We are indebted, also, for some statements on page 18, to the impartial and exhaustive "Ancient History of Universalism," by the same author, now we believe out of print.

heathenism. There is no clear, unambiguous, decisive statement of the doctrine from Jesus. If modern Orthodoxy be the true Christianity, would its most potent working principle be left thus to sidle into the theology of redemption from a foreign mythology? Would the evidence for it be left so doubtful that a historic and classical scholar, searching into its grounds and origin, gets involved in doubts? The supposition is absurd. We maintain that the word *ge-henna* was precisely in the state, at the time of Jesus' ministry, to offer the dim, vast, symbolic suggestions of a spiritual law, which an inspired seer and poet would find best suited to the breadth of his thought and the religious purposes of impression. In Matthew v. 23, nobody can imagine that Jesus meant to affirm, that a man who was causelessly angry with his brother, was in danger of outward penalties from a Hebrew court; nor that for saying "thou fool," he was in danger of everlasting flame. Every other portion of the verse is symbolic; and the *ge-henna* fire into which the bodies of condemned criminals were cast, and which possibly may have begun then to be used also as a type of future punishment, was plainly employed by Jesus as a physical suggestion of the moral degradation and impurity into which contempt of humanity plunged the soul. Whoever appreciates the methods of instruction which Jesus loved, will be saved from attributing a mathematical significance to this word, wherever he uses it, that fetters the mercy of God through eternity. Such a treatment of the phrase is precisely on the level of the Gorgon logic, that turns into the corner stone of the Roman despotism the text, "thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church."

Those words about punishment, and the undying worm, and the *ge-henna* fire, are not for dogma but for the imagination. It is only once in a while that we are in the state to read them. They are not for the cold understanding. They are not

for creeds. They are not for the pelting of sinners and heretics. They are the deeply dyed glasses held up in the hand of the great prophet of humanity, through which we are to look into the domain of spiritual laws, that play independent of space and time, and learn what a solemn light invests our base passions, when we deliver our hearts to their supremacy.

Suppose that the method of interpretation which is applied to Christ's poetry were applied to some of Shakspeare's thrilling passages! Suppose that most of Shakspeare's dramas were lost, and that a few fragments of Lear, Macbeth and Othello were preserved. And imagine a logical critic finding the passage in Macbeth, where, after the murder, the poet makes him say,—

“ Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red.”

Now imagine this critic to contend that Shakspeare meant to affirm that Macbeth's hand would really turn the sea red,—to maintain that the poet was a trifle with language, a deceiver of mankind, if he did not mean this literally; if he only intended to state a great moral truth,—to show the tremendous working of the conscience in that picture and exclamation of the blood-steeped thane! Imagine him enforcing his argument thus: “Surely Shakspeare, if he was an honest man, would write for plain people just as the editor of a newspaper would write. And moreover, another fragment from that drama is preserved, which serves to show that the murder which Macbeth committed did have a miraculous effect upon the hand. For we read that Lady Macbeth, his wife, who was concerned with him in the crime, and looked on the dead body of Duncan, also exclaimed,—‘What, will these hands ne'er be clean?’ ‘Here's the smell of the blood still:

all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand.'” If such a method of interpretation would be torture applied to Shakspeare, is it any less so when applied to divine poetry; to imaginative and lyric utterances of the laws of spiritual life; to picture-paragraphs which God has hung up in literature to suggest and vivify, but not to define and chronicle the principles of celestial justice?

But it is very likely that *this* objection will be raised by some: Jesus might use indeterminate language and poetic speech upon most subjects; yet would he do so concerning the final judgment and the destinies of the world to come? The text you have taken, they may say, is drawn from a passage which begins thus: “When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all nations.” This reads coolly, they say. It is a calm statement of the opening of the final judgment. Would Jesus use extravagant language about a scene like that? No; on other subjects you may talk of loose, flaming, poetic utterance; but on this subject he will be definite; he will weigh his phrases: and when we read such passages as those which speak of the devil and his angels, and prepared fire, and everlasting punishment, we are sure that he meant to be understood literally, and that we cannot understand him otherwise without trifling with revelation.

Now, brethren, it is precisely on the question of his coming, after his death, to judge the earth, that the language of Jesus is the *most* mystical and figurative. On this theme, more than on any other, we have evidence that compels us to interpret his language as poetry the most gorgeous possible, — or else to say that he was himself grossly deceived. I have not the least faith that the passage from which the text is taken points at all to the future world. And precisely because this imagery

of coming with the angels to judge the world is frequently used by Jesus to denote a great crisis in the affairs of humanity, to take place during the generation in which he lived.

Read Matt. xvi. 27, 28: "For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels: and then he shall reward every man according to his works. Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom." Read Matt. x. 23: "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another; for verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come." Read Mark viii. 38, and ix. 1: also the same passage in Luke ix. 26 and 27: "Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation; of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. And he said unto them, verily I say unto you, that there be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power." Is this poetry, or did Jesus mean it literally? Will our Orthodox brethren tell us when Jesus came during that generation with all the angels, and how he rendered to every man according to his works?

But turn now to a more marvellous passage still,—a passage with imagery more tremendous and terrific than any with which our text is connected. Read Matt. xxiv. "As the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west; so shall the coming of the Son of man be. . . . The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. . . . And then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet,

and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other." What imagery is this? Is this not the last judgment? Can this refer to some crisis in history? Can this be poetic drapery? Listen; "This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." We press this question upon our Orthodox brethren who accuse us of trifling with Scripture: Was Christ deceived? Did he expect to come in the pomp of a dissolving universe to judge the world during that generation? If so, where is literal revelation? Or was this language figurative, to express the establishment of the Christian religion, and thus the spiritual rule of Christ in the earth, on the overthrow of the Hebrew nation? This last is the only answer that saves the authority of Jesus. And if he could use the darkening of the sun, and the dropping of the stars like rain, and the gathering of his disciples from the nations by flying angels, to set forth the striking of a new hour in human history, we must understand another passage which speaks also of his advent with angels to be literal because it has less striking pictures inwrought with it of the devil and his angels? Why, if the cloud of angels, and the rendering to every man according to his works, is figurative in one passage, must the devil and his angels and everlasting punishment be literal in another?

I believe that the whole passage of the king in judgment, from which the text is taken, is a flame-picture, to show what the true tests of character and of fellowship with God were to be, when the religion of Jesus should become established among men. It is generally interpreted as though it is part of the same discourse with the twenty-fourth chapter, whose imagery we have quoted, and whose terrors are distinctly denounced against that generation. Orthodox commentators have exercised a great deal of ingenuity in the attempt to draw the line at the precise verse where Jesus, in the long

discourse, passes from the description of a national to the final judgment. The results are very inharmonious; and none of the attempts, it seems to me, can command the respect of an unprejudiced student. But there is no evidence that the twenty-fifth chapter was spoken in connection with the twenty-fourth. The whole chapter is made up of two parables, — The Virgins, and The Talents, followed by the passage describing the judgment. When we see that, in the gospel of Matthew, passages are often brought together by the law of association of subject, and not by chronological arrangement, it is not difficult to suppose that the three portions of the twenty-fifth chapter were unconnected passages of which the special subjects and occasions were lost, and which were brought together here, because the topic of the great discourse in the twenty-fourth chapter made it natural to associate them with it. If this conjecture be justifiable, the twenty-fifth chapter gives us three vivid illustrations of subjects, the nature of which we must divine from the character of the illustrations themselves.

Christ saw that, before that generation passed away, some mighty convulsion, some startling catastrophe, some earthquake throes of social forces, shifting the strata of history, would occur, that should begin visibly to lift his religion from a provincial heresy to a world-presiding faith, and install his spirit in the highest realm of ideas as Lord of the future. This mighty change in the fortunes of his truth and name, he foretold in blazing prophetic symbols, as his *second* coming,—not as a despised Galilean peasant, but as the viceroy of eternal truth, descending from heaven with a cloudy halo of angels, and filling the air with the electric energies of his authority. Many see the fulfilment of this gorgeous vision in the terrible overthrow of Jerusalem and the Hebrew State, and the preaching of Christ's truth in every civilized land, by missionary apostles, before that generation passed. Thus, they

say, Christianity was inaugurated in civilization as a world-redeeming force.

The picture of the King in judgment, whenever it may have been spoken, completes this prophecy by showing, as through a blazing transparency, what was to be the *central* idea of the great moral code which his religion should enthrone in society, over human souls. It was to be the spirit of humanity,—the desire to lessen the sway of evil, by relieving human misery, and diffusing the spirit of sacrifice and the power of charity. He meant to say, that the power of his religion would move wherever and however the forces should spread that would make man more sacred, relieve wretchedness, defeat selfishness, and organize the race into the beauty and joy of one humanity. He used the fierce diction of the Phari-saïc mythology to say to the Jews: It is not by national aristocracy of blood, nor by niceties of legal etiquette and ritual worship, nor by any ecclesiastical distinctions, that character is to be estimated in the sight of Heaven. Selfishness, indifference to the wrongs and sorrows of your race, lack of love, these sink you away from God; these carry you to the lowest depth of the spiritual universe; these constitute the devil-spirit; but the possession of charity,—though it be connected with no clearness, or soundness, or profession of distinctively religious faith,—carries you up to the blessed life and the peace of God. This is the faith which is one day to take the empire of the world's thought and heart, and be administered in my name among all nations.

The element of time was not, we are sure, in the thought of Jesus. The passage is a gorgeous emblazonry of the same truth that is sketched in the parable of the Good Samaritan. It is the law "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," formulated in fire before the imagination of the race. It is Paul's doctrine of charity clothed in the most vivid hieroglyphics, to be interpreted by the poetic faculty of men.

The all-important point, therefore, is to appreciate the oriental imagination of Jesus, and to set this language about his coming to judgment in the light of other passages, whose imagery is more colossal and stupendous than this, which plainly refer to historic changes that were to be seen within his own generation.

Do you say, how shall we know what Christianity is,—how shall we get the instruction and comfort of revelation, from documents that are so fragmentary, and that use language with such poetic license? I answer, that God never intended to save us from the duties and responsibilities of individual thought. Providence, I believe, has made those fiery records so fragmentary, that we might be forced to disentangle *principles* from *imagery*, and unfold those principles by our own thought, and in harmony with all other truth we can gain, into the full proportions of Christian theology. Never reason from the imagery of Jesus mechanically, but from the principles of Jesus. Those principles plainly are, that God is an Infinite Spirit; that he is infinitely good; that the best qualities of humanity are but hints of his excellence; that all souls are his children; that evil is our most dreadful foe; that God desires our rescue from it; and that Christ is the expression of that desire, and of his holy and unchanging love.

If you want to know whether eternal punishment is to be inflicted as a penalty for the sins of this life; if you want to know whether God will ever cease to desire, or refuse to receive, the repentance and allegiance of any spirit born from him,—ask yourself if such a thought is in harmony with these principles, which are the vital points of Christ's teaching. We cannot conceive too seriously the ingratitude of evil; the wrong which sin does to our own nature; the offence it offers to the purity of God; the peril which habits of evil, wrought into the constitution of our nature, induce, by sinking us away from the region of true life and blessedness. We may be

sure, that, hereafter, as well as here, the spiritual laws will be utterly hostile to every thing but goodness in us; and that we shall suffer according to our denial of God, and our chosen distance from him. But so long as the principles of Christ's religion are to be trusted, God will be our best friend, and will desire nothing so much, throughout eternity, as the penitence, return, consecration and joy, of the most abandoned nature.

Christ has given us cardinal truths of a great religion, to be worked out by ourselves into intellectual results. Whatever results those principles lead to, are just as much parts of Christianity as if he had covered pages of sacred parchment in writing them for us. And until the doctrine of everlasting vengeance for the sins of this life, to be executed at a day of judgment, can be made to flow from the idea of God, the unspeakable excellence and the infinite father,—yes, even from the idea of God the omnipotent justice, we may be sure that it is a foul excrescence on the gospel, a malignant cancer in the fair organism of its truth. We may be sure of this, even though the fact that the seeming statements of it by Christ are vivid imagery, were but a tithe as clear.

And now, brethren, one word more. Are any Christians so deeply interested in seeing that this passage in the twenty-fifth of Matthew is not literal statement, but poetic symbol, as the strict Evangelical believers are? If that passage is an accurate prophecy of the test at a final judgment, what becomes of the sacrificial theology? Of course, the literalists will not shun here the consequences of their own principle. Of course they will not say that, if Jesus was calmly describing the scene and the tests of the final day, he omitted to allude to the real ground of justification, pardon, and acceptance. Yet those who are accepted, according to the passage in Matthew, are approved on grounds of character, of charity, of humble faithfulness in the

discharge of simple humanities. No such tests are required for entrance into heaven as are necessary for membership in any Trinitarian Church. Is this the Orthodox judgment-day? Where is the doctrine of depravity; of inexpressible guilt before the law; of the necessity of the cross of Christ; of the worthlessness of human works as the ground of acceptance; of faith in an atoning blood as the sole condition of pardon and the hope of heaven? Did Jesus *forget* to allude to any feature of "the scheme of redemption," in his delineation of the scene, where it comes to its solemn climax? If that passage be literally true, there need be no more controversy about the sacrificial faith; for the whole system of Orthodoxy is riven to splinters by its awful lightning. And liberal Christianity, with the doctrine of eternal punishment added to enforce the preaching of works and character, as the condition of entering heaven, is enthroned as the gospel truth.

But when we appreciate the indefinite sense of the word rendered "everlasting;" when we see the fragmentary character of the records preserved to us from Christ's instruction; when we estimate aright the poetic constitution of his spirit, and find how much of his truth is stated in symbol; when we see especially how, in regard to his coming to judgment, Jesus used language, often more intense, which in every other instance must be understood as poetry, if we would save him from the charge of delusion or fraud, — we learn how to read this language so as to be not terrified but inspired. We learn, as a fundamental truth, that God gives us revelation by methods of art, and not by methods of science. He suggests; he does not tell. He inspires; he does not inform. The prophet is a painter in symbol, never a mathematician or professor. And we look on this parabolic passage of the King in judgment as a picture drawn by the great master of spiritual truth, to shed through the imagination of the race upon

its heart the lesson, that indifference to humanity is alienation from God; to color the truth that "God is love, and he who dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him;" and to enforce by the laws which rule eternity as well as time, the new commandment, "that he who loveth God, love his brother also."

DISCOURSE II.

DISCOURSE II.

“Therefore hearken unto me, ye men of understanding: far be it from God that He should do wickedness; and from the Almighty that He should commit iniquity. For the work of a man shall He render unto him, and cause every man to find according to his ways. Yea, surely God will not do wickedly, neither will the Almighty pervert judgment. For He will not lay upon man more than right; that He should enter into judgment with God.”—JOB xxxiv. 10, 11, 12, 23.

IN the former discourse we considered the language of Jesus which has been supposed to endorse the doctrine of Eternal Punishment. Let us examine now the question whether everlasting punishment looks reasonable. It seems to me that we can select no passage more appropriate to introduce, and as it were intone, our meditation upon such a momentous theme, than the words just read from a religious poem three thousand years old,—perhaps the oldest religious poem of the world,—“far be it from God that he should do wickedness, and from the Almighty that he should commit iniquity.”

Let us keep clearly in mind the real question before us for examination. It is not a question of the evil of sin. It is not a question of God’s total hostility to it and abhorrence of it. It is not a question concerning the dreadful retributions which flow from a nature deliberately committed to evil by organic choice, or the rebound upon such a nature from the constitution and order of the universe. Upon these subjects liberal Christianity can address our spiritual nature more seriously, and, I believe, with far more thrilling power

and emphasis, than the popular Orthodoxy can honestly command. Neither is it a question whether or not the sin of this life will be visited with bitter consequences in the life to come; nor even whether souls may not harden themselves against the justice and grace of the Infinite forever, and prefer forever, through the natural gravitation of evil loves, to live away from God, and from the bliss that attends the continual reception of his life.

But this is the simple point before us. Has God ordained that the whole future of souls shall be determined by the state of heart, or by the attitude towards a theological system of redemption, in which human beings are found at the time of their death? Has He established an irreversible penalty to be executed upon human beings in the world to come, for their conduct in this world; and is that penalty unending and indescribable suffering? If so, is it reasonable that such a relation between this life and the next, should be enacted and upheld by the Infinite Ruler?—the grave the fulcrum point of a lever whose short arm is a responsible career of twenty or thirty years, and the long arm interminable ages of misery! Can we discover any proportion that is reasonable in the arrangement? Is it possible for any advocate of the system to present it to us so as to win an endorsement for it from our instincts, or bring it into harmony with our most intelligent conceptions of what is right?

The advocate of the system must state his case without flinching or equivocation. Let him take it out of abstract and general language and state it thus. I believe that men have been brought into being by the Creator for an immortal existence. I believe that he has placed them on this planet to undergo a probationary career. I believe that every one of the human race is born here with a nature so corrupt, or so weak, that the first responsible act will certainly be sinful. I believe that for that act of sin, or for any act of sin, the

Almighty has decreed the doom of eternal punishment. I believe that the chequered and mysterious probation under which human beings, so depraved, are placed in this world, is *the last* opportunity that God will allow to them. If they do not obtain an interest in Christ during their stay on this planet, I believe that God will decree for them a wretchedness that will never end. If every atom of matter in this earth, in the sun, in the whole solar system, should represent a year or a century, or a hundred centuries, I believe that when all these shall have been wasted, the doom of God upon the sin-born creatures that refuse to serve him here will not have abated. The sun may die, the heavens may wear out, pass away and be forgotten, but the judgment of God upon those who pass from this planet unreconciled to his will, unregenerated by his Spirit, will never be relaxed. And I believe this is reasonable!

Such is the position to which the sacrificial church in this country is committed. Let us examine now the reasonableness of their position in the light of pure justice; of analogy; and of the privileges of revelation which are said to be offered to men, and deliberately rejected by them.

First, in the light of justice. Consider that the Infinite Ruler does not *inherit* this universe, as a foreign legacy. He is not elected or appointed over all worlds to administer a constitution and execute laws ordained independently of himself. He *establishes* the universe. He decrees the system by which the moral world shall be governed. Can we believe it in accordance with perfect justice that He should decree and create such a system?

There are some things which God does not decree, or create by will. He does not arbitrarily appoint the difference between right and wrong. That exists in the nature of things, in accordance with which the Infinite must work, if He creates at all. Or, if he desires to rear a race of free intelli-

gences that shall serve him from deliberate consecration and love, he must continually respect their liberty, and not ply them with influences that overwhelm their choice. But is there anything in the nature of things, or in the principles of morals, that makes this life a *final* state of probation for all eternity? — that compels the Almighty Ruler, if he creates a moral system at all, to govern it by such a method? Is it not just as easy to conceive a plan by which a different proportion could have been observed between the opportunity and the doom?

And if God arbitrarily ordained such a constitution for all souls to whom he grants life on this planet, — if he deliberately established such a relation between our deeds here and the unending future, can we defend it or explain it on any other ground than sovereign power? Is there a word to be said of its reasonableness? Should not the only language which the believer in such an administration presumes to use concerning it, be this. God has *chosen* to institute such a method of government, and has pushed us into life under such terrible conditions; and we cannot help ourselves: our only business is, not to discuss the equity of the arrangement, but to escape the doom. A prominent and able defender of Calvinism has fairly taken this ground. This is his language: “There is no such thing in God as justice, properly so called, in respect to his creatures; that is, by which he is bound to them. But that which is called the justice of God in respect to creatures, is only his fidelity, which supposes a promise. I acknowledge no other justice in God than that by which he wisely orders all things to effect his own purposes.” It is not likely that many Trinitarian writers among us would use this language; but it seems to be the only position that can be taken in speculating upon an everlasting penalty for finite transgression.

The argument that comes the nearest to a defence of eternal punishment for the sins of this life, on the grounds of

original justice and the nature of things, is this. Sin is an infinite evil, because committed against an infinite being. As I heard it said in a pulpit, not long ago, "life is long enough to allow a man deliberately to insult his Maker." Now if this argument means anything, it means that every sin, whether the thought of God be in the mind of man or not, is an infinite offence, because it opposes the interests and purity of Heaven. That is, an act does not draw its quality from the agent, but from the majesty of the Infinite that created the agent, and from the whole scheme of government, present only to the Creative Mind, of which the act forms part. If this is so, must not every good act which a man does, even though the thought of the Creator is not present, have an infinite quality of merit, because it is committed in harmony with the interests which God guards? Who denies that unregenerate men do a great many separate good acts, which are in harmony with moral order and God's purposes? If a man *lies*, shall it be called worthy of eternal damnation because it is rebellion against the infinite truth, and then if he gives a dollar to relieve a destitute woman, or a sick sufferer, shall not that act be called worthy of eternal bliss, because it is in harmony with the infinite love? Must not this equation be established by such a law? And then, does not the desert of infinite reward, balance the desert of infinite punishment? But perhaps our sacrificial friends will say, that a man does not perform so many good acts as he does bad ones, and that therefore the balance of the infinites is against him until he is converted. If they do take this ground, do they not then virtually adopt the theory of salvation by works, which, in their view is an abomination?

Let it be, however, that every sin *is* an infinite offence because committed against God who is infinite and holy. Does it follow that an everlasting penalty must be executed upon it after death? The penalty is within God's choice. Is he

compelled to say to the sinner: Nothing but your everlasting misery can satisfy my honor; you shall not have the opportunity to repent for what you have committed; if you ever come to see how great a wrong you have done to my purity and holiness by your rebellion and depravity, I will not let your contrition avail you; I will hearken to no prayers; nothing but your ever-enduring wretchedness is enough to appease my insulted personality. Has the Infinite no liberty in affixing penalties to personal indignities? If he has, and if He has appointed this penalty, is such a law of retaliation proper for our copying that we may be perfect as the Creator is perfect?

I trust you will believe that the terms of such an argument as this are distasteful to me. I feel that there is a subtle irreverence in using such language even upon an hypothesis. What then must the principle be that compels such treatment? that demands hypothetical impiety in order to show its real and comprehensive blasphemy against the divine character?

But we have still more to say about the reasonableness of eternal punishment, when considered in relation to the nature of things, and the foundation-principles of justice.

Suppose it could be proved to us that our sins demand unending suffering, while our good acts do not demand immortal bliss. Suppose it could be made to look equitable that a system should be ordained which involves perpetual misery as a doom upon a few years of sin. Ought we not to be consulted, before we take our place in such a system, whether we will accept its terms? What a momentous contract is this life, viewed in such a light! Is it right for God to force a race into an existence hemmed by such horrible conditions, without taking their suffrage? Can we honestly call life a boon on such terms as these? Can we say that it is a great blessing—will any tender-hearted Calvinist say that is a blessing—to be called from nonentity into the average

chances of the human race, to-day, on this globe, if the perils with which sacrificial Orthodoxy makes eternity so lurid, are real? Who of us would not seriously say here, that, for three-quarters of our fellows, the shadows of non-existence would be an unspeakable mercy in contrast with this life, if, failing here, they are lost forever? It has been recently affirmed by an able Orthodox writer of our city, that "to be born is an everlasting calamity unless we are born again." The writer believes that one cannot be born again in the world to come, just as firmly as he believes that it will be an unspeakable woe not be thus renewed. And yet it would be a very generous estimate if we suppose that one in fifty of the inhabitants of the globe experience the new birth according to his interpretation of it. Would any man say that it would be just in God to create spirits by myriads, and pour them directly into an abyss of eternal wretchedness and gloom? And is the system to be called reasonable that makes us conceive him as showering souls into an earthly probation here, which, for untold myriads, offers no more obstacle to their dropping into the abyss than a sieve to water?

Dr. Edward Young, nominally a believer in the system of Orthodoxy, wrote a poem entitled "The Last Day," in which he supposes a lost sinner to exclaim:—

" Father of mercies! why from silent earth
Didst thou awake and curse me into birth?
Tear me from quiet, ravish me from night?
And make a thankless present of thy light?
Push into being a reverse of thee,
And animate a clod with misery?"

Could that question be answered in harmony with true covenant-principles, with contract-justice recognized among men, so long as that sinner, whatever his opportunities in life may have been, was not permitted, at first, by the Almighty, to say whether or not he would accept existence on the terms of never-ceasing woe to offset a short life of hazard?

The force of this objection has been impaired, it is thought, by some writers in this way. God confers great honor upon man by bringing him under his moral rule. And the hardship of such a tremendous penalty as eternal punishment is balanced by the counter prospect and temptation of eternal bliss. The choice of two infinities is offered to him, accompanied by the greatest of all conceivable motives to pursue the one and fly from the other. The infinite goodness of God, therefore, will be clear, though some should be miserable forever on account of their wrong choice deliberately made. A living and able Orthodox writer of Great Britain has said: "It is in the light of this truth that the infinite love of God may be seen beaming from the eye of hell, as well as from the bright regions of eternal blessedness."*

The divine equity may well be illustrated in a system that offers opposite states of blessedness and wretchedness to human choice, if the problem is not perplexed by the element of time; and if divine forces, that express God's interest in the sinner's welfare, as well as His justice, are never withdrawn from the created spirit. But to limit the season of choice to this brief and uncertain life, and make the two infinities diverge by arbitrary decree from so short a moral career! *this* is the principle whose equity must be made transparent, before the infinite love of God will be seen beaming from the pit. Why are we brought into a system where the power of choice, which continues up to the death-bed, is annulled or paralyzed by the Almighty, at the very moment when it passes into the sphere where the two infinities are for the first time clearly seen? It is not the power of choice that is to be accounted for, but the confinement of the power within such straitened limits by the deliberate ordinance of the Creator,

* See *The Doctrine of a Future Life*, by C. F. Hudson, page 102, published by Jewett & Co., Boston; a very valuable work, in which the various Orthodox Theodicies are stated and criticised. The author's own view is that the penalty of evil is annihilation, literally, "eternal death."

and the forcing of a race into an existence oppressed with such peril. Milton, in the tenth book of "Paradise Lost," makes Adam, after the transgression, pour out this lament:—

" O, fleeting joys
Of Paradise, dear bought with lasting woes !
Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay,
To mould me man ? Did I solicit thee
From darkness to promote me, or here place
In this delicious garden ? As my will
Concurr'd not to my being, it were but right
And equal to reduce me to my dust,
Desirous to resign, and render back
All I received, unable to perform
Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
The good I sought not. To the loss of that,
Sufficient penalty, why hast thou added
The sense of endless woes ? Inexplicable
Thy justice seems."

It is true that the poet makes Adam say that he absolves his maker ; but no one can read the whole passage without feeling that the strength of the argument is with the fallen man, and without believing that Milton thought so too, and intended thus to question the theology which had been associated with the sin in Eden. Certainly if the doctrine of eternal doom is to be justified on grounds of an offered choice between two infinite allotments, we should be allowed to come into the world unprejudiced by nature—with no innate proclivity to the choice of death. What then shall be said to the continuation of our progenitor's lament, when the poet makes him exclaim, as he looks forward into the consequences of his wrong act,—

" Fair patrimony
That I must leave ye, sons ; O were I able
To waste it all myself, and leave ye none !
So disinherited, how would ye bless
Me, now your curse ! Ah ! why should all mankind
For one man's fault thus guiltless be condemn'd,
If guiltless ? But from me what can proceed,
But all corrupt, both mind and will deprav'd,
Not to do only, but to will the same
With me ? how can they then acquitted stand
In sight of God ? "

It is not in the light of a free choice between momentous possibilities that we are to regard the problem of life, as contained in the sacrificial scheme; but in the light of a forced choice, during an uncertain temporary probation, between infinite possibilities, and, still further, of a *predisposition* to a fatal choice which compels us to regard all the increase of the earth's inhabitants as a deplorable disaster.

And now, how reasonable must the system be which forbids us to call our birth into this glorious universe a boon? which makes us regard this life as a dreadful game, played for such a stake as immortal bliss or agony, when millions have no conception of what the issue is?—yes, when the game is played against them with loaded dice? For by the terms of the theory, they come into the world with the whole drift of their nature towards perdition,—impotent for goodness,—constitutional heirs of Hell. If this is the system of the divine government, ought the word “reasonable” ever to be brought into connection with it? Is there an unconverted man among us that would ordain it for this universe, if it could depend on his word? And as a man grows more Christian, more sensitive to sin, more abhorrent of injustice, more devout in his regard of equity, closer in sympathy with God, would he be more likely, or less likely, to call such a system into existence, if it should hang upon his decision?

Orthodox men themselves have seen all this, and have stated it more powerfully than I can do. It has embittered the life of thousands. It has wrung confessions of unrest and torture from the ablest preachers of the system,—men who would have suffered eternal torment themselves, before they would have installed over the earth such a polity as they have supported. Rev. Albert Barnes has said, with regard to the attempted solution of this subject, “I have read to some extent what wise and good men have written. I have looked at their theories and explanations. I have endeavored to

weigh their arguments; for my whole soul pants for light and relief on these questions. But I get neither; and in the distress and anguish of my own spirit, I confess that I find no light whatever. I see not one ray to disclose to me the reason why I am come into the world; why the earth is strewed with the dying and the dead; and why man must suffer to all eternity. I never have seen a particle of light thrown on these subjects that has given a moment's ease to my tortured mind; nor have I an explanation to offer, or a thought to suggest, which would be of relief to you. I trust that other men, as they profess to do, understand this better than I do, and that they have not the anguish of spirit that I have. But I confess, that when I look on a world of sinners and sufferers; upon death beds and grave yards; upon the world of woe, filled with hosts to suffer forever; when I see my friends, my parents, my family, my people, my fellow citizens,—when I look upon a whole race, all involved in this sin and danger, and when I see the great mass of them wholly unconcerned; and when I feel that God only can save them, and yet he does not do it,—I am struck dumb. It is all dark, dark, dark to my soul, and I cannot disguise it.”

It has driven others to the most fanciful and absurd assumptions and speculations, in order to adjust it to the innate moral instincts of humanity. Dr. Edward Beecher, who published in this city, a few years ago, his theory of a pre-existent fall, used this language with regard to all the accepted systems of Orthodoxy: “Every one of these theories involves God, and his whole administration, and his eternal kingdom, in the deepest dishonor that the mind of man or angel can conceive, by the violation of the highest and the most sacred principles of honor and right, and that on the scale of infinity and eternity.” He maintains that the dreadfulness of Orthodox theology can be accounted for, only on the supposition that Satan has corrupted the minds of its

chief thinkers by his arts, and poisoned Protestant divinity, in order to alienate men from the gospel. He says that unless we believe, as he does, that we all had a fair chance for salvation in a *former* life, and deliberately fell then, we cannot, on the grounds of Orthodoxy, hold to the equity of God. Regard this earth as a penal colony, a sort of Botany Bay in immensity, stocked with the souls of fallen angels, who have *one more* chance here to escape perdition and reach heaven,—and the sacrificial system, he thinks, can be bent into harmony with God's justice and our reason. We could believe with him, that the ethics of the sacrificial theology are applicable to a penitentiary globe, if men were only *told*, when they alight here, that they are on their second and last probation, to escape torture forever, in the great Bastille of the abyss.

But it is said that we have no right to reason from human qualities as to what infinite equity may do. Then, we answer, why attempt to show the reasonableness of eternal punishment at all? It is only by finding some common ground between the infinite nature and ours, that the reasonableness of the penalty can be discussed. You may say that a blind man can know nothing of art. Surely, then, you will not attempt to argue with him about the propriety of Raffaele's use of colors. If God is simply infinite power, and acts from sovereign pleasure,—or if infinite justice is something different in its nature from partial justice, as bitter is different from sweet, then it is impossible for us to argue from one to the other. But if God does not act from sovereign caprice, and if infinite justice is unspeakably purer in quality than finite justice, then the only way to conceive it or reason about it at all, is by ascending to it, and testing it by means of the best traits and principles that are known and established among men. The Bible only uses the *words* justice, purity, and love, in regard to our Maker. It gives us no external revelation

of the *things*. These we are to conceive and measure precisely by our knowledge of what such sacred qualities are in men. To smother the light of our own nature, in order to receive all our principles from revelation, is, therefore, as some one has said, to put out our eyes that we may study the stars. Moreover, we are sure that God made our reason and our hearts. We cannot be so sure that he is the author of the Bible. So that if we find insoluble discord between the two, there can be little question which must and ought to yield.

It has been said by a recent defender of the reasonableness of eternal punishment, that the important question by which to settle the matter is this: was the transgressor duly notified? He is in a foreign land, and is made fully acquainted with the law and its penalty. He is told that there will be no mercy for him after death. What now is it reasonable to expect. But surely the point is not, what is it reasonable for men to expect under a certain system? but is the system itself reasonable? Suppose it to be true that men are duly notified; that it is sounded in men's ears by nature and direct instruction, that no mercy is to be shown beyond the grave; that "day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge" of the dreadful doom,—can the system that *demand*s the notification be reconciled with equity? This must be done before the reasonableness of future endless punishment can be established. Are we told that it is never objected "to eternal salvation that it is too long to be the consequence and reward of this brief life." If by "eternal salvation" is meant eternal happiness, I certainly do not believe that it is to be the consequence of this brief life. I believe it is to be the incident of eternal goodness and fidelity,—the constant manna exuded into every soul that is open forever to the Infinite Love.

I find, also, this argument, partly stated and partly implied, in a recent discourse in favor of the doctrine we are consider-

ing. Sin is so terrible and disastrous an evil in the universe, —it tends so directly to break up all order, and practically to dethrone God, that he must deal with it by the most vigorous methods without any doting fondness, or leniency. But is this an argument in favor of forbidding men any opportunity of repentance beyond this life? Because sin is the greatest evil in the universe, *therefore*, shall God put men where they cannot help sinning against him, hating him, blaspheming him forever? One would think that if we follow principles of reason, and if sin is so dreadful a scourge and curse in the sight of Heaven, one of these two conclusions must be accepted: Either God will destroy the wicked, or leave the way open for contrition and return hereafter, that the amount of sin and damage might be lessened. Is God opposed to evil any less beyond the tomb, than here? Is sin, organized and instituted in an infernal society, less offensive and dreadful to God, than sin scattered, alleviated, half-dominant in souls, this side the grave? What does the infinite purity do, according to this argument, but ordain, in his opposition to evil, the only system that concentrates, and intrenches, and intensifies it forever in his realm? The argument is not that men choose, by a freedom that is constant, and that always has two paths open, to live away from God forever; and therefore ought steadily to be left to the natural misery which attends their choice: but that God, out of repugnance to sin, forces them into one compacted and ulcerous Hell, which can do nothing forever but poison one district of eternity with infamy and horror. Is this the opposition of a holy mind to evil, or is it vengeance?

We ought, however, to pay a little more particular attention to one of the phases of the argument just noticed. Is it unreasonable, we are asked, that God should give men the desire of their own hearts, — that he should suffer them to sin against him forever, if they will, and to reap the contin-

ual consequence of their rebellion and depravity? God surely, we are told, will not hinder us from having our chosen way. This, you will see, changes the basis of the argument for eternal punishment. It makes wretchedness the natural outflow of character, and not a judicial infliction. It is no longer an everlasting penalty for the sins of this life, but the steady issue of evil that is perpetually nourished in heart. It is impossible to maintain this ground consistently, without affirming also the perpetual freedom of the will, and so the constant possibility of restoration. For the moment you say that God forces the soul to remain in sin, or plunges it into circumstances hereafter that compel it to sin, and offer no possibility of rescue, you deny the ground from which the argument started, viz: that eternal misery is justified because men are suffered to have their own way.

This argument of eternal and deliberate sinfulness as the cause of eternal punishment, cannot be consciously held in harmony with the strict Orthodox system. It denies the infinite nature of sin; it supposes the probability of the repentance and restoration of myriads in the life to come; it implies that the divine love is no more withdrawn from degraded souls in the next life than it is here; it assumes that the order of the universe is maintained by spiritual laws which bind this life and the next in essential unity. We never find, therefore, an Orthodox writer who will be faithful to this principle after he announces it. He will not develop it through many sentences without striking into the old and savage doctrine of mechanical separations, inflicted misery, and an enforced and hopeless sinfulness. This is the way, for instance, in which a recent writer unfolds the principle that eternal wretchedness will consist in sinners being suffered to have their own way:—"God may say, this I will do. I will place all of you who sin in a world by yourselves, from which I and my friends will forever withdraw. . . .

He would take away, we must suppose, all their domestic relations, friendships, social pleasures, books, every pursuit of knowledge, music, travels, *quiet sleep*, morning and evening salutations of loved ones, and change the whole face of nature.”* All this forever! All this in a world devised by the infinite intellect with exquisite relation to purposes of torture! All this in a world from which the opportunity of available repentance is shut out! And all this justified on the ground that it is simply letting the sinner have his own way!

I find also the following description of eternal punishment in a sermon by a prominent clergyman, which appears in a volume just issued, entitled “The New York Pulpit in the Revival of 1858.” The sermon does not seem to have been written with any blasphemous purpose. It would be uncharitable to say that the writer of it is an insidious enemy of religion, who designed to represent the ruler of the world, whom Christians worship, as a hideous Moloch of infinite proportions. Apparently, the discourse was written to show that God is not devoid of interest in the welfare of men. Yet the following is a small portion of the picture with which the writer dares to pollute innocent paper, concerning the “everlasting curse,” which God reserves for those who pass into the next life without having made their peace with him:—“In reflecting upon the pangs of a guilty conscience, or the painful feelings of remorse, we may picture to ourselves something of the sufferings which a condemned soul will experience; but all this must result in a very feeble apprehension of the wrath to come. I have often endeavored to discover the reason why the term death was employed in this connection; why punishment, or torment, or everlasting burning, or some other term, not associated in our minds with so common an event as death, was not employed; and

* Rev. Dr. Adams’ Sermon on The Reasonableness of Endless Punishment, p. 22.

the only reason which I could frame was this: that the future suffering of the wicked is to be a mixture of living and dying agony! He is not dead; for he is suffering, and conscious of suffering. He is not living, in our sense of the word; but his fate is sealed — his work is done. Death was the word; for he was to experience something like the death struggle, and that of the severest kind: and that protracted for ever and ever!

“ ‘ He is to be banished for his life,
And yet forbid to die, —
To linger in eternal pain,
Yet death for ever fly.’

. . . Quietly, then, as the dead are laid in the grave, without one protest; passive as they remain, while becoming the food of worms — so helpless will the impenitent sinner fall into the fiery bed of the second death, and experience all his agonies. His soul will be passive when thrust into the inner prison, and no resistance will be made, while he is bound with chains that will never rust and never be broken; passive as the dead man now is, when you dress him in his winding sheet, and prepare him for the grave. The sinner can no more resist, when committed to the flames of everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels, than the dead man now resists when committed by living men to the tomb.” Let the hearer try to interpret to himself what eternity means; let him project this horror into it, and remember that, by the theory, it is the doom of the immense majority of the spirits that stream from this planet into the eternal world, as the ocean exhales vapor; let him bear in mind that the characteristic revelation of Christianity is the Infinite Love; and then let him try to conceive a more virulent blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, than the system which compels a man, whose heart doubtless is personally tender and sweet, to connect his name in Christian literature with such paragraphs.

But it is said, still further, that the everlasting punishment of the wicked of this earth is necessary to uphold the loyalty of angels in higher spheres. If God should suffer restoration in the next life angels might say, the punishment of evil will at some time end; come now let us sin. I could not have believed that this argument would be used, if I had not heard it and read it in print. Are we to believe, then, that sin is so pleasant to the imagination of the Heavenly hierarchy, that nothing but the certainty, yes the sight, of never-ending pain supports their virtue, and prevents a rush of cherubs and seraphs into the pleasures of iniquity. Have they no such sense of the moral stain and the spiritual dreadfulness of corrupt passions, and of sinking from God, that their virtue is secure? And is it by casting a shrewd eye at the torments of the pit, that new zeal is inspired for their service and hallelujahs? Does it not show the moral taint in the blood of the sacrificial system, when we see that the perfect sweetness and blessedness of good to the angelic nature and vision must be impeached, in order to make the unceasing flame of the pit harmonize with the landscape of eternity? I cannot believe that the angels of God, in whose presence there is "joy over one sinner that repenteth," are grateful for *such* an argument in support of the system that repentance is to be impossible to sinners in the world to come.

The reasonableness of eternal punishment as the penalty for the sins of a short life, has been defended, also, on the grounds of analogy. See, it is said, how much people suffer, under *human* government, for the neglect, or the sin, of a very short time. "A passenger by the steamer does not expect that, if notice of the hour of departure is communicated to him, the bell will toll the whole day, or even an hour for his dilatoriness! He may, by losing the voyage, change the prospect of life, and one half minute can decide whether it shall be so!" Again, "A day is not too short in which to commit a

crime which will be punished by imprisonment for life." Still further, "If a note has matured, bankruptcy is not arrested because the promisor received only one notice."*

Can a man believe that there is any real analogy here? In the first place, the best arrangements of human society are mechanical and clumsy, compared with the vital order we expect to find from the laws of God, that are not applied from without, but are inwrought with the organism of society. Suppose that the steamers were leaving a city, in which as the owners, and they only, were well aware, all the inhabitants that did not purchase tickets, were to be slowly starved to death, or consumed in the unspeakable torments of a slow fire. Should we not expect *then* that the notice would be very general, would be intense, would be unmistakable? Should we expect, in such a case, that the owners, if they had any humanity, would insist that the bell should not toll beyond the moment announced in the cool advertisement of departure? Yet how feebly does such a picture of steam packets about to leave a city, thus doomed, symbolize the relations between an interest in Christ here, and the eternal starving, the immortal pain, of all who go into the next world unprepared, and from whom God conceals, too, the knowledge of when their solemn death bell is to toll?

It is contended, however, that there are analogies to be drawn from the *divine* government in this world that help us to conceive the reasonableness of eternal misery as a penalty of God's law. It is no proof we are told that God will not execute such a doom because he is good, and because he is a Father. He kills men by tornadoes, and by pestilence, and by volcanic convulsions. His judgments are a great deep. "Men," it is said, "never discipline their children by drowning them, and burning them, and tearing them in pieces." "If we should see four hundred of God's children in such a scene

* Rev. Dr. Adams' Sermon, pp. 14, 15.

of indescribable agony and destruction as was recently witnessed on board the 'Central America,' we should say, the analogy between human and divine parentage surely is imperfect."* And thus we are to be made to feel that eternal punishment may not be out of harmony with God's methods of government and with his Fatherhood.

Now this argument, if it has any force, means this: God drowns men now, therefore he will do something infinitely worse than drown them forever. He allows them, sometimes, to be torn in pieces here; therefore it is not improbable that he has built a boundless inquisition, as the substructure of nature, where the rack will be forever plied, and which walls out every ray of light and hope. He kills men, perhaps in thousands, by an earthquake when the terror and the pains may last five minutes; therefore, it is reasonable to expect that he will shake the whole foundations of this world's order under them, and drop them by myriads into perpetual flame.

Take notice, brethren, with what unerring instinct the sacrificial theology runs to the anomalies and exceptions in God's government here, to bolster and enforce its theory of providence. Liberal Christianity reasons from the general laws and broad beneficence of the universe to the character of God,—from the wide beauty; the solid foundations for general good; the sun that shines on the evil and the righteous; the rain that falls upon the unjust and the just. But wherever there is an apparent irregularity, and a seeming inconsistency with the stable and generous bounty and order,—an eclipse, a pestilence, an accident, a catastrophe, a mystery, you will find the evangelical logic fastening on it, and attempting, not to harmonize it with the general light, but to centralize it as a principle. James Martineau has vigorously said of this argument: "Disorders are selected

*Rev. Dr. Adams' Sermon, p. 18.

and spread out to view as specimens of the divine government of nature; the mysteries and horrors which offend us in the popular theology, are extended by their side; the comparison is made, point by point, till the similitude is undeniably made out; and when the argument is closed, it amounts to this: Do you doubt whether God could break men's limbs? You mistake his strength of character; only see how he puts out their eyes!" Of course, the only effect of such logic, where it is thoroughly received, is to make men doubt whether there is a perfect providence over the universe.

As to these exceptional cases of sinking steam-ships, and wrathful volcanoes, and destructive earthquakes, and innocence involved in misery with the guilty, or by the guilty,—this is what liberal Christianity says: We do not pretend to show the *results* of perfect order here. We only claim to show the *laws* of a perfect order, and the tendency to it here. Orthodoxy shows neither a perfect order, nor the laws of it, nor any tendency to it: but anarchy in this world as the prelude to systematic, organized anarchy forever.

Consider this also, brethren. There is no more mystery in the death of four hundred on board the Central America, than in *all* death. The problem of ten thousand dying at once and together by an earthquake, is not essentially more perplexing than the problem of ten thousand dying at the same moment, apart from each other in an empire, by fever. We must remember that God does not estimate physical life as we do; because, in his view, there is no such thing as death. "If our bark sink, 'tis to another sea." God is educating us here in the knowledge of truth; to a mastery of the planet; and in the laws by which a perfect society and civilization may one day be established here. The human intellect is appointed to ride and rein the globe,—to bit it and break it into service like a passionate young horse. The condition is, that we shall sometimes be thrown and bruised. We are as

yet studying how to keep our seat, and what is the best gear, and what are the vices of the steed. And God does not let human life stand in the way of a thorough mastery of the ocean, or of the laws of health, or of the truth that society is one body. But he teaches us, through the wastes of wreck, and fire, and disease, and destitution, how serious are his laws; how majestic a thing is truth; how wide, how carefully, and how deep we must lay the foundations of a complete control of this planet, and of a wholesome social order. The victims of these accidents, and disasters, and social misarrangements, are wafted into the next life by surge, or fire, or pestilence, to the atmosphere of a perfect discipline, just as those are who go by ordinary processes of death. If sacrificial Orthodoxy be true, the whole economy of death, so irregular in its coming, often so sudden, cutting off so unequally in society the unspeakable privilege of existence in this final sphere of opportunity, is not only a mystery but a horror. Hardly could the devil have devised a scheme of more complicated inequality and more adroit malignity. But the principles of liberal Christianity do something towards bringing the exceptions and the general system of death into a providential plan, that is spotted all over with more light than gloom.

We must now come to another class of arguments by which men have supposed that the reasonableness of an everlasting doom can be supported. It is said, substantially, that revelation implies this doom and offers rescue. Is it unreasonable, we are sometimes asked, that men should suffer the eternal penalty God has affixed to his law, when he has *so clearly warned them* of the nature of retribution, and has provided, during this life, a method of rescue? Is this fair argument? Does *telling us about* a thing, or providing some means of rescue from a system, make *the thing*, the

system itself, reasonable? The fact that revelation implied the doctrine of eternal punishment, might show that those sinners who read and believe the Bible, should reasonably expect eternal punishment. But it does not establish the reasonableness of eternal punishment itself. In fact, such a doom may seem so repugnant to justice, that, if revelation is implicated with it, it will pull the Bible down, and make that too look unreasonable to an unperverted soul. As Sir James Stephen has said, "from this doctrine the hearts of most men turn aside, not only with an instinctive horror, but with an invincible incredulity; and of those who believe that it really proceeded from the lips of Christ himself, many are sorely tempted by it either to doubt the divine authority of his words, or to destroy their meaning by conjectural evasions of their force."

The defenders of this system often talk as though the whole Bible is built upon the doctrine that the broken law of God must be visited with everlasting misery; that the doom was denounced upon Adam; that the race lies hopeless under its shadow; and that all the provisions of redemption recognize and seek to remove it.

Now the old Testament is considered peculiarly the literature of the law. Yet you may search it and sift it, and you will find no text or paragraph, from the mouth or pen of historian, poet, legislator, prophet or priest, stating that the penalty of God's law is everlasting pain. The doctrine is a fiction, an invention, pure and simple, so far as the Old Testament is concerned. It was not told in Eden. Sinai did not blaze with it. David did not put it into any psalm. Isaiah did not hint it. There are not any disclosures about the details or destinies of a future life in any book written between the time of Adam and Malachi. The idea of eternal punishment came in to the Jewish mind and literature from heathen sources.

We considered, in the former discourse, the language of Jesus upon this theme, and showed how indecisive the original phrases are; how fragmentary the instruction is, that is saved to us from his talk; and how gorgeous and poetic was his ordinary speech. Now is the reasonableness of unending penalty for every sin, or for a life of sin, to be made out on the ground of a *clear and full* declaration of it, when there is no statement of it in the whole code of the Old Testament; when Jesus cannot be committed to it, if we interpret his language on that point as we are forced to on other points; and when the scheme with which the doctrine is connected, has to be disentangled from an obscure parenthesis of the Apostle Paul, in the 5th Romans, written twenty years after the crucifixion? The question is not now whether any of the Epistles teach that doctrine; but whether it is reasonable to inflict the penalty on the ground of a full revelation of it, when the Bible, through seven-eighths of its volume, does not threaten or state it.

It is said, still further, that the doctrine of unending suffering is inseparably intertwined with the Supreme Deity of Christ. If that doctrine is true, the other follows, we are told, as a matter of course. Would the Cross, we are asked, have been erected on this insignificant globe — would God have clothed himself in our nature and have died on Calvary, if the penalty denounced against sin were anything less than everlasting?

Brethren, I do not believe in the Supreme Deity of Christ, or that it is taught in any portion of the New Testament. I know that most of the noblest Christians of the world to-day, do believe it, and that thousands have connected it with an inspiring conception of life. But I should be very sorry to be convinced that many Trinitarian thinkers are ready to endorse the argument just stated, — that, unless eternal retri-

bution lies in wait for humanity, there could have been *no* motive for God to clothe himself in our nature, and reveal himself in Christ. It seems to me that the argument strikes at the root of the glory of the gospel.

In the first place, what necessary connection can be detected between the Incarnation and the infliction of never-ceasing punishment for the *sins of this life*? Why must the possibility of pardon stop at the grave? Why, if a soul can be saved from just wrath here, through faith in the atonement, cannot a like faith avail if a sinner offers it who has suffered for centuries in the abyss? Granting that the Incarnation shows the infinite evil of sin, how does it show that sin cannot be pardoned, through faith in the Incarnation, beyond the tomb?

Then, too, martyrs have died to save their friends and their country from oppression and dishonor; to resist the sway of a bad principle; to show their sense of the sanctity of truth. Could there have been no motive for Christ's Incarnation of thirty years, and his death on the cross if sin was not under a statute-penalty chronologically infinite? Is there no other measure of the intensity of evil, but the length of the misery noted against it in God's code?

Suppose that a rich philanthropist were asked to go out from his warm parlor and pleasant company, to some room in a dreary alley, on a cold night of winter,—being assured that his visit and influence would, doubtless, save a man, tempted and destitute, from committing burglary. He takes down the statute-book and sees that the penalty of the offence is imprisonment for ten years. No, he says: I can't undergo any suffering for that; if the imprisonment was to be for life, I would go. Suppose that a dreadful disease affecting the eyes, and inducing blindness, has broken out in a city, and a physician lives on a beautiful estate, beyond its walls, who has the power, by personal visitation and prescription, of

alleviating and arresting the malady. But by calculation he comes to the conclusion that the epidemic will spend its force in some twenty years, and that the children of those afflicted with it will be only partially blind. And so he determines with himself — I will not yield my comfort and risk my health, for there is not to be suffering enough to demand my intervention and the sacrifice of so much dignity.

Does not the Trinitarian logic provoke the criticism of such illustrations? Christ, then, was not willing to taste the cup of human suffering, which thousands of mortals have drunk to the dregs,—was not willing to live here thirty years and die in pain, merely to save civilization; to reveal God as infinite love to all races; to break the corporate power of evil; to inaugurate a system of redemption that should pour its blessed healing over history, through centuries, into the character of indefinite millions, and so on, by glorious spiritual sequence, into eternity! There could be no motive for the word to become flesh, if the doom over every sin was anything less than eternal agony! Yet, this is what has been recently said and published: “If men can atone for sin by ages of suffering, and then reach heaven, it is unreasonable, we say, to believe that this stupendous sacrifice would have been made.”*

Ah! Brethren of the sacrificial church, should you not beware how you thus imperil the glory of God; how you deny that charity is the law and the life of the Heavens; how you blacken thus with impure logic, the truth that self-sacrifice and living for others is the highest divineness, even within the holiest of holies in the universe? The doctrine of eternal punishment, which starts with implicating the character of God, ends by spoiling the glory of Christ's love. For it demands that we should consider his dignity as superior to his compassion; and to affirm that he would not have been

*Rev. Dr. Adams' Sermon, p. 33.

willing to suffer as much as thousands of finite natures have suffered, to lift from the world anything less than everlasting woe.

We contend, indeed, that if the doctrine of no repentance, no possibility of spiritual improvement among the degraded hereafter, be true, Christ was *not* the incarnation, or the manifestation here of God's eternal love. The Infinite is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. If He can forgive your sin to-day, He can forgive it ten thousand years from now. Your danger is in yourself,—the soiling of your soul, the tightening of your habits, the lowering of your desires, the weakening of your will, the antipathies you are forming and strengthening to the fellowship of the Infinite. If God in himself is to be less cordial and gracious to his children in the next life than he is here, or than Jesus was here, then we say that there has been no Incarnation of eternal love. Christ is not the expression of what God *is*, but is merely the mask of mercy which God wears towards our race during this brief life; and which he tears from his face when we pass beyond the tomb.

The horror of this thought ! Let us not deal any longer with it. This doctrine of eternal punishment for the sins of this life desecrates all sanctities, and sucks us down into an atmosphere thick with inspirations of sacrilege. It is a hideous dream. It was born in heathenism. It is a pagan nightmare, oppressing the slumber of our cowardly Christian thought. As a wise and eloquent writer has said, "it may be a sort of theory to be speculated about, to be coldly believed in, but it is not truth that can be taken home to the heart. *Coldly* believed in—did we say? No; *so* believed, it is not believed in at all. It is not *believed*, unless it is believed in horror and anguish; unless it sends its votary to his nightly pillow in tears, and wakes him every morning to sorrow, and carries him through every day burthened as with a world's calamity, and hurries him, worn out with apprehension and pity, to a premature grave! He who should grow

sleek and fat, and look fair and bright, in a prison, from which his companions were taken one by one, day by day, to the scaffold and the gibbet, could make a far better plea for himself, than a good man living and thriving in this dungeon world, and believing that thousands and thousands of his fellow prisoners are dropping daily into everlasting burnings. This system cannot be proved to be true, till nature, and life, and consciousness are all proved to be false ; till the ties of affection are proved to be all snares, and its sympathies all sorrows ; till the tenor of life is proved to be a tissue of lies, and the beneficence of nature all mockery, and the dictates of humanity all dreams and delusions." *

Let us leave its murky air before we close, and rise into the light of nature, and of the principles of the religion of Jesus. You will find no comfort in this healthier atmosphere for your sin, and any deliberate impiety of habit and heart. Everywhere God levels the bayonets of law around your evil. Everywhere he preaches to you that sin is your only foe, and that your sweetest life, your only stable peace, is in reconciliation with him, and openness to his holy spirit and love. But no attribute of his can be your enemy. You may be alien from him, and may resist him, and deny him, and curtain yourself from him by the thick blankets of your passions. But He cannot hate you. Your inward distress and torment are his medicine ; the distrust of him which your guilt breeds is one of his thrilling revelations. Do not believe that his justice can ever be your foe.

Much of the confusion in the reasoning and scheme that we have been speaking of, results from wrong conceptions of what the penalties of divine law and justice are. They are not troubles to come externally upon the soul, — terrors and forfeits from which we must be relieved by a foreign expiation. They are internal, vital, and affect the quality of the soul

* Rev. Dr. Dewey.

itself. They are analogous to the retributions of ignorance upon the mind, and the penalties of carelessness and excess upon the body. No one dreams that the sin of an unexercised intellect, of gross ignorance, can be pardoned only through faith in the sacrifice of some incarnation of the Perfect Reason. No one expects to be told that the violation of the bodily laws can be forgiven by the Infinite Creator only on the ground that some perfect physician honors them by obedience and death. It is by opening the mind persistently to God's published truth, and by conformity to the discovered physiological order, or the reception of the adopted remedy, that the mind and the frame experience new life. And our souls are redeemed, not by or through any expiation, on account of which penalties are lifted, but by reception of divinely given spiritual truth and consecration of will that push away penalties by wholesome life.

The first penalty of the violation of God's law is the shadow cast before the soul when we turn our back upon it. The next is the change in the quality of the spirit itself,—a change which alters the universe to us— if we live steadily in its shadow. Turn towards the law again, face its splendors, and the shadow falls behind you. God's justice is your help and light then. Although you cannot escape, for a long time, the inward penalties of your former violation, it helps you to eradicate them; and you are at peace with the infinite, personal source of law.

Brethren, we need a religion that shall have no fear of the justice of God forever, but boundless confidence in it rather. It is heathen to ask for an interest in Christ, in order to be shielded from God's law. If you are a sinner, seek deliverance from yourself, but not from God's law or from God. Face His law. Ask for its searchings and scourge. Even if you are about to die, be not afraid of infinite justice. To slip away from it would be your only danger. It is inseparably mixed

with God's love, as the gravitation of the sun with its light and heat.

Pray that you may come into harmony with it, for it is the basis and the strength of all order, here and forever. The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul. Sweeter are his judgments than honey or the honeycomb. By them are his servants warned, and in keeping of them there is great reward.

TRINITARIANISM

NOT THE

DOCTRINE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

TWO LECTURES DELIVERED,

PARTLY IN REVIEW OF

Rev. Dr. Huntington's Discourse on the Trinity,

IN THE

HOLLIS STREET CHURCH, JANUARY 7 & 14, 1860,

BY T. S. KING.

PRINTED BY REQUEST.

BOSTON:

CROSBY, NICHOLS AND COMPANY,

117 WASHINGTON STREET.

1860.

Geo. C. Rand & Avery, Printers, 3 Cornhill, Boston.

LECTURE I.

“For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many;) but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him. Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge.” — 1 COR. viii. 5, 6, 7.

I SHALL ask you to consider with me, in two lectures, the Scriptural evidence for the church-doctrine of the Trinity. It will be accepted, I think, as forcible evidence that I have no strong tendency to disputation about this doctrine in which the general faith of Christendom is moulded, if I say that, during a ministry here of more than eleven years, and an experience of fifteen years as a preacher, I have never written a discourse or lecture, or any portion of one, bearing directly upon it. I have not felt, and do not now feel, a desire to attack, or call in question, the forms in which the majority of Christians cast, or imagine that they cast, their faith concerning the constitution of the Infinite Personality.

It is chiefly by the instinct of defence that I am moved to ask attention here on the controverted doctrine. In common with thousands, I have read recently the elaborate discourse by a clergyman long prominent and honored in the Unitarian body, now preacher to the Cambridge University, in which he sets forth, not merely his belief in that dogma, but his conviction that it supplies the only scheme of faith that will produce a working church, a sound piety, and even a lasting and practi-

cal belief in the personality of God. Fresh interest will be excited, of course, in the great subject at issue between Trinitarians and Unitarians, by this transit of an eminent preacher from the minority to the majority; and we shall do nothing more than pay proper respect to the volume in which our faith is cast off and arraigned, as well as to our own system of belief, if we make serious inquiry into the Scriptural supports for the doctrine of the Trinity.

The clergyman of whose book I speak, lays great stress on the fact that the Trinity is so generally believed in Christendom, and has been the faith of all centuries. In all ages of the church, he says, "the strong thinkers" have been, upon this point, "essentially and persistently as one." And he quotes the names of twenty-eight prominent theologians belonging to different ages, countries, and sects, representative men, who are divided by no differences on this article of belief. Yet, in looking at the list attentively, a very interesting fact appears; no name is quoted earlier than the fourth Christian century. Where are the names of the fathers before the year 300, who were sound upon this dogma? What great teacher or saint, during the first six generations after the apostles, can be produced, who is in accord with any strict and sound Trinitarian theologian of the modern Protestant church? The evidence from general belief, from the consent of thinkers in different countries and divisions of the church, however even then it would fail of being conclusive, would be of immensely greater force if we could find the formulæ of modern times endorsed and published by the teachers *nearest* the *apostolic* age. But what if that evidence begins to grow faint as we ascend beyond the year 300? What if, above that period, no theologian or preacher can be found who has framed a definition of the Trinity which would be called safe by any ordinary council in this country?

Now this is the fact. Of the twenty-eight theologians whom Dr. Huntington quotes, the two most learned ones in the

English branch of the church are Dr. Cudworth and Bishop Bull. Yet Dr. Cudworth affirms that the Christian fathers of the first three centuries plainly taught the subordination of Christ to the Father, and did not believe in any such coequality as would exclude inferiority and dependence. And Bishop Bull, who has written the most able defence ever made by an Englishman of the Trinitarian dogma, though holding the theory of subordination, declares that almost all the Christian "writers before Arius' time (320) seem not to have known anything of the invisibility and immensity of the Son of God; and that they often speak of him in such a manner as if, even in respect of his divine nature, he was finite, visible, and circumscribed in place." * Petavius, too, a Jesuit, proves by a

* I do not mean to say that the earlier fathers of the church taught the system which usually goes by the name of Unitarianism. It would be unjust and foolish to conceal the fact that their scheme of thought was very different, — almost as distant from Unitarianism as it is from Calvinistic Orthodoxy. Nor can any one deny that after the year 200 there was a steady tendency towards such formulæ as were voted by the councils of Nicæa and Constantinople. But I do not understand how anybody can read the full collection of the evidence by men hostile to Unitarianism, — by Petavius, Burton, Dörner, Bunsen, — and claim that the Christian writers before the time of Origen held any scheme of the Divine Personality that is in harmony with the popular Trinitarianism of to-day.

Dörner acknowledges that Origen (who died A. D. 254) was the first who tried to solve the contradictions of his predecessors as to the substance and rank of the Son, and to put the doctrine of the Logos in a shape that would harmonize with Trinitarianism. To Origen we owe the dogma of the eternally proceeding generation of the Son from the Father. Yet how far Origen was from holding the Trinitarianism of to-day, may be seen when we quote his declaration that "Prayer, properly speaking, is to be offered to the Father only. We first bring our prayers to the only Son of God, the First-born of the whole creation, the Logos of God, and pray to him, and request him, as a High Priest, to offer up the prayers which reach him, to the God over all, to his God and our God." He declares, also, that "the Holy Spirit was made by the Logos, the Logos being older than the Spirit." No wonder that Prof. Burton calls this "an unfortunate passage!" Still further he states his belief that "the power of the Father is greater than that of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. That of the Son is greater than that of the Holy Ghost; and again the power of the Holy Ghost surpasses that of all other holy things."

We might quote a chain of passages from Clement, of Rome, who touches the life time of St. Paul, to Lactantius, A. D. 310, to prove that not one of the fathers within these dates was acquainted with the Orthodox Trinitarianism of modern times, which claims to be the faith "once delivered to the saints." But it might, perhaps, be said or thought that we did not fairly represent the faith of those early centuries by the

thorough discussion of the subject, that the great Christian writers of the three first centuries believed that the Supreme God brought the Son into existence to employ him as his instrument in the formation of the world. And Petavius accuses them of entertaining thus opinions unworthy of the dignity of the Son, and altogether absurd. Still another Trinitarian scholar, M. Jurieu, a learned French Calvinist, maintains the position that the teachers of the first three

extracts. It may be accounted of more value if we quote the testimony of Bunsen, whose learning will not be questioned, and who will not be suspected of partiality for Unitarian conceptions of Christianity. In the first volume of his great work, "Christianity and Mankind," the history of the church is rapidly sketched in outlines of the thought of the chief theologians to the close of the seventh generation from the Crucifixion. And he tells us that "the doctrinal system of the Ante-Nicene church is irreconcilable with the letter and authority of the formularies of the Constantinian and in general of the Byzantine councils, *as much as these are with the Bible and common sense.*"—(Preface, page 19.) The problem of the divine nature, he affirms, was solved "illogically and unhistorically" by the councils of the fourth century "The latter view having triumphed by a persecuting and often unscrupulous majority, the victorious hierarchical party canonized, in the course of the two next blood-stained centuries, the confession of its intellectual bankruptcy into a confession of faith, and made submission to it the condition of churchmanship and the badge of eternal salvation."—(Page 81.) Again, "if one reads all that the old Protestant schools have said on it (the first verse of John's gospel) during these 250 years, there is scarcely anything, philosophically speaking, but chaff to be found in it. The text ('the word was God,') is explained by theological terms and formularies, which at least must be taken to be conventional, till they are shown to be the necessary and only possible deductions from the sacred text. Now this has never been proved; and I have no hesitation in saying that no honest and intelligent criticism can prove them to be sufficiently warranted, biblically or philosophically, for exclusive acceptance; nor are they strictly reconcilable with the true, genuine, uninterpolated writings of the fathers of the first, second, and third centuries. I speak advisedly; for I have read these writings with a sincere desire to understand and appreciate them; and in judging them I use nothing but the liberty, or rather I exercise the duty, of a Protestant Christian, searching for truth."—(Page 408.) Once more: "The theological system built up since (the time of Origen) is conventional; it is based upon misinterpretation and upon council formularies, which were a wall between the theologian and scripture as well as reason. These formularies of the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, are the confession of a failure, and have made the most sublime part of our theology conventional and hollow."—(Page 307.)

Professor Huntington is as unfortunate also, in claiming a persistent unity among those who have defended the Trinity since the fourth century, as in appealing to the universal voice of the church in its behalf. There are, and have always been, differences, as marked between defenders of the Trinity in their conceptions of that dogma, as any that separate Trinitarians from Unitarians.

centuries held the inequality of the Son with the Father, and his birth in time, and asserts that the mystery of the Trinity remained without its right form or shape until the council of Constantinople, in 381. — (See Emlyn's Tracts, vol. II., pp. 277 et seq.)

Now, of what importance is the concurrent belief of the great branches of the Christian church in a doctrine which begins to fade just as we approach the centuries when the tradition must have been purest — if it is only after Christianity was "improved and beautified by synods and councils" that the chorus commences? The fact is, the only creed known to the first three centuries was this: "I believe in One God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried: he descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost: the Holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and the life everlasting. Amen." Not a word here of the Triune Deity, of the constitution of the Divine Personality, of coequal constituents in the Infinite Oneness; not a word of any feature of that clear Trinitarian scheme of thought, with its adjuncts and corollaries, in which alone Dr. H. sees "the sublime working-scheme of revelation and redemption," and which he says has been so widely believed, that it is "irreverent towards Providence" to suppose that it is "unfounded in revelation and truth."

All this, of course, is of trifling consequence, compared with the testimony of the New Testament. Here the question must be brought for settlement, whatever the teaching of the church up to the year 100 may be. But it is right to sift all sweeping statements about the unanimous voice of the church

in favor of modern Trinitarianism; for they are not true. The last fifteen hundred years are of immeasurably less consequence than the first three hundred. And it was not until the year 325 that a creed was formed, affirming the eternity of Christ; while no creed establishing the proper Deity of the Holy Ghost was voted until A. D. 381. There were most strenuous and bitter struggles and contests against these dogmas. And yet neither of these creeds contains any such statement as that the Father and the Son, or the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, constitute numerically but one God. This declaration was reserved for a still later period, during the settling shadows of the Middle Age.

Let us come then to the testimony of the New Testament. Do the documents that constitute the New Testament reveal a Trinity of coequal persons, emerging from the ineffable and veiled Godhead, so that we can know of no Deity independent of that threefold distinction? This is the doctrine which is emphatically stated to us in the volume to which I have already alluded, as the basis of the Christian religion and revelation. Now let us take notice that the question is not concerning the mystical nature, or even the Divinity of Christ. The question is not whether the New Testament reveals the pre-existence, the miraculous birth, the superhuman and even superangelic rank of Jesus; nor whether it declares to us that the Divine quickening and grace have been poured into humanity through a nature interpenetrated and transfused with the Divine essence, so that he was the image of God, and poured out the Spirit of God upon the world.

We allow points to be confused, too often, in conducting this inquiry, which ought rigidly to be kept separate. Proofs are often passed to the credit of the Trinitarian formulæ, which weigh only in behalf of the super-earthly origin and rank of Jesus. I freely admit that no one can fairly read some of the books of the New Testament, and deny that they

teach the supremacy of Christ in the hierarchy of created natures, and the dependence of the world upon his voluntary assumption of human nature for its spiritual life. But the passages that establish this view are not pertinent, let us remember, as proof of the Trinitarian doctrine. It is a very delicate and very difficult matter to shape a statement of the origin, rank, and work of Christ which shall harmonize all that the New Testament books present to us concerning his pre-existence, his birth, his relation to the Infinite Spirit when here, his exaltation, and his position in the conscious universe throughout eternity.

If ordinary Unitarianism has not fairly interpreted and fully reproduced the predominant Scriptural doctrine on this point, let it be impeached by any sect or theologian who is willing to stand by those documents, disconnected from any other creed, and without additions from church history. But let us see to it that lines of evidence are not crossed, and that proofs are not carried over to one doctrine which can be rightfully summoned only for another.

The simple point is this: Does the New Testament clearly reveal the Tri-personality or Threeness of the Godhead, so that, as Christians, our idea of the Unity of God must be composed of three constituents? and do Christ and the Holy Ghost, coequal in dignity, personality, eternity, and infinity, form two of those constituents? Is this conception of the Godhead the core of the Christian faith, as we gather it from the New Testament, so that we may call it "the sublime working-scheme of Revelation?"

If it is, of course one thing is certain: we shall find it distinctly asserted, in the pages that bear the first impress of the organic thought of the church. It should be in their warp. Revelation, certainly, will not attempt to work independent of its "working-scheme."

And let us look first at the three earliest Gospels,—Matthew, Mark, and Luke. In all the teaching of Christ through-

out their pages, do we find any declaration of a threefoldness in the Divine personality or essence? Not a word. The Jews were Unitarians. They needed the disclosure of the Trinity in positive and explicit speech, if they were to be drawn at all to belief in it; and yet, throughout all the conversations of Jesus up to the Crucifixion, as recorded in the first three Evangelists, no hint is given of any doctrine other than the old Hebrew faith in the absolute oneness of the First Cause. The Trinitarian formula is not mentioned. The highest doctrine which Christ announces is his Sonship,—that he is the Anointed, the Son of the living God. Now, whatever this means, it is never for a moment connected with any claim of equality with the Father, or any recognition of other than constant spiritual dependence; nay, it is not even connected with any statement of his pre-existence.

Not only does Jesus, in these biographies, affirm and imply by his teaching and his whole spiritual attitude the doctrine of the Unity of God as the Jews had always conceived it; not only does he declare that “there is none good but one, that is God,” and give a model of prayer, which recognizes no second object, or even medium of worship; not only does he conceal from his disciples the mystery of a union of two natures in his own personality, and struggle and pray in Gethsemane, as though he needed strength from the Father, and not from an equal Deity veiled within his own form; but he expressly declares that his knowledge is limited. “Of that day and that hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven; neither the Son, but the Father.” One would think that it would be difficult to bring such a passage into fellowship with the requirements of the Trinitarian definition. Dr. Huntington puts it to an entirely original use. He tells us, “For him who has all power in heaven and earth to say, ‘Of that day and hour knoweth not the Son,’ is condescension indeed! It brings God near as in his unabated attributes he could not be brought.” “*Condescension!*” But is it true? Must

not the Son, who is "rooted for ever in the Godhead," be omniscient? And if so, could Christ honestly say that the Son, whom he discriminates from man, and from angels, is ignorant of a date in the future spiritual history of man?

This strange silence of the first three Evangelists as to Christ's Deity, or a Trinity, did not fail to attract the notice of the earliest church-fathers after the doctrine of the Trinity was established. Chrysostom, the eloquent preacher of the year 400, did not hesitate to say that Matthew, Mark, and Luke did not comprehend the depth of the Gospel. They were "like little children who hear, but do not understand what they hear, being occupied with cakes and childish playthings." It was John, he said, who taught "what the angels themselves did not know before he declared it." The doctrine of the proper divinity of Christ, he maintained, was not published at first, "because the world was not advanced to it. Matthew, Mark, and Luke did not state what was suitable to Christ's dignity, but what was fitting for their hearers." And several of the other fathers declared that the proper divinity of Christ was thus concealed through his personal ministry, in order to elude the vigilance and hostility of Satan. They generally maintained that it was John to whom was committed the unfolding of the Deity of Jesus.

And to-day the principal quotations against Unitarianism drawn from the Gospels are selected from that of John. Yet where is there a statement of the Trinity — that there are three coequal persons in the Godhead — to be found in it? Is it in the first chapter, among those vast vague verses, that tell us "in the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God?" But the Holy Spirit is not mentioned there. Those verses, if they are obscure as to their positive philosophical contents, are plain enough as to what they exclude. And if they were written to unfold or suggest to us the mystery of the Divine nature, the

Trinity must be dropped as an Evangelical doctrine, for the third personality is not even hinted.

But we shall be referred, perhaps, to the conversation in the 14th, 15th, and 16th chapters, where Jesus promises his disciples to send the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, by which their minds shall be enlightened, and he shall be glorified, after his crucifixion. But is there any allusion in those chapters to the Comforter as a portion of a three-fold Divine Essence, of which Jesus himself was another portion?

Nay, grant that a separate personality and divine rank must be ascribed to the Comforter, are we not forbidden to imagine that an infinite Tri-personality is to be discerned in those chapters, by the very terms in which the office of the Comforter is outlined? "He shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; . . . he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you." Is this a revelation of a person coequal with the Father in the Godhead? Perhaps Dr. Huntington will listen more attentively to a voice urging this argument from the ancient church. Novatian, an ante-Nicene father, quotes this same passage, and says, "if he received of Christ the things which he declared, Christ is then greater than the Comforter; for he would not receive from Christ, unless he were less than Christ." In another passage of this discourse, Dr. Huntington, speaking of the Holy Spirit, says, "if he is personal, no considerable number of men have ever been found to question that he is God, nor to hesitate at the Tri-unity." We cannot understand the logic, even if the fact of the separate personality be demonstrated. Indeed, the writer above quoted, and the "considerable number of men," in the first six generations after the apostles, who believed in the separate personality of the Spirit, never heard of such a hypothesis as Tri-unity.

Moreover, if the four chapters in John, of which we are speaking, reveal that doctrine, it was the *first time* that Jesus had unfolded it to his personal followers. It must, therefore,

have stood out pre-eminent over all other addresses and interviews in their minds and memory. Is it not strange, therefore, if that was the truth they derived from it, that none of the other evangelists has reported it, or any fragment from it? Surely, whatever else they might have left unrecorded, they would not have omitted *that*, — surely it would not have been left to a single reporter of the conversation of Jesus to save the basis doctrine, the very “working-scheme” of revelation for the world.

The Gospel of John abounds, equally with the others, in expressions of the dependence and inferiority of Christ. The strongest language in it, used by Jesus himself, which is in harmony, at any point, with the Trinitarian doctrine, is in the verses, “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father,” and “I and my Father are one.” Yet if the other equally strong language, “My Father is greater than I,” “The Son can do nothing of himself,” “As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself,” were not sufficient to check the Trinitarian inference, another passage is conclusive, by showing in what sense Jesus used that mystic form of speech. He prays for all that believe on him, “that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: . . . *I in them*, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.” Is not this just as strong an argument for the lifting of *believers* into participation in the Godhead, as the other verse is for lifting Christ to that awful height?

Let me say, however, that I do not believe the Gospel of John teaches the mere humanity of Jesus. I admit that many Unitarian interpreters have put a forced construction upon much of its affirmation, to make it accord with the lowest form of Unitarian belief. To me it declares plainly the pre-existence of Christ as a super-mortal nature, dearly beloved of God, made of the Divine substance, who came to declare God and reflect him, as it were, in a darkened world, and to

infuse the divine spirit and love by a life of obedience and sacrifice in the world, as the organic centre of a sanctified society on earth.

But how different is this from the Trinitarian doctrine, which is never stated in the whole of John's Gospel, or even from the conception of the proper Deity of Christ. Dr. Huntington tells us, in one of the most surprising statements of his volume, that if we believe on the authority of John's Gospel that Christ "came forth" from the Father, "came down," "left the glory he had with the Father before the world was," acknowledging thus a personal pre-existence, we must see that the passages "establish a proper Divinity." (He means Deity.) He tells us that there is no middle ground. It is just this kind of hasty and indiscriminate assertion that has been the bane and disgrace of Scriptural interpretation. Instead of striving by patient and exhaustive study of the facts of a book to see what its theory really is, theologians have often narrowed a controversy, or an interpretation, to one of two hypotheses, not stopping to conjecture whether, by refraining from hypotheses and looking steadily at the facts, the Biblical doctrine might not turn out different from any of the moulds of their fancy or pre-judgment. I do not believe that there is a single sect which to-day reproduces fairly the prominent points of the apostolic theology, and the conception of St. John's Gospel, or that even thoroughly understands it,—and simply for the reason that interpretation begins with one of two theories in view, theories which have grown up since the apostolic time, and were not dreamed of then. Any man who wishes to restore in his own faith or preaching the scheme of Christology in St. John's Gospel, must abandon the Trinitarian conception, and the equal deity of God the Son; drop all such notions as that Christ must be God if he is not merely man; and gain a view of him as the imparting agent of the Divine life from God to man, and to that end leaving a native glory and joy, in which

he was the dearest but dependent object of Infinite affection. That Gospel is equally opposed to the humanitarian and Trinitarian theory.

But before we pass from the testimony offered by the four biographies, we must not overlook the passage at the close of Matthew, which is regarded as a very strong support, if not the corner-stone of the New Testament evidence of the Trinity. I mean the command of Jesus: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Dr. H. lays great stress on this passage. It is the text of his discourse. Jesus uttered it just as he was passing from the world, to his Apostles, and in it he gave the substance and sum of his religion. "That central and sublime verity," we are told, "on which the whole matter of the Gospel rested, was to be condensed into a brief, comprehensive, significant sentence." "Our faith is summoned to the three persons of the one God." "There is nothing in the situation, the relation, or the contents of the Divine formula to suggest that either of the three is less than the others, or less than God."

But now read that formula in the light of these statements. Does it state that such is the constitution of the Godhead? Does it say that these are three personalities, included in or issuing from the Infinite substance, making it three to human thought, and yet only one numerically and in essence? It says nothing of the kind. It does not imply or hint any doctrine of the absolute personality. It does not commission the Apostles to baptize, as Dr. Huntington asserts, "in the Triune name." It offers a formula which suggests the great forces of the Christian religion, the Fatherhood of God, the Sonship of Christ, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and is silent as to explanations. Will any Trinitarian scholar say, that hearing those words uttered for the first time, he could attribute

no other meaning to them than a declaration of the mysterious three-foldness or tri-personality of one God? They may mean any one of a score of conceptions, and what particular meaning they bear must be determined, the first time we hear them, by the general system of thought of the person from whom they are published.

Now this is *the first time* that such a formula appears in the teaching of Christ. It is the *only* time it occurs in the whole New Testament; and are we to fasten at once upon a significance developed four hundred years afterwards, and say *that* is the only sense it can possibly bear? It has been asserted that this must represent the Godhead, because baptism would not be offered in any other name than the Highest. But the Jews were baptized into Moses, and the Samaritans were baptized into Mt. Gerizim. Some have asked this question: Would Christ, if he is not God — if he is only a man — have associated himself with God in such a solemn phrase and symbol? But suppose that he is far more than man, though entirely subordinate to God, and is the channel through which the Infinite character and grace are published on the earth. *Then* is it surprising that his name should be interwoven with the paternal name and the quickening spirit in a formula of baptism into his religion and church? Paul says, “I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, *and the elect angels*, that thou observe these things!” Here created natures are put in fellowship with the Almighty in a religious statement. The Apostles say in one of their letters missive, in the book of Acts, “It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, *and to us*.” What do we say to this intertwining of Divine and mortal judgment in one phrase? Paul says, “In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, *and my spirit*.” Did he make himself equal to Christ? The salutation in the book of Revelation is, “Grace be unto you, and peace from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come; *and from the seven spirits which are before*

his throne; and from Jesus Christ." Are the seven spirits part of the Infinite Personality?

It has been a favorite position with those who have gone deeply into the argument for the support of the Trinity, that Christ reserved the doctrine during his earlier ministry. His hearers and his intimate disciples, it has been said, could not have borne the splendor and the terror of the truth that the Incarnate God, the second member of the Infinite Three, was in familiar converse with them, instructing their ignorance, healing their sick, reclining at their tables, taking their little children in his arms. In order to give his religion the opportunity to mingle itself naturally with the feeling and thought of Palestine, Christ, it is affirmed, was obliged to veil his glory till the close of his earthly manifestation, and therefore it is, we are told, that throughout the bulk of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, so little appears that seems to be in harmony with the proper Deity of Christ, or with the Trinity.

If this is so, of course the revelation will be the more potent and dazzling when it is made. The contrast will be the greater on account of the former darkness; and we shall surely find *all* the Evangelists in agreement as to the time and form of the stupendous announcement,—the falling of the veil that had screened the Infinite from their gaze. We shall find unmistakable traces in the sacred books of the date and method of that disclosure.

Some have supposed that Jesus made it at the Last Supper, on the institution of the communion rite, in the conversation about the Comforter and the prayer that followed, as related in the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th chapters of John. But strangely not a word of that discourse or prayer is narrated by either of the other biographers in their accounts of the Supper. We can explain this discrepancy and omission on no other theory than the Trinitarian hypothesis just stated. If the disclosure of the Deity of Jesus and the Triune constitution of the Infinite was first clearly made at that time,

is it possible, I ask you, that it should have been overlooked by the three Evangelists who *first* wrote the account of Jesus' ministry, — and that it should have been reserved for John to recall it, who did not prepare his Gospel, according to the admission of Trinitarian scholars, until a generation later? Can *any* satisfactory answer be made to this objection? It seems to me to shut out the possibility of explanation.

Others maintain that it was after the resurrection, and just before the ascension, that Christ unfolded the mystery of his person and of the Godhead. The announcement was made in the formula of the great commission — “Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” Still we should expect to find *all* the Evangelists agreeing in the disclosure of the mystery. We should expect to find it the focal point of light and power on their pages. But we are struck again with the fact that only Matthew records this formula as having been used by Jesus. Neither Mark, Luke, nor John alludes to the utterance of any such phrase by Christ at the close of his career, or any statement concerning his own Deity or the Threefoldness of God. If, as Dr. H. tells us, “in every respect, it was the natural and fitting time for the decisive, explicit communication of the one essential characteristic truth of his religion;” if now “we listen with breathless anxiety to hear what Christianity means;” feeling that “now, if ever, Christ will distinctly proclaim the doctrine of Christendom;” and especially if this doctrine, so solemnly uttered, be the Trinity, which has *never before* been stated by Jesus to his disciples, is it possible that it should have been omitted by Luke and John, as carelessly as if no such conversation had taken place? Is it possible that Mark should have recorded the general command of Christ to teach and baptize, but have left, as he did, the Trinitarian formula out of his record? Do not these facts prove as clearly as moral demonstration can be made out, that the baptismal command did not represent to

the Apostles the doctrine of the Trinity, for the first time clearly stated by Jesus to his followers?

And yet the strength of the case is not exhausted yet. If the phrases of the great commission, at the close of Matthew's Gospel, was the comprehensive statement of the Trinity into which believers were to be baptized,—if it was the new and clear revelation of Jesus, at the conclusion of his ministry, of a mystery concealed wholly or in part from his disciples until then,—we shall surely see the effect of it in the first preaching of the Apostles, after Jesus passes from the world. The Book of the Acts will be one continual and blazing commentary upon that revelation, last made to the apostles, of the Deity of Christ and the Trinity of the Godhead. If the first three Gospels are obscure, that book will be luminous, and will crush any possibility of Unitarianism in the church. Some Trinitarian scholars, indeed, have maintained that it was not till after Christ's ascension, till the day of Pentecost, when the Spirit was given to the Apostles, that they were fully enlightened as to the great mystery of the Godhead.

But now what shall we say when all the speeches of the Apostles in Jerusalem, just after Pentecost, contain no statement of the Deity of Jesus, and no allusion to a threefold personality, or any mystery in the constitution of the Godhead? And these were sermons preached to *Unitarian Jews*. Read those opening chapters of the Acts, and see how the burden of the speeches is the resurrection of Jesus, "a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you," by the power of God, and his exaltation by the Almighty to be the Prince and Saviour of men. Would it have been possible for Peter and Stephen, with the truth just revealed to their minds of the Deity of Jesus and his equality with the Father, to make the addresses recorded in the first half of the Book of Acts,—addresses from which hundreds must derive their first impressions of Christ's rank,—which not only do not state

the doctrine, but from which it could not be inferred, and whose theology would not be considered sound and evangelical, if made by a young Orthodox candidate before the mildest Orthodox council of New England?

But follow every Apostle in his ministry through the pages of the Book of Acts. In no sermon or speech of any speaker, in any missionary tour, is the Deity of Christ stated. Jesus has been raised from the dead; Jesus is the Christ; Jesus has been appointed judge of the world, and is to return to rule over Christendom; the Divine Spirit is given as the result and seal of faith in Christ's Messiahship;—I ask you to read the Book of the Acts through continuously, and see if these are not the exhaustive ideas of the Apostles in their first preaching of Christ to the world. We are told that the baptismal phrase was given by Christ to the Apostles, at the close of his ministry, as a statement of the Trinity, and the creed into which converts must be baptized. Yet, not a single instance is recorded in all Peter's and Paul's tours of the use of that formula in baptism. That ordinance was always administered in the name of Christ alone. The phrase, "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost" does not occur in the whole record of the early missionary preaching of the first teachers of the church. And if that Book of Acts should be taken out of the New Testament, and handed over as a dictionary to a theological professor in Princeton or Andover, the Trinitarian creed of either of those institutions could not be drawn from it by any recombination of its verses.

It has often been said that Paul's speech on Mars Hill, the first publication of the Gospel in the most cultured city of Europe, is entirely Unitarian. It is so unevangelical that it could not to-day be accepted as a Tract, to be issued by the Tract Society, as a statement of Christianity, any more than the Sermon on the Mount could. It has not in it any of what are called the distinguishing doctrines of grace. And all the speeches are equally destitute of the Trinitarian doctrine. It

is doubtful even if the pre-existence of Jesus, his superiority in rank to a great prophet supernaturally raised from the dead, and made the Spiritual Priest and ruler of the race by the Almighty, could be gathered from that whole book. However this may be, the doctrine of the oneness and simplicity of God, as the Jews had always understood it, is not disturbed by any allusion.

The only reference, in the sermon of Dr. Huntington, to the Book of Acts, is his quotation of this passage from one of the addresses recorded in it: "The God of our fathers raised up Jesus; him hath God exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins." On this passage Dr. H. makes this comment: "Is it not right to *ask* him who gives repentance and forgiveness of sins, to do it?" Grant it; but does the asking of spiritual help from a glorified nature whom "God hath exalted," prove that being a mysterious, indefinable part of a threefold God? Suppose that the Apostles thought it right to pay spiritual honor to the risen Jesus, does that prove him to have been in their conception the uncreated Deity? They certainly believed him to be the Son of God in a very exalted and peculiar sense; but the question before us is, did they believe him to be *God the Son*? And further, did they believe him to be one of a Triune Infinite, each equal to the other, each possessing a separate consciousness, and all forming but one Substance and Will? Until evidence and passages are brought to establish this point, the needs of the Trinitarian position are not met.

And on this point, we repeat, the Book of Acts is not only silent, but opposed. It must be accounted opposed, if it is simply silent. For, according to the Trinitarian hypothesis, here is the great mystery announced by the ascending Christ as he has closed his ministry of humiliation, that he has been God veiled in the flesh, and that the Father and the Holy Spirit are coequal with him in a union which makes only one being;

and the Apostles, educated rigid Unitarians, who receive it, and who go out to preach the new Gospel, never state it in Jerusalem, in Samaria, in Joppa, in Antioch, in Macedonia, in Athens, in Ephesus, in Rome! In a dozen years of earnest preaching by various men, it does not appear. No record of any baptism into the three-fold name is given. They speak always of Jesus commissioned and exalted by the Almighty, after his death, to be the head of a universal church. And there is no account in any act of worship, of any prayer or hymn commencing or closing with adoration to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Could this be true of any missionaries now going to various countries to preach the Gospel for the first time? Would the salaries of any six or twelve men, of whom such reports came from Burmah or the Sandwich Islands to the American Board, be continued to them another quarter?

I have been thus particular with this document, because we generally conduct the discussion about the Trinity or the Atonement too loosely, by quoting texts from different books, some bearing on one point and some on another, bringing them together as a worker in Mosaic makes a bird, or a figure, or a temple, out of various kinds and bits and colors of stone. This would be a tolerable method, perhaps, if the New Testament was one book, written in chapters by one man, continuously, and with one object steadily in view. Then the defect of evidence in one chapter might be compensated by fulness in another. But each book is a separate production. And the Book of Acts, following directly after the first three Gospels, in date far earlier than the Gospel of John, is the record of the first preaching of Christianity for a dozen years, by personal disciples of Christ, and by Paul, in their earliest enthusiasm, when its characteristic doctrines must be brought out clearly to hearers in different countries, who listen to it for the first time. And if the doctrine of the Trinity is not there; if the Deity of Christ is not stated in any of its pages; if no ascription of praise to Father, Son, and Spirit, goes up from

any of its chapters; I confess that I know not how a more fatal blow can be dealt upon the assertion that it forms part of original Christianity. If I were to become a Trinitarian, it could be only on the Catholic ground that tradition is superior to Scripture, and that the Holy Spirit from time to time enlightens councils and popes to bring out and clear up doctrines that were concealed, or not amply stated, by the earliest promulgators of the word.

In the lecture next Sunday afternoon, I shall ask you to consider the teaching of Paul on the same doctrine. And I wish that you might all, during the week, as I have during the last week, read the whole New Testament through carefully, to see what is its teaching on the point—is God three, or is He One? Is Christ subordinate to him in heaven now, as once on earth; or is he coequal in power, majesty, and underived life? Study it reverently, study it faithfully, study it in unbroken charity to all that hold, or that pass to, a different view.

And that we may not close to-day with a controversial temper, let us consider, in the language of one who has written one of the most powerful discourses against the Trinity in English literature — James Martineau of England — the value of Christ to a Unitarian, even if he holds the humanitarian scheme: “Him we accept, not indeed as very God, but as the true image of God, commissioned to show what no written doctrinal record could declare — the entire moral perfections of Deity. The universe gives us the scale of God, and Christ his Spirit. We climb to the infinitude of his nature by the awful pathway of the stars, where whole forests of worlds quiver here and there, like a small leaf of light. The scope of his intellect and the majesty of his rule are seen in the tranquil order and everlasting silence that reign through the fields of his volition. And the Spirit that animates the whole is like that of the Prophet of Nazareth; the thoughts that fly upon the swift light throughout creation, charged with fates unnumbered, are like the healing mercies of One that passed

no sorrow by. A faith that spreads around and within the mind a Deity thus sublime and holy, feeds the light of every pure affection, and presses with omnipotent power on the conscience; and our only prayer is that we may walk as children of such light."

LECTURE II.

LECTURE II.

“ There is one body and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling ; one Lord, one faith, one baptism ; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.” — EPHESIANS iv. 4, 5, 6.

IN the lecture of last Sunday afternoon, we treated the evidence bearing on the doctrine of the Trinity, which is yielded by a careful examination of the four Gospels and the Book of Acts. To-day our chief object is to pass in review, for the same purpose, the Epistles of St. Paul.

We are considering the doctrine of the Trinity especially in relation to the recent assertion of it in a remarkable discourse, by the preacher to the Cambridge University. This is his condensed statement of the doctrine, as he holds it, having abandoned for it the Unitarianism which he once preached, but which he now impeaches as at war with Scripture, and incompetent to nurture a sound piety and a working church. “ In the transcendent, removed, and awful depth of his Absolute Infinity, which no understanding can pierce, the Everlasting and Almighty God lives in an existence of which our only possible knowledge is gained by lights thrown back from revelation. Out of that ineffable and veiled Godhead, — the groundwork, if we may say so, of all Divine manifestation, or theophany, — there emerge to us in revelation the three whom we rightly call persons, — Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, — with their several individual offices, mutual relations, operations towards

men, and perfect unity together.* Holding fast the prime and positive fact of this unity, we have given us, as an equal maker of faith, the Threeness. We know of no priority to that Threeness; of no epoch when it was not; of no Deity independent of that threefold distinction. A question at that point takes us over into realms utterly inscrutable to thought. We conceive of God always, not as Absolute Being, but as in relations, in process, in act. And in such relations, process, act, we behold him only as Three:—the Son eternally begotten of

*Dr. Huntington's theory of the Trinity, carefully scrutinized, displays a singular in consistency with itself as well as with the Scripture he adduces in its support. He makes Father, Son, and Spirit equally manifestations of the obscure abyss of the Godhead. He tells us that "the qualities of the unutterable deific substance are present in each." "The eternal Son," he says, "is seen remaining rooted for ever in the Godhead, having the basis of his being unchanged, deific, uncreated." "Christ comes forth out of the Godhead as the Son, the Saviour." Of course, then, the peculiarity of his scheme is that "the Father" is no less a form of manifesting the unspeakable Deity than the Son. They "emerge" equally as theophanies. And yet he tells us, in the same paragraph, that the Son is eternally begotten of the Father,—a theophany from a theophany—contradicting thus the statement that he issues, equally with the Father and Spirit, from the infinite substance which is their common base, the "God in whom they are all one," from whom "these three personalities issue forth to take up their merciful and glorious offices."

Dr. Huntington seems to have been conscious of this ill-adjustment of parts in his scheme. For he tells us on the 371st page, that by "thinking patiently" we shall see that "human language could not so well represent these infinite realities as by using the same term, "Father," sometimes for the absolute Godhead, and sometimes for that relative paternal person in the Godhead brought to view only when the Son and the Spirit appear." But after "thinking patiently" we cannot imagine why the New Testament could not state Professor Huntington's theory as clearly as he has done it. We cannot conceive how human language can so well represent any utterable realities as by consistently stating them. If the Son, as Dr. Huntington clearly enough states, is a direct emanation, like the Father, from the Godhead, we do not see why the New Testament should use the word "Father" for the absolute God, speak of the Son as issuing from him, and thus confuse the whole subject.

But if the New Testament, as is the fact, does not say anything at all about Father, Son and Spirit emerging as three personalities from one deific substance, we cannot conjecture where Dr. Huntington found *the material* for his theory, especially his authority for calling it "the working scheme of revelation and redemption." We may be told that the whole subject is such a mystery that language and reasoning are not competent to contain or outline it. Why then make a theory about it? Why not leave the whole matter where Scripture leaves it, with no Triune statement or suggestion? If a theologian offers a theory of the mystery, we expect that to be self-consistent through the compass of one paragraph: he cannot protect *that* from scrutiny by the plea of mystery.

the Father, not subordinate in nature or essence, nor created, nor beginning, but consubstantial with the Father:—the Holy Ghost ever proceeding from the Father and the Son, not in time, nor made out of nothing, but one in power, and glory, and eternity with them both.”

This doctrine, which Dr. Huntington calls the working scheme of Revelation, we have sought in the four Gospels and the Book of Acts, written by Jews who were educated in the strictest Unitarianism, and published first—with the exception of John’s Gospel—in Unitarian Palestine. We have not found any such doctrine there. We have found passages that imply a very high and mysterious rank for Jesus Christ; but we have not found any language in which this confession of the Cambridge preacher can possibly be stated. All the Scriptural phrases from those books which he could quote to sustain such a position, would not even suggest his doctrine to one that had never heard of it, let them be put together as cunningly as the most partisan Trinitarian theologian could arrange them. While the positive and repeated expressions of those books, and their drift, are at war with such a Triune definition of the Godhead.

We are now to seek the testimony of the Pauline epistles upon the same point. But before such an inquiry, let us glance at the books of the New Testament which remain after those epistles, the four Gospels, and the Acts are examined.

Study the general letter of James to the Jewish Christians. Ask yourself if the doctrine of the Trinity which I have just quoted could be derived from that? The Holy Spirit is not mentioned in it. The Deity of Christ is not stated or implied. Yet it deals with the questions of prayer, justification, the tests of discipleship, and the reception of spiritual blessings from heaven. It would not be possible for an Orthodox clergyman to treat the themes which the Epistle of James unfolds, without using the characteristic phrases of the Trinitarian dogma. He would be suspected of heresy, or his discourse

would be pronounced unsavory, if he did not. Yet James wrote his epistle to men who had been trained as Unitarians, and who would have needed to be confirmed by Apostolical authority in a Trinitarian faith. A very distinguished living scholar, not a Unitarian, says of this epistle and the writer of it, "Real justice and practical charity to the brethren, true humility and thankfulness to God, no longer under the servitude of ordinances, but under the perfect law of liberty; these were in his eyes the substance of the message which Christ brought to man from God."

Look next at the Epistles of Peter. There is no statement in their chapters of three persons in one God. There is no ascription of praise to the Holy Ghost. In two or three passages the Spirit, or the Holy Spirit, is spoken of, but in ways inconsistent with a belief that it is a separate Divine personality, much less a coequal person in an Eternal Three. And so far is Jesus from receiving in these epistles the title or rank of Deity, he is declared to have been raised from the dead by the superior power of God, to be "on the right hand of God; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him." Who made them subject unto him, if by nature he is "one in power, and glory, and eternity with the Father?"

The Epistle of Jude has no Triune statement, distinguishes the Lord Jesus Christ from God, and closes with an offering of praise, not as a Trinitarian epistle would to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but "to the only wise God, our Saviour."

The letter to the Hebrews, which is considered very strong in support of the Atonement, but which was not, probably, written by Paul, or any Apostle, cannot be quoted to originate any Trinitarian hypothesis concerning the Godhead. It not only contains no offering of praise to the Holy Ghost at the close, where God is invoked, but it distinctly denies the coequal rank of Christ with God, while it affirms his super-earthly nature. It begins by saying that God hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by

whom also he made the worlds. The Son is the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person, "*being made* so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they." "Therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness *above thy fellows*." "When he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him." I will not quote other verses from the epistle that affirm decisively the fact that Jesus obtained a higher honor by his earthly suffering and love than he wore before. I need only quote these passages that declare the *native* dignity and splendor of his rank to show that Trinitarianism is opposed by the epistle to the Hebrews. For, imagine it said of a coequal member of the Trinity (before the incarnation, so that we can not say the language is used of his mortal nature,) that he is anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows, and has obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than the angels!

The Epistles of John are often appealed to in proof of the dependence of the world upon Jesus for its spiritual life, and of the intimate, mystical union of Christ as the Son with the Infinite Father. And there is one verse in the fourth chapter of the first epistle which declares that "there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one." This is the only Trinitarian verse in the New Testament — the only explicit assertion of a oneness in the Godhead composed of three constituents. And this passage is spurious. It is acknowledged to be such by the great Trinitarian critics themselves. It would be omitted by any council of trustworthy scholars from the Protestant sects, who should be called to decide whether it should remain in the Bible. It was foisted upon an early manuscript by some partisan transcriber, who thought, most likely, that the New Testament ought to be made more emphatically Trinitarian. You will look in vain for any recognition, in what the Apostle

John wrote in the epistles, of the three-fold unity of the Divine nature, or the separate personality of the Holy Ghost.

And now the Book of Revelation is to be spoken of. In this tremendous poem the throne of God is described, but no Trinity is depicted as revealed from it. No Trinity is symbolized in any of its fire-sketches of the scenery and sanctities of heaven. The worship of the invisible world, the praise of angels and the redeemed, is interpreted to us in verses such as earthly pages never caught from any other pen. The Almighty and the Lamb are adored in the choruses; but they are not worshipped as one, and the Holy Spirit is not celebrated in their praise. Indeed, the book opens with these words: "The revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass." Take notice that it is Christ in heaven, not on earth in a mortal body, of whom this dependence on God for knowledge is affirmed. And Christ is called in it "the beginning of the creation of God," "the prince of the kings of the earth." He is represented in it as saying: "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne." Is this a Trinitarian book? Would a Trinitarian poet of modern times, flooded with the ecstasy of devotion, and pouring out his imaginations of heaven and its worship, presume to depict a throne over which no Trinity brooded, a sanctification independent of the Third Person of the Godhead, a universal hal-lelujah, and no breath of it lifted to the Holy Ghost?

I do not pretend, of course, that in the books scanned thus rapidly, there are not very difficult questions to be examined as to the relations of Christ's nature and office to the Divine love, the gift of the Divine Spirit, and the regeneration of the world. But I maintain that whatever doctrines they may teach, *they do not teach the Trinity of the church-creeds of to-day*, and are fatally inconsistent with the formula of the Divine nature, which I quoted from the discourse of the Cam-

bridge preacher, and in which he embraces the Trinity as the only Scriptural scheme. And these are documents which should not only be in harmony with it, but which should be the *sources* of it, — in which it should appear as unmistakably as in any modern creed.

We come now to the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul. Do they announce or support the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Trinity? Sitting down to an exclusive study of those letters, putting aside the interpretations and developments of later generations in the Church, have we a right to say, are we compelled to say, that nothing but the modern conception of Three Divine Persons as one God will correspond with the earliest thought and worship of the Church, so far as Paul instructed and controlled it?

Do not let us confuse points here, or be drawn to side-issues. Paul affirmed a very high doctrine of Jesus Christ. He believed and taught with fervor and joy that the spiritual life of the race was dependent on the advent of Christ from heaven, his assumption of our mortal flesh and lot, his death, resurrection and ascension. I can have no controversy with any Christian who draws this doctrine from the great Apostle. His letters affirm that Christ is to be praised and worshipped in some degree by the whole creation. But do they declare that he is God underived in his being, as Dr. Huntington says, “not subordinate in nature or essence, nor created, nor beginning, but consubstantial with the Father,” so that he is to be worshipped as God? Still further, which is our special concern here, do they teach that God has revealed himself, and is to be adored as a Tri-unity, and that worship is defective which is not paid to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one Deity?

Without the slightest fear of disproof, I say No. They make no such statement explicitly, and they do not imply such a conception. They not only do not declare or include such a doctrine, — they oppose and forbid it.

It would require a very long discourse even to state clearly, in modern language, the relations of Christ's life and his triumph over death to the doom and the redemption of humanity, as St. Paul conceived them. But we must pause a moment upon his doctrine of the Spirit, which is inwrought with the whole web of his theology, and with his practical application of Christian truth. As a Pharisee, before his conversion to Jesus, Paul believed in God as the Monarch of nature, the distant Lord of the Hebrew nation, judging them by a law which he had published through Moses and interpreted by Prophets, promising them a national Messiah, whose rule and favor they were to deserve by ritual obedience—but not coming near to them himself, and pouring out no spiritual blessings upon the vast Gentile world. As a Christian he believed, not only that Jesus had assumed a human nature, and died to express the love of God and break the bondage of evil, but that by his ascension he had opened a perpetual fountain of grace for humanity. The Spirit of God, the very light and love which the Infinite had kept shrouded from the race before, was poured now into every soul that vitally believed in the risen Jesus. There was no abyss any more between God and man. The Divine radiance that was in Christ in his former state, and that was continued to him while in a mortal form, was now imparted to every soul that joined itself to him by gratitude and trust. So that a man, as a Christian, in Paul's view, did not pledge himself to walk by a written revelation or the recorded example of Christ, but received the inward illumination from the Divine Spirit flowing through Christ into his soul. By that Spirit we are enabled to say "Father" to God, as Christ said it on earth, and says it now in heaven. We are aided to pray: we apprehend some of the deep things of God: we discern what eye had not seen nor ear heard, nor had entered into the heart of man before: we know that we are sons of the Infinite: we are "heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ."

Sometimes Paul calls this diffused grace the Spirit of Christ, sometimes the mind of Christ, sometimes the Spirit of God, again simply the Spirit, then the Holy Spirit, and often in our version it is rendered the Holy Ghost. It was this which gave life and unity to the Church. This was the life of God received into human nature, to cleanse, quicken, comfort, and inspire. By it the fellowship was completed between souls on earth and Christ, and the Infinite Love. "Ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you."

Paul's doctrine of the Holy Spirit is the affirmation that the deepest divine life is communicated to human nature as a present possession by a true Christian faith, so that we are brought into organic fellowship and oneness here with Christ, and derive truth at first hand from God, not at second hand through a Bible, and at third hand through creeds or ecclesiastical corporations. It is the Quaker doctrine inflamed with a passion like Luther's. The Church has lost in great degree this meaning of it, and stumbles over the majestic sentences into the conception that they teach a separate God, mysteriously one with the Father, but distinct in consciousness, office, and will.

Dr. Neander, the most learned Christian student and scholar of our century, himself Orthodox according to a very mild and genial type, in his history of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church, has devoted a considerable portion of the volume to a systematic exposition of St. Paul's theological scheme. He has no title over any page for the doctrine of the Trinity, thus showing that he found no such dogma as the Tri-personality of the Infinite in the domain of the Apostle's thought. But at the close of the book, in another connection, he defines

Paul's essential thought to be that the Father through the Son, dwells in mankind who are animated by his Spirit. Precisely the conception of the Holy Spirit which I have endeavored to state. This, and St. John's doctrine of the Logos, Dr. Neander, a Trinitarian, calls "the intimations" out of which the reflective intellect has sought "to elevate itself to an original triad in God."

But it may be said that the frequent use of phrases by Paul in which Father, Son and Holy Ghost are invoked or adored, shows that he regarded them as three persons, and coequal, at least in their claim to human homage. Now without dwelling on the argument that if Paul believed in three Divine Persons, it by no means follows that he believed them to be equal in rank, and portions of one Deity, let me ask you how frequent Paul's use of such a form of ascription or invocation is. A great many zealous Christians, regular readers of their Bibles, it can hardly be doubted, believe that such expressions occur often in the New Testament. Probably thousands of intelligent disciples would answer "Yes," if they were asked whether the doxology "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," is a Scriptural sentence. There is no such language between the covers of the Bible.

Indeed, it is to be feared that Dr. Huntington has not attended carefully to the testimony of the New Testament on this point. He speaks of many passages in the Gospels and Epistles that teach the separate personality of the Holy Spirit, which can be wrested from their obvious meaning only by violence. And he calls attention to "the Apostolical benedictions, which were evidently intended to be what they have so generally proved, the familiar repositories and often repeated symbols of the great central facts of Christian theology." He calls especial attention to one of these as proving the personality of the Holy Ghost. It is at the close of the second letter to the Corinthians. And how many more do you suppose there are? Not another. It is the solitary pas-

sage in the whole New Testament where Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are combined in any formal expression of worship. And this one Dr. Huntington quotes wrongly. More than that, he lays the stress of his argument on a word, which he italicizes, that does not appear in our version. He quotes it: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the *fellowship* of the Holy Ghost be with us all evermore;" and calls particular attention to the word "fellowship" as attributing to the Holy Ghost a separate consciousness and personality. But Paul said, "the communion of the Holy Ghost." It is the common partaking and consciousness of the Divine Spirit which he invokes for the Corinthians in connection with the grace of Christ and the love of God. This is exactly in harmony with the interpretation we have given of Paul's conception of the Spirit, as the life of God communicated to man, dwelling in each heart, and uniting the church in a common life. Once afterwards Dr. H. quotes the passage in his discourse with the same error. Of course, I do not mean even to intimate that, in calling attention to the Apostolical benedictions in support of the Divine Tri-personality, when there is only one which uses the three-fold element, and in wrongly quoting the vital word in that one, the writer intended to trifle with facts. Such a suspicion would be not only uncharitable, but absurd. It shows, however, the loose way in which the Scriptural evidence for the modern doctrine of the Trinity is too often studied and arranged. It is not the only instance of inaccurate citation from Scripture in the discourse. But the mistake will not be a misfortune if it shall lead Dr. Huntington to see that he has thrown out several sneers at the manner in which those who deny the Trinity treat the evidence, and that he has not made one generous allusion to the use of Scripture by Unitarians, amongst whom he was a favorite and honored preacher for many years.

The benedictions of St. Paul, at the commencement and

ending of his Epistles, and the short bursts of praise into which he rises at times in the midst of his reasoning, are *opposed* to the idea that he was a Trinitarian. "Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ," — this, with the variation of a word or two, is the salutation at the commencement of all the thirteen Epistles from his pen. At their close he invokes blessings from God, or the peace of God, for his brethren, and often unites the name of Jesus in a subordinate way. But there is no address to the Holy Spirit, no supplication from the Spirit, no conjunction of Father, Son, and Spirit, in any direct homage or petition. In the one instance, out of some thirty ascriptions and benedictions, where the Spirit is introduced, the associated word implies that the Spirit is not a distinct Divine Being, but the communicated life of God to the church. Could these facts be stated of those Epistles if they were Trinitarian documents, the fountains of the Trinitarian scheme for the whole future of Christendom? As to the spiritual life of believers, Paul uses the conception of Father, Christ, and the Spirit; for the Father communicates his Spirit — the same which Christ is filled with — to the souls of men as their light and strength. But when Paul rises into language of direct worship, he drops the Spirit from his ascriptions and prayers, because it is the Father communicated, and of course is not to be addressed as a separate Person.

But, still further, the Trinitarian dogma, so far as St. Paul is concerned, is opposed by the unequivocal terms in which he speaks of the rank of Christ. It is a very high position in the universe which the Apostle attributes to Jesus, but nothing like the rank required by the Trinitarian hypothesis. Dr. Huntington tells us that in Scripture "the Eternal Son is seen remaining rooted forever in the Godhead, having the basis of his being unchanged, deific, uncreated." No such language, and no language that has such meaning, can be drawn from the Chief Apostle. Dr. Neander confesses that Paul "ascribes a

truly divine yet derived being to Christ." It is plain that Paul believed in his pre-existence, but there is no passage in which it is stated that he existed from eternity.

According to Paul he is the Son of God, not God the Son. Whether the Apostle believed the human soul was made of any different substance originally than was given to Christ, we cannot determine from his Epistles; but he certainly teaches that all really Christian persons receive into their natures the same effluence from God with which Christ is filled, and become Sons of God substantially as he is. He teaches that Christ in his pre-existent life was the highest object of the Divine affection, a love that implies dependence and a return of filial emotion and obedience. He was the image of God, the one highest and perfect form for receiving and transmitting the rays of the Infinite glory. Through him, Paul declares, that God created all things; but it has been seriously doubted whether he means by this that Christ was an instrument for shaping the material world. It has been supposed that he referred rather to souls, and the plan and gradations of the moral world, celestial and earthly. This point must always remain in dispute, as there are not passages enough to settle it. But the verses in Colossians, where the statement is made with more fulness than elsewhere, favors the latter view, since in defining the "all things" which were created by Christ, he says, "whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers."

There is hardly a page of St. Paul's writing that does not declare or imply a separate and therefore finite consciousness, reason and will in Christ, not merely when on the earth, and in a human form, but prior to his advent, and after his ascension. For it is not the doctrine of the Incarnation as ordinarily taught in the church which Paul promulged. God did not take our nature and undergo humiliation and taste mortal woe. He expressed his love in yielding the dearest object of his unfathomable affection to the buffets and hatreds of the

world and the doom of evil in the flesh. This was God's sacrifice, — "he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all." And through him, the consummate form, and thus the largest channel in the universe, of the Divine Spirit, God poured redeeming life into humanity on earth.

There are two or three passages in the Pauline Epistles of which the Greek reading or pointing is not settled among scholars that have been made very prominent in the controversy as to the position of Jesus in the universe. Too much importance, we think, has been accorded to them. They would still be doubtful passages if rendered as the Trinitarians demand; and doubtful passages, in unsystematic writings like the Pauline letters, must be construed in harmony with clear and positive ones. As to the power and rank of Christ, we have from Paul positive declarations concerning his origin, his resurrection and the rank received after it, and his position after the Mediatorial mission is finished, which are conclusive against the doctrine of his underived being, infinite Lordship, and Eternal coequality.

Paul tells us explicitly in the first chapter of Colossians that he is "the first-born of every creature." Whether this means the first-born creature of God, or first-born being before every creature, it settles the fact that Paul did not hold to the Eternal Existence of Jesus.* There is no other passage in which the Apostle deals with this question.

Second, as to the resurrection, it is always declared to have been wrought by the power of God acting upon Christ as upon a finite Nature, — Christ as one unmixed personality on one hand, and God as one quickening power on the other. On the Trinitarian hypothesis, Christ should have raised himself, and

* As Tertullian wrote, perhaps with this passage in view, in the third century, before such Orthodoxy as that of the New England standards had been dreamed: "God is both a Father, and also a Judge, yet not therefore always a Father and a Judge because always God. Since neither could he be a Father before a Son, nor a Judge before Sin; but there was a time when both Sin and Son were not, which make the Lord a Judge and Father."

ascended by the force of his native Godhead. But this is never asserted in Paul's pages, as it would have been if he had held the underived, intrinsic Deity of Christ's nature. As the letter to the Hebrews hints, so Paul seems to declare, that Jesus, as a reward for his earthly service and suffering, was lifted by the Infinite love, to a greater height of glory in the heavens than before his assumption of the flesh. For the Apostle speaks to the Ephesians of the working of God's mighty power, "which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come." And once more, to the Philippians, after referring to his death on the cross, he says, "*Wherefore*, God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

Dr. Huntington quotes from the first of these passages, and asks, "Can this be a creature?" What else, we answer, if he was raised from the dead by God's power, and lifted to the position far above "all principality and power, &c.?" He quotes part of the second passage and exclaims "is not this a being to whom prayer is to be offered?" Praise certainly, Paul would answer him, if it be offered "to the glory of God the Father," and not to an underived, coequal Infinite. If he were that, it would not be said that God had highly exalted him. For it is not the human nature, but the veritable soul of Christ that is thus exalted. It is after the resurrection, when the flesh and its limitations are put off.

And thirdly, Paul expressly tells us what the *final* relation of Jesus to God is to be, after every knee has bowed to him. In the 15th chapter of the first letter to the Corinthians, he

speaks of the resurrection and the close of Christ's administrative office. "Then cometh the end when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father. . . . And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." If Scripture alone were the source of our creeds, can one think it possible that modern Trinitarianism could survive this passage? Christ becomes visibly subject forever, and God the Father is all in all! Dr. Huntington quotes this passage, and thus explains it: "The Son, in his character of Sonship, is retaken, so to speak, into the everlasting, almighty, ineffable, undivided One, where the distinctions of office which had aided us so greatly in apprehending the glorious Trinity are lost to our sight." This is the most astounding specimen of exegesis which has ever fallen under my observation. Those that tamper with Scripture by rationalistic dissections are generally referred, by strict Orthodox believers, to the woes denounced at the close of the Book of Revelation, against those who add to or take from the words of the book. Where is anything said or suggested in 15th Corinthians about the melting away of the Trinity, and the reabsorption of the Son into the absolute Godhead? It is fiction. With such license as that a man might go through Scripture and strike out every instance where "not" occurs, thus reversing the morals of the New Testament. In fact, Dr. H. does precisely reverse the sense of Paul by his interpretation, or rather metamorphosis of the passage. Paul says that Christ stands higher in administrative rank before the close of his mediatorship than he will afterwards. Dr. H. makes him say that he stands lower now, and is to go higher then. Or rather, he makes Paul say, that the Christ, known once on earth, is to be annihilated; for when the Son is retaken into the undivided Godhead, where is the once visible Christ to be found? Of course, Trinitarianism requires some such wrenching of this clear and fatal statement of Paul. And yet only on the third

page after this handling of the Unitarian Apostle's affirmation, we find Dr. H., in reference to a Unitarian theory of the Holy Spirit which he does not fairly state, exclaiming, "how desperate the shifts of a determined theory!"

We have thus grouped and surveyed the evidence afforded by the books of the New Testament for the doctrine of the Trinity. Of course, within such restricted limits, it has been impossible to treat any portion of the subject in an exhaustive way. But I have carefully abstained from any excessive statement in presenting the testimony as it had revealed itself to my reading. And perhaps a better conception can be gained of the quality and force of the warrant or opposition in regard to the doctrine by a general outlook over its field, than by microscopic scrutiny of passages drawn at random from its various books. We can tell in such a way, at once, whether any passages jut up from the broad landscape of its teachings, compelling us to accept the Trinity of God as its dominant idea and revelation.

We have found no such passages there. There is no such word as Trinity in its chapters. There is no statement that the unity of God is composed of three elements or personalities, or diverges into three forms. None of the words or phrases in which Dr. H. clothes his faith, or in which any Orthodox Trinitarianism has been or can be defined, is to be found in its whole compass, (with the exception of one verse, confessed by Trinitarians to be spurious). The words "Triune name" are not there, nor "Three in one," nor "Eternal Son," nor "consubstantial," nor "equal in power and glory" applied to God and Christ and The Holy Spirit, nor "rooted for ever in the Godhead," nor "God the Son," nor "Very God of Very God," nor "Light of Light," nor "eternally begotten of the Father," nor "coequal persons," nor "threefold distinction." There is no offering of praise to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and no direct address to them in any formula of invocation or

appeal. The last document of the New Testament, the Gospel of John, was written about as late as the year 100, so that the Christian Church had then been nearly seventy years — two generations — under the guidance of Apostolic teaching; and yet no combination of words appears in the compass of the New Testament books, such as is required to be signed in every Orthodox theological school of Christendom, and is expected in the ascriptions and doxologies of worship in the vast majority of the churches of all lands. A man has to go outside the Bible for all the expressions in which Dr. H. announces the foundation of his newly-acquired faith. And if a man says, “I believe in the Bible; I accept the whole of the New Testament; but do not believe in the Tri-personality of God;” the theologian who pronounces his faith unsound, or incomplete, must set up not merely his *interpretations* of the Bible, but his bold, explicit *additions* to it, as the tests of truth and fellowship.

Dr. Huntington in one passage of his discourse, the most emphatic passage in it, for he prints it all in italics, after speaking of some of the declarations in the New Testament concerning Jesus, requests a Unitarian to put this question to himself: — “*Whatever I may make these words mean now, would they ever have been chosen and used in the first place on any other belief than that Christ is properly and truly Divine, Eternal, Almighty, as the Church of his Heaven-guided people has believed and taught?*” We take up this challenge, deliberately and without hesitation. We *seek* its test, and we reverse its statement precisely. We say the Scriptural affirmations and omissions, as we have quoted or stated them, are such that they could not possibly have been made by teachers who believe, with the modern Protestant Church, that Christ is one of three persons in the Godhead, and that he is Eternal and Almighty, or of higher rank than the appointed medium and minister of Infinite Grace to souls who are to partake of his very substance, and be sons of God in fellowship with him.

The doctrine of the Tri-unity is *not* a doctrine of the New Testament. Some of the wisest Trinitarian scholars and theologians have confessed that it cannot be derived, in any of its accepted and required forms to-day, from the express language of the Evangelists and Apostles. They confess that it must be reasoned out, inferred, developed from intimations in the New Testament. *Intimations!* That is, when the doctrine first broke upon the awe-struck souls of men who had been Unitarians before, they did not state it clearly; they did not state at all that there are three equal Divine beings; they did not utter in any logical, lyrical, impassioned, or reverential sentence, that those three are one! The most learned church historian of modern times, Dr. Neander, of Germany, has not hesitated to speak of the Trinity which is now maintained, as an idea to which the reflective mind has sought to elevate itself, rather than a clear publication of the Bible. Dr. Huntington quotes this admirable man as declaring that the doctrine of the Trinity is the fundamental article of the Christian faith,—the essential contents of Christianity summed up in brief. This is another instance of a strange carelessness in the use of authorities, in which Dr. Huntington, writing a discourse so important, should not have indulged himself. Dr. Neander does say that *he recognizes* in the doctrine of the Trinity “the essential contents of Christianity, summed up in brief,” that is, summed up in human phrase and shaping; but he expressly states on the same page, (*History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. 1, page 572,) three sentences before this declaration, exactly the opposite of Prof. Huntington’s quotation. He says, “this doctrine does not belong to the fundamental articles of the Christian faith; as appears sufficiently evident from the fact, that it is expressly held forth in no one particular passage of the New Testament; for the only one in which this is done, the passage relating to the three that bear record, (1 John, 5,) is undoubtedly spurious, and in its unguine shape testifies to the fact, how foreign such a collo-

cation is from the style of the New Testament Scriptures. We find in the New Testament no other fundamental article besides that of which the Apostle Paul says, that other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, the annunciation of Jesus as the Messiah; and Christ himself designates as the foundation of his religion the faith in the only true God, and in Jesus Christ whom he hath sent." * Dr. Neander was a Trinitarian, (of a very different type, however, from the common American Trinitarians). He believed that his doctrine of the Trinity is properly developed out of the Bible. But in his judgment it is there so dim and latent, that it cannot be accounted a fundamental article of the Christian religion. We leave that point to be settled between the first volume of his church history and Dr. Huntington, who has unfortunately, but of course not intentionally, misquoted it; while we repeat our affirmation that the doctrine as now held, and as interpreted by Prof. H., is not only not clearly stated in the New Testament; — the elements of it are not there; — and that it is impossible it could be there at all, crowded as those pages are with references to God, and Christ, and the Spirit of God, unless it should lie there clear as the sunlight, as clear at least as the creeds of Christendom.

I have no time, and no desire to follow Dr. H. in the argument he has made to show how necessary the doctrine of the Trinity is to the other salient features of the Orthodox theology. Perhaps it is necessary. If it falls, very likely the modern interpretation of the Atonement and divine government must fall. If so, it is only necessary to consider the Scriptural sources for that doctrine, and the work of criticism upon modern Orthodoxy is accomplished.

* While these pages are passing through the press, we notice that attention has been called by a well known and accurate scholar, through the columns of the "Christian Register" of January 21st, to this mistake of Dr. Huntington in quoting from Neander. The accomplished critic shows, also, that in the American translation of Neander, the word "strictly" is introduced into the text, thus weakening a little the force of Neander's declaration. The American version makes the passage read — "This doctrine does not *strictly* belong to the fundamental articles of the Christian faith," while Neander wrote unqualifiedly, "This doctrine does not belong," &c.

But I must say a word, before closing, upon two or three intimations in Dr. H.'s discourse concerning the method of testing the Scripture evidence for the Trinity. It is often affirmed by Orthodox theologians that opposition of the heart, hostility to divine grace, blinds the intellect to the evidence in the Bible for the Deity of Christ and the Trinity of the Godhead. This position is one of amazing arrogance; yes, I am ready to say, of intolerable insolence. Used by one student of the Bible to another, in a course of serious investigation as to the teaching of Scripture, it is an insult as manifest as the smiting of the face, or any other gross personal indignity. For one, I will never allow it for a moment, from any man who addresses to me an argument, or with whom I am conducting an honest discussion.

It surprised and pained me, in reading Dr. H.'s discourse, to find him verging to this position, and using language, now and then, that can hardly be construed into any other significance. He speaks of seeing the truth of Christ's Deity in Scripture, "which was lying all the time plain and persuasive to the eye," "through a happier admission of God's grace," and declares that, to all the ordinary objections of science and logic, the believer has only to answer, "I know in whom I have believed," and then may quote such words as "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, because they are spiritually discerned." In a previous volume, "Sermons for the People," page 265, a similar indignity is offered to Unitarian students of Scripture by the contemptuous and insufferable statement that our interpretations of passages that refer to Christ "will satisfy, till some special exigency of spiritual experience dissolves them in its potent alembic."

Does Dr. H. mean that the constitution of the Godhead, whether the Infinite is one or three, is a question to be spiritually discerned? Is he willing, or not, to stand by the fair, full, exhaustive testimony of Scripture, logically distributed and combined? And when none of the words, affirmations,

praises, or prayers, demanded by the Trinity, are found in the New Testament, the fountain of all our external authority for testing what Christianity is, will he retreat from the terrific force of the facts, and advise a partisan of the doctrine to retreat, into the position that he knows, *internally*, that Christ never began to be,—that he is sure, by an *inward* witness, that the Godhead is composed of

“ God the Father, God the Son,
And God the Spirit, three in one ?”

This is what his expressions mean, if they mean anything. Let us refuse to believe that he deliberately puts such an unmanly, arrogant sense into them, but that they are used loosely, with no intention of affirming so gross and repulsive an assumption.

The doctrine of Trinity, or strict unity, is an external doctrine, to be tested by the logical meaning of Scripture. An abandoned man, if his intellect is clear, and his reason unprejudiced, is competent to decide that question. Spiritual things are spiritually discerned. But spiritual things, brethren, belong alike to Trinitarian and Unitarian schemes of faith. They are the internal things of our poor dogmas. And by the inward eye, and the sensitive spiritual affections, we come into the communion of the Spirit, the fellowship of Christ, the love of the Father, though we never can harmonize their relations logically, in a conception of the Infinite Being.

The "Things which are not:" God's chosen instruments for advancing
His Kingdom.

A SERMON,

PREACHED AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 1, 1861,

BEFORE THE

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR
FOREIGN MISSIONS,

AT THEIR

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

BY RICHARD S. STORRS, Jr., D.D.,

OF BROOKLYN, NEW-YORK.

NEW-YORK:

JOHN A. GRAY, PRINTER, STEREOTYPY, AND BINDER,
FIRE-PROOF BUILDINGS,
CORNER OF FRANKFORT AND JACOB STREETS.

1861.

S E R M O N .

1 CORINTHIANS, 1 : 28, (LAST CLAUSE.)

“YEA, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.”

THIS clause contains a complete thought, and suggests to us a theme rich enough, large enough, to engage and reward our evening's meditation. It is proper, therefore, to single it out from the others with which it stands associated, and to make it the subject of our discourse. And yet, in so separating it, we must not sacrifice the peculiar significance and the added impressiveness which it derives from its position, or the light which is cast on it by its companions. It is the last of a series of clauses, of which each that precedes it prepares the way for it, and by natural progress leads the mind toward it. And it is only when we view it at the head of this series, as summing up and surpassing the previous clauses, that we precisely discern and wholly appreciate its scope and meaning.

“For ye see your calling, brethren,” says the Apostle; “how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.” The foolish and the weak, the base and the despised things—it is only natural that from the last

and lowest of these, the things which are noticed only to be contemned, the Apostle should step to the things which are not; that is, which have either no existence, except in germ or mere possibility, or certainly no existence that is recognised by mankind; which arrest no thought, excite no fear, and are not prominent enough to be scorned. And these things, he says, the Lord hath chosen—these things which seem still weaker than the weakest, and whose very being appears but a dream of the imaginative enthusiast—THESE things hath he chosen, to bring to nought the THINGS THAT ARE; the great institutions, establishments, forces, which mark or mould the constitution of society. He hath chosen them for this purpose, to the end that his name may be magnified by their agency, and his glory be revealed in their ultimate triumph. He is able to bring them to success and to victory, to human thought non-existent as they are, because his foolishness is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men. And when it is done, no flesh shall be able to glory in his presence.

How complete is the climax to which we are brought, as we thus view the passage! How sharply discriminated from those that attend it, is the thought which is contained in these last words! And how fruitful and wide is the field which it opens to our survey! It is a thought, too, peculiar to the Gospel; and which for that reason the better befits an occasion wholly devoted, as this is, to conference concerning its further advancement.

That the "Things which are," at any time, in human society, however venerable, however strong, are always liable to be displaced by others, which were not in existence, or were not of recognised importance and power, when the former were established, but which subsequently and often suddenly are brought to developement and mastery; that thus the aspects of society and history are continually changing, and each successive form of civilization is likely in its turn to give place

to another, into whose life its own may be absorbed, but under whose differences it is buried :—these are facts familiar as any fact of nature ; which impress immediately the most careless observer ; to question which, with so many annals before us, crowded with thick reports of change, were like denying the atmosphere itself. That the movement which thus is constantly going on, through the centuries, around the world, is on the whole a movement for the better ; that the “ Things which are not,” so far as men’s earlier knowledge is concerned, which exist but in embryo, and are only to be developed by a keener observation, or a more profound and exhaustive experience, are yet usually superior to the things which precede them, and more replete with a vitalizing energy ; that thus each industrious and thoughtful community is likely to surpass in its later years the attainments of its earlier, and the race itself to be gradually enriched, invigorated, and elevated, as the centuries proceed :—these also are facts which modern history clearly illustrates, and which, without any indiscreet optimism, we may gratefully accept. But that these things of which the age that is at any time knows not and dreams not,—these powers which exist in it only in germ, and which make no appeal either to its hopes or its sensitive fears,—that these, while hidden so remotely from man, are all the time present to the mind of the Most High ; that they are indeed his pre-ordained instruments, not only for working the changes which shall come in the aspects or in the life of Society, but for the higher, grander purpose of establishing supremely His Kingdom in the world ; that he has incorporated their unseen elements with the system of things in order that ultimately he may use them in this office, and make them auxiliaries in subjecting the world to his truth and his Son :—these are facts the declaration of which is peculiar to our Religion ; yet which it not only affirms with authority, but exhibits and demonstrates, in its actual advancement toward the conquest of the

Earth ; and which it offers to every believer—to us who are here assembled this evening—as a basis on which to found the assurance of its ultimate triumph.

So here, as every where, does Christianity vindicate its origin in God's mind, by placing us at once upon the highest levels of truth, and opening to our minds the widest range for reflection. And the words of the Apostle, holding in them a principle so specific and profound, present to us a theme appropriate and adequate to our present occasion.

To this theme, therefore, Fathers and Brethren, I invite your attention : THE “THINGS WHICH ARE NOT,”—which are not recognised by man, and which subsequent times alone are to develop into power and mastery —THESE ARE FROM THE FIRST GOD'S CHOSEN INSTRUMENTS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HIS KINGDOM IN THE WORLD. If this be true, the relations of the fact to the character, power, and government of God, and the bearings of the fact on our Missionary enterprise, will indicate themselves to all our minds.

That we may get the thought fully before us, as it lay at first in the mind of the Apostle, and may receive the perfect impression of those illustrations of its truth which were given in the centuries that succeeded, let us call before us in rapid review the scenes amid which the text was written, and then the events which became its immediate and complete vindication.—It was written, you remember, from that delightful and populous city planted by the Ionian colony on the hills overlooking ‘the Asian meadows,’ along the Cayster. In this city of Ephesus, important and peculiar, partly Greek but still more Oriental in its manners and spirit, the metropolis of a province, and with a commerce that drew to its wharves the representatives of all nations, in which schools of philosophy seem so much to have abounded that one of them was opened to Paul for his labors, yet in which the Eastern superstitions

and magic darkly and haughtily confronted philosophy, and still had a power which they had not either at Athens or at Rome,—in this city, the remains of whose magnificent theatre yet strew the ground in colossal confusion, and above which then shone in splendid beauty the Temple of Diana, whose graceful colonnades first revealed the full beauty of the Ionic style, and whose columns of jasper still perpetuate among men the vision of its glory,—in this city where the East and the West were commingled, and within whose spacious walls and harbor was assembled so busy and so various a life,—it was natural that the Apostle, coming westward from Antioch, should tarry for a time, that he might there proclaim the Gospel. And so he abode there for more than two years, and from thence he wrote the epistle before us.

It was written to Corinth ; that wealthier, more brilliant, and more luxurious town, planted upon the celebrated Greek Isthmus, and by its position attracting the trade not only of Greece, but of all the countries whose shores were washed by either of the seas between whose almost meeting waves it fortunately stood ; above which arose in austere grandeur the precipitous heights of the Acro-Corinthus ; around which was spread the loveliest beauty of the land and the water ; whose architecture was unrivalled, even in Greece, in its sumptuous elegance ; in whose streets all arts that skill could gain, and all the gifts that commerce could bring, were equally at home ; and yet whose manners were so licentious that even in that gross pagan age its very name was a synonyme for vice, and that from it went a constant influence which defiled and demoralized wheresoever it touched.—To the Christians in this city Paul wrote from Ephesus the letter which contains the declaration of the text.

In effect, therefore, he had before him while writing the whole expanse of the Mediterranean ; that ‘many-nationed’ sea, still full of interest to us and our times, but which was to

the old world what all the oceans are to ours ; yea, more than this : which was not only the cradle and school of its maritime enterprise, and the scene of its naval strifes and conquests, but the constant centre of its most powerful civilizations ; around which were grouped, as if by a force as necessary as that which forms the crystal around its axis, all the arts and the empires then most prominent in the world, or which now most attract and influence our minds. Upon or near the shores of this sea, the labors of Paul were constantly performed. Born within sight of it, his whole after life clung to it. In all his incessant missionary tours he scarcely left it ; but at Cæsarea, Antioch, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, Rome, perhaps still further to the gates of the Atlantic, he had it before him, and strove with all the energy of his will, inspired and sustained by his Christian enthusiasm, to stud its shores with Christian churches, and to make it a centre of the kingdom of God and his Son in the world.

It is evident then, at once, from this point of view, what were the institutions which Paul describes as “*THINGS THAT ARE :*” the great established powers in society, which withstood, or at least did not harmonize with, the extension of Christianity. And upon these things, that we may receive the full impression of the truth which he uttered, it is needful that we pause ; till we feel in part the vast strength they possessed ; till we see in a measure the ‘hiding of their power.’ Then better may we estimate, in comparison with them, the obscure, undeveloped, and unrecognised forces, by which in God’s plan, and in the interest of His kingdom, they were all to be destroyed.

Foremost among these “Things that are”—these powerful institutes of the day of the Apostle, opposed to Christianity—we must reckon, of course, that haughty JUDAISM, dogmatic and secular, imperious in its claims and impatient in its hopes,

into which the religion given by God to the people of his election had by degrees been transformed, and which now had the seat of its dominion in Palestine, but the outposts of its influence in many cities of the Empire. Into collision and controversy with this, Christianity came at the very beginning: since the more essentially harmonious it was with the ancient religion truly interpreted, the more positive and vehement was the contest urged against it by that arrogant system which now clothed itself in the robes and occupied the place of Moses and the Prophets; a system not content to be recognised and honored as Divine in its sphere, yet introductory to a higher, but claiming for itself to be final and universal, and challenging for its own supremacy in the world. Unconscious of imperfection, and intolerant of change, this bred a temper domineering and defiant in those who adhered to it toward all other faiths, but most of all toward the faith which adored a crucified Nazarene. And immediately, continually, in every city, and in almost each village, it met the Apostle; at Ephesus or at Corinth, no less than at Jerusalem; among his own kindred, as well as among strangers. It lay in wait for him by stealth, and assailed him with violence. More often far than it touched his person, it overshadowed and darkened his thoughts. And always it fronted him as an urgent, ancient, and inveterate Power, enthroned supreme among his own nation—the most religious of the peoples of the earth—and systematically withstanding, with all its energy, the advance of Christianity.

It is one of the most significant illustrations of the drift of human nature—this character of Judaism in the day of the Apostle, and the position it assumed toward the doctrines he proclaimed. Ennobled and vitalised as it had been at the beginning, by the supreme truth of the being of God, eternal and holy, almighty and wise, the creator, moral governor, and judge of the Universe; receiving a yet mightier practical

impressiveness from the discoveries which it made of his presence and providence, and of his perfect law; becoming pervaded through and through with a divine glory, as it showed to men something of his heavenly empire, rehearsed the history of his dealings with mankind, and even unfolded through prophecy and psalm the scope and splendor of his purposes of love; bringing all these manifold elements of power into contact with men, through a mechanism of worship unequalled in its majesty, and its fitness to its end:—the religion of the Hebrews was intrinsically adapted, not only above all other religions, but to the highest degree then possible, to educate the mind, to stimulate the conscience, to implant and develop the holiest affections, and to make the nation which had its oracles for their constant possession the purest, noblest, and most devout on the earth. No other result of it could have been anticipated by those who should have assumed as an axiom the moral integrity or the moral indifference of the nature of man. And doubtless such effects, through the grace of the Spirit, were realized in many, whose faces now glow in the vision of Christ.

Yet from this religion the nation had early and persistently swung away, into grossest idolatries; reproducing in gold the Egyptian Apis beneath the very pavement of sapphire on which the feet of God were treading above the mount; in their subsequent history, polluting the hills which looked out upon Jerusalem with the fury and lust of sacrilegious observances. And when they had at length been driven out of these, by the stern words of preachers and the sterner strokes of providential visitation, — when Assyrian oppressions, fulfilling God's plans, had forced them to a new recognition of Him, and made them loathe at last the idolatries whose cruel craft had so torn and despoiled them,—they only turned their religion to an occasion of pride, and nurtured beneath it the very arrogance and ambition which it was especially designed to subdue. Its

mystic, high, and moving truths, the venerable associations it derived from antiquity, the precious and kindling memories of the Fathers by which it was consecrated, the wonderful interventions of God in providence by which so often it had been vindicated or rescued, the unique impressiveness of the ceremonies and offices by which it had been conveyed through the ages, the resplendent array of miracles which it wore as the breastplate of gems and the golden mitre on the front of its records, the very endurance and faith of the martyrs who had died beneath the hands of rulers or people in allegiance to it—all were together perverted by the Jews to minister more abundantly to their national pride, and to make them less willing to receive the Messiah whom from the beginning their religion had foreshadowed, unless He should come as a conquering Prince, reigning visibly at Jerusalem, and carrying his ensigns with squadrons and navies to the ends of the earth.

This influence had now for many generations been working in the nation; and, as we know, it had reached its climax when Paul was proclaiming Christianity in the world. The very political calamities of the Jews, stinging and irritating their unsubmitive minds, had only intensified their fanatical expectation of victory through their ritual and law; had only exasperated their scorn of a Messiah who should seek to rule by the truth and by love. The partial successes which they had realized,—in establishing synagogues in many of the cities to which their restless enterprise had impelled them, in gaining numerous proselytes from the heathen, in compelling the admiration of some of the higher philosophical minds for the grand simplicity in which their faith contrasted the mythologies, in adapting through the Alexandrian school their doctrines and rules to the language, and even in some degree to the spirit of the Greeks,—these had still further invigorated the tendency. And so they stood, divided among themselves in many particulars, yet unanimous in a fierce hostility to the

Gospel :—the Sadducees denying angels and the resurrection, and almost it would seem the existence of the soul, as independent of the body, while still holding among them the office of high priest, and some posts of chief influence in the national Council ; the Pharisees superadding their traditions to the law, and austereley exacting the most rigorous and literal observance of both, in disregard often of the obvious principles of equity and of charity ; the Essenes delighting in pietistic seclusion and remote meditations ; the Herodians affecting foreign manners, and maintaining the supreme authority of the civil ruler in matters of religion :—yet all agreed and unitedly zealous in expecting the propagation, by conquest of arms, of their ancient faith, and all contemning the religion of Jesus. It was to them not only a radical heresy and schism in their national church ; it involved what seemed to them a national suicide, the final extinction of hopes they had cherished until they had come to be part of their life.

So Judaism confronted Paul ; a perverted system, whose ancient glory now only gave energy to its ambitious plans, and its hatred and defiance of the Gospel he preached. Possessing the strength derived from great truths, it used that strength relentlessly against him. Retaining for its service a magnificent ritual, ordained of God, it sought to make that a sheet of flame to consume the fruits of all his teachings. Error and verity were so intermingled in its practical frame, piety and pride were so combined beneath its influence, the lust of conquest had blended so intimately with religious veneration, that resistance to Christ seemed now to the Jew a matter of conscience, and his fiercest passions had the sanction of his religion. Inevitably, therefore, by the essential contrariety of its tendency and temper, this was the first antagonist of the Gospel ; its first, and also in some respects its most effective and dangerous. It surrounded Paul in the synagogues. It even entered the churches. Peter himself, and many of the Christ-

ians, yielded at intervals to its vast influence; and, with an extraordinary tenacity of life, where it seemed altogether subdued and obliterated, it still persistently reappeared. So stubborn in its spirit, so thorough in its discipline, so fanatical in its zeal, and so fortified with strength on every side, it was only the prescience of an inspired apostle, and only the utmost courage of a will inspired as was Paul's in the will of the Most High, that could have predicted its absolute overthrow.

And second in the order of these "Things that are,"—these powerful institutes of the day of the Apostle, opposed to Christianity—must be reckoned of course the HEATHENISM which prevailed outside of the Jews among all nations; which confronted Paul every where, ancient as man, but still vigorous in strength, imperial in place, and arrayed in universal opposition to the Gospel.—The extent of this, a glance reveals to us. But how mighty it was, he knew and saw more clearly than we can.

It is difficult for any man to appreciate the strength of religious attachments which he does not share; difficult for the Protestant to do complete justice to the mind of the Romanist, or, on the other hand, for the Romanist to understand the spiritual power of the faith of the Protestant. The Huguenot and the Papist were thus dis severed in France; and the Tyrolese peasant is separated to-day from the disciple of him who taught at Geneva, by chasms more deep than the Alpine crevasses. Most of all is it difficult for one educated from childhood beneath the light of the Gospel, accustomed to its discoveries of God, its holy precepts and benign invitations, and its majestic, immortal promises, to understand the power of Heathenism over those who have known no other religion, whose earliest thoughts have been modified by it, and all whose temper and habits of life have been formed and matured beneath its impressions. And not even he who has learned this hard

lesson, — not even the most observant missionary who has passed his life in the midst of Heathenism, as it now exists in India for example, or the islands of the Pacific, who has seen it he thinks in its whole omnipresent and voluminous power, surrounding the minds of a people like an atmosphere, inhaled anew with every breath, and mingling itself incessantly and inseparably with the currents of their life and the frame of their being,—not even he can appreciate the power which the antique forms of Heathenism had, when as yet no purer religion contrasted them on earth, except the incomplete and distasteful religion of the unhonored Jews; when the foremost and most cultivated nations of the earth were as ardent in the maintainance of these forms of religion as the most uncivilized, and were only more stately, elaborate, and ingenious in their details of worship; when every art and all agencies of commerce were auxiliary to them, all literature was full of them, and all statesmanship was their servant; when, in a word, Heathenism in some form was the common law and the common life of the inhabited World. It was at this time that Paul confronted it, at Ephesus and at Corinth, around the whole sweep of the Mediterranean. And though we cannot know as he did how immense and overwhelming a power it was, yet we, I think, may perceive this in part if we consider some obvious facts.

First of all, then, it is to be recognised by us that this Heathenism which so withstood Christianity was not an altogether artificial system in any nation; that it grew out of real and even deep motions in the general mind, and was not in its substance a matter of chance or a creature of contrivance, least of all an arbitrary and fabricated arrangement either of state-craft or of priest-craft; nay, that it had a certain real moral life in it, and was related not to depraved desire alone, to the lust and the pride which it never denied and too often deified, but related also, however insufficiently, to needs which the soul always

feels to be inmost and knows to be abiding. Its answer was a vain one, but it sought to *give* an answer, to questions which never since the exile from Eden have ceased profoundly to agitate the race. Unconscious prophecies of better things lurked in many of its forms, and in some of its traditions. There were thoughts in it that had drifted down, as has been said, as 'planks from the wreck of Paradise.' Its sacrifices were efforts to staunch the flow from bleeding hearts. And while the popular mind acknowledged chiefly the hold of its ceremonies and shows, the thoughtful found also some solace or stimulus in its sublimated legends.

Then further it must be noticed that as existing in any nation it took the form most germane to that people, to its genius and spirit, to its circumstances and habits; and that every where it allied itself with whatever was strongest, whatever most impressed and attracted men's minds. Thus in Greece, from the first, it enshrined itself in Art; made eloquence its advocate; was indebted for the memorable form which it assumed to the noble poetry in which its mythologies were melodiously uttered. It was there at the same time a philosophy for the studious, a cloister for the religious, a splendid spectacle and continual entertainment for the excitable populace. In Egypt, on the other hand, it folded around it the solemn gloom of those austere and mystic legends which told of the destruction of Osiris by Typhon, or traced in long unfolding terrors, on the walls of the sealed and unsunned tomb, the path of the spirit from its birth to its judgment. In Rome, the same power allied itself with politics, became a military force, selected and blessed the standards of the army, added sanctions to the laws, and apotheosized the emperor. While eastward in Assyria, it subsided to a sluggish and luxurious development, as it touched the plains whose wealth fed empires, and whose teeming tilth gave license to indolence. Every where, with spontaneous flexibility and precision, the special form of the Heathenism which

prevailed was fitted to the needs and the temper of the people ; adjusting itself to these as exactly as did the fleet and melting sea-wave to the cliffs and crags or the smooth sand-reaches against which in mobile might it played.

Still further we must remember that in no land was this recent ; in none was it devoid of that dignity and authority which were derived from a high antiquity ; while to all the peoples, in proportion to their advancement, it was associated with whatever was to them most renowned and inspiring in their history. Their early benefactors and eminent chieftains had been deified by it. It bridged the interval between their times and the Golden Age. It was signalized by connection with all their inspiriting national successes. It was under the benediction, as he fondly believed, of his ancestral gods that the Greek had fought at Marathon and Plataea. From the brazen spoils of the former of these victories the colossal statue of Minerva had been wrought, which, flashing afar from the summit of the Acropolis, seemed to keep perpetual ward over the consecrated city and scene. It was the god Pan who, in the terrible clash of Plataea, overwhelming the Persians with sudden fright as his voice of thunder broke on them from the air, had delivered the nation in the crisis of its peril, and made the word 'panic' thenceforth an inheritance of the speech of mankind. So with all that was majestic and delightful in the past—and we must not forget that the nations of the old world looked back into the past far more fondly than we do, whose eyes, by Christianity, have been turned with a higher expectation toward the future,—with all that was charming and inspiring in their past, their religion was identified. It came to them consecrated by the memories most precious. It was dear to them as the bond which connected their life with

And yet further, we must remember that diverse as were the forms of Heathenism which severally obtained among the nations, no one of them was essentially isolated from or discordant with the others around it; that the Greek might find much which to him was familiar in the worships of the East; that the Roman had no difficulty in opening his Pantheon to any god of all the tribes, in giving as Gibbon says "the freedom of the city" to all divinities; that, as matter of fact, the interchanges of commerce were continually bringing the different idolatries to blend with each other; and that when Alexander, in his rapid conquests, carried the Hellenic arts and influence over the East, the Western and Oriental heathenisms commingled, with ready affinities, to a singular extent. Thus all became modified, expanded, invigorated; and each, without losing its local prestige, derived a fresh access of strength from the others. In that very temple of Diana at Ephesus, beneath whose shadow Paul was writing, while the shrine was in all its conception Greek, and in all its execution, of the loveliest of Greek styles, the image within was not the statue which a student of Phidias or Praxiteles would have chiseled, of her who hunted with flying nymphs on Arcadian hills, instinct with a vivid virginal authority; it was a crude rough image of wood, like those still seen in Eastern temples—below, a simple pointed block covered with mystic animal figures, above, a mass of many breasts.

So it was then, in part, that Heathenism had power and supremacy on earth in the day of St. Paul; a power incomparable by that which it now has among any people; a supremacy almost literally unquestioned. It covered the earth, embosomed in its influence all ranks and vocations, moulded every institution, infiltrated its forces into every thing human. Springing out of the heart and mind of mankind, it had in turn, from its place of power, wrought these to its likeness, and toned them to an absolute sympathy with itself. It touched

every class, and had its appeal for every person ; from the Sybarite to the Stoic ; from the profligate Alcibiades, to Socrates who seemed almost a forerunner of the Lord. The philosopher might sneer at it, but even he infused into it an esoteric significance which dignified and endeared it to himself and his pupils. The popular mind absorbed it greedily, and was pervaded in every fibre by its impression. Its infinite complication of fancies and myths was to those who lived under it a spiritual system, as real as life, as vast as the skies, yet as near their souls as friendship or hope. Through it the living forces of nature, personified and familiarized, seemed to leap forth to greet the shepherd or the sailor. Through it the spirits of their dead ancestors seemed to the citizens invisibly but really to brood over and assist their troubled minds and perilled fortunes. Above all, through it the vast Unknown, the something Infinite and Enduring, of which the heavens gave them witness, which inarticulately encircled their life, shedding on it at once a shadow and a gleam,—the Unspeakable Power, which as Paul saw at Athens, when looking on their pathetic altars, they ‘ignorantly worshipped,’ and to which the Romans were wont formally to pray when the shuddering undulations of the earthquake surprised them—THIS seemed to them brought nearer their souls, and almost made palpable to their imaginations.

Heathenism to many had thus the sacredness of a Faith. It was felt a real infidelity to deny it ; a kind of atheism, from which sensitive men shrunk then as now, as from a denial of man’s great birthright, a piercing confession of spiritual orphanage. And the religion which thus grappled and held them by manifold ties, which engaged to itself on every side their affections and passions, and intermingled its subtile influence with all their letters, laws, and thoughts, had become the very life of their life to all the nations ; till it was in fact attempting to remould their nature to disturb it.—Preëmi-

nently, too, in the century of Paul, when the prevalent forms of civilization were seen to have culminated, and when a shadowy but jealous unrest was invading men's minds and troubling their wills, a reaction had commenced toward the old forms of faith. It revealed itself widely, in new ardors of devotion. It questioned the tendencies of philosophical teaching. It had risen in some to a fanatical zeal, which sent them forth to encourage or enkindle the like in others; so that heathenism had begun to be preached as well as cherished, and instances of conversion to the worship of the gods were exultingly chronicled. The 'Revival of Heathenism,' it might properly be called; and all the ancient fire of the system was stirring beneath and bursting through the smouldering embers, and preparing to spread itself with an all new energy.

This was not either a "hurtless fire." The passions of men, which in its divorce of morality from religion, were all fostered by Heathenism; the sensual lusts, which for those who were ensnared by them it hallowed and honored as a service to the gods; the cruelty, falsehood, and tyrannous self-will, of which it exalted the patterns to the heavens, and made its divinities the most signal examples;—all these, not less than the more gentle sentiments, were the allies of its might, now aroused for its defence. To assail it was to start these multiform, envenomed, and many-fanged passions to the deadliest resistance; so that Paul well knew, what history had shown, what history afterward more fearfully illustrated, that when the hour of contest came there was no weapon in all the armory of human craft and human rage that would not be enlisted on the side of these religions; that the shouting amphitheatre would be stilled before the agonies of those torn by their beasts; that the darkness of night would be lurid with the glare of their pitch-robed and burning victims!

And yet, in view of all this it was that the dauntless Apostle unflinchingly affirmed that this whole Heathenism, so vast

and various, so philosophic, poetic, and sensual by turns, so ancient, so haughty, so cruel and passionate, and so replete with resources, should be shattered and exiled, and forever obliterated, by the "Things which were not."

There remains then but one other, a third thing, to be recognised as standing among the "Things that are"—the powerful institutes and establishments of society, opposed to Christianity—when Paul was writing from Ephesus to Corinth. But this was also the most powerful of all; the most dangerous to assail, to human view the most inaccessible to change or decay; supreme over every force that could touch it, and comparing with them all as the Mediterranean with the restless streams which sought and sank into it. It was, of course, the AUTHORITY AND POWER OF IMPERIAL ROME. Immense in extent, immeasurable in energy, this was also so completely subordinated to Heathenism, so entirely impregnated and energized by its spirit, that the Gospel could no more advance to its dominion without its conversion or without its destruction, than light can break through seven-fold walls, or the brook can leap the mountain-chain. This, therefore, must be reckoned, last and grandest, among the things that met the Apostle as those which in the interest of God's kingdom, and in the development of His purposes for it, should be utterly, finally, 'brought to nought.'

It was hardly as yet at its uttermost height, this Imperial power; for scores of years still slowly passed before that age of Trajan and the Antonines which marked its consummate might and splendor; while it was later even than this that Severus carried his victorious arms to Ctesiphon and Seleucia, transferred the entire legislative power from the Senate to himself, and scattered the profuse memorials of his reign over Africa and the East. But already had Julius Cæsar, first of generals and foremost of statesmen, by natural force the leading man of all

his world, laid the first courses of that immense structure in which others after him were to perpetuate his name, and without his genius to outrun his plans. Already had Augustus, with marvellous tact, dissimulation and ability, overcoming all obstacles and destroying all rivals, raised himself by sure steps to the empire of the world. While retaining artfully some forms of the Republic he had centralized all authority in his will, being recognised successively as General, Emperor, Supreme Pontiff, and Censor. He had adorned with the spoils of every land, and had almost rebuilt, the imperial city; had added other regions and peoples to the empire; had disciplined the troops, tranquilized the provinces, and given to the world an unaccustomed peace; and he had fostered the brilliant literature which is the superb and imperishable crown of that whole age which bears his name. He had been enthroned for forty-five years on the Palatine hill; had been worshipped during life in some cities of the empire; and, after his death, had been raised by the solemn decree of the Senate to the rank of a God.

The 'dark and unrelenting' Tiberius who followed him, Caligula, Claudius, and now at last Nero, in front of whose stupendous tyranny, just ripening to its fulness, the Apostle was writing, had successively inherited and abused his prerogatives; and their absolute power had been only confirmed by time and use. Nay, even their unspeakable cruelty and lust, by continually exciting the fears of the people, and as continually debasing their character, had but cemented into more solid strength the fabric of that unparalleled domination whose foundations had been laid by a genius so rare, a sagacity so sure, and a courage so complete.

And so was this empire now exhibited to Paul, encircling the sea which was the centre of his thoughts, from Carthage to Alexandria, from Alexandria to Ephesus, and on to the very pillars of Hercules; with no sign of weakness and with

no shade of fear on all its frame; full, on the other hand, of the most intense and commanding vitality; the vigor of youth blending in its life with the disciplined craft which was the slow growth of ages; its organization the most perfect of Time; its wealth the most ample; its military system the most exact and effective; its renown the most various; its ambition as unbounded as if conquest were a novelty, and the stream of the Rubicon still was its limit. Its name was a terror to the wildest barbarians, while scholars rejoiced in the letters which it cherished. The armies, to which it had given a name that signified of itself their constant practice and incessant activity, were arrayed over the earth at each point of command, from the Indus to the Tweed, from the shores of Scandinavia to the Libyan sands. Their helmets flashed in the streets of each city. Their iron-beaked galleys, from Misenum or Ravenna, were ready at a word to dart to the onset against every foe. The British woods and the Assyrian plains were equally familiar with their triumphing standards.

The hundred millions of inhabitants of the Empire, from whom these armies were evermore reinforced, though not indeed pervaded by any strong principle of inward unity, were yet by no means merely encircled by a brazen ring of military force. Their obedience was in large part voluntary and stable. They were actually and strongly bound to the metropolis; by admiration of its splendor, as well as awe of its power; by the tolerance in each province of the local religion, and to some extent of the local law; by the Roman colonies, which were pushed in all directions after the arms which had opened the way for them; by the admission to citizenship of those provincials who most desired and most had deserved it; by the comparative immunity which certainly was given them from the yet more capricious and unendurable tyranny of the smaller despots whom Rome displaced. Thus, in the structure of this wonderful and vast

establishment of government, while at home as I have said the lingering forms of the antique Republic still veiled the might of a perfect autocracy, in the provinces was combined some shadow at least of the federative principle with the power of a complete and irresponsible despotism. The great roads that radiated in every direction from the golden milestone within the forum — crossing or even piercing the hills, and bridging the ravines, with an imperial disregard of all natural obstacles—were arteries along which flowed constant circulations from the heart to the extremities. The characteristic productions of each region became gradually dispersed and domesticated in others. And Commerce, Religion, Letters, Law, wove each its strand into that immense and magnificent girdle with which the earth was well-nigh encircled.

In comparison of this Empire, therefore, all others had been feeble. The Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian monarchies, at their largest extent, had been beside it but fragmentary domains, as one by one they all became its tributary provinces. Before its unwaning and unshaken majesty, the brief empire of Alexander shone in History only as the meteor contrasting the sun. There have been prodigious empires since; of Charlemagne or Napoleon; of Timur or the Turks; but they never at any time have approximated this. No term descriptive of extension represents it, if it indicate less than a universality commensurate with the then existing civilizations. To speak of it as colossal, is to fall far below the just height of its demands; for the will of its Emperor was an earthly omnipotence. To resist it, was like crowding a continent from its place. To escape it, was almost like jumping from the planet. When more than once the slaves rose against it, multitudinous as they were, of blood as eager as their masters', letting slip at them its legions it crushed them as the avalanche crushes the cottage. When the Northern tribes dashed tumultuously against it, those hardy tribes whose chieftains boasted that for

fourteen years they had slept beneath no roof lower than the sky, under Marcus Antoninus it pressed them back to their fastnesses and forests with a force as irresistible as of mountains upheaving. The emulous and chivalric Grecian spirit had quailed before it in a hopeless despondency, and now from Mount Hæmus to the Laconian gulf was its suppliant vassal. The sombre and haughty Egyptian genius, which had once built Thebes, and Memphis, and On, and had shadowed the Nile with the statues of Rameses, was bruised to the dust beneath its more stately and imperious tread. Even Jewish stubbornness and fanatical pride, proverbial through the world, had been crushed and quelled in the grasp of its legions; and the castle of Antonia, commanding the Temple, was but one of the eyries from which looked down on a subjugated world its dominating eagles.

Considering its history, considering its growth, it seemed hardly so much a construction of man, this Empire of Rome, as one of the pre-ordained elements of nature; reaching in its exhaustive roots to the centres of history, and draining the earth to give it nutriment; increasing with a steadiness, and an immeasurable might, which no mere art or generalship could have given; in its production therefore resistible by no agencies, and in the result as indestructible by assault as Lebanon or the Apennines. Nay, it seemed hardly so much a power terrestrial, in its amazing and terrific augmentation—to the imaginative student contemplating its wonders, it still sometimes presents itself in History, hardly so much a power terrestrial—as a drear and vast Fate; impersonal, immense; long-slumbering and inert, but expanding itself rapidly from portentous beginnings as Christianity came near; spreading over the heavens, infolding the earth, locking liberty in paralysis, while giving an almost demoniac power to its auxiliary minds; combining all conquering passions and powers in one ultimate aggregate, and descending beyond help on the overwhelmed nations!

So it stood before Paul, as at Ephesus he saw it, as every where he met it, as he knew and felt it environing the earth. And so long as it remained undestroyed, unchanged, with its muscles unrelaxed and its heart unsubdued, the supremacy of the Gospel could not be realized. It was absolutely arrested and forbidden. For in essential and immovable antagonism this fronted the Gospel. Its kingdom, and law, and life were different. Its spirit was one of the most malign selfishness ; its ambitions were fierce, its passions implacable, and its whole aim earthly. As soon, therefore, as the doctrine which Paul was proclaiming should emerge from the shelter of its early insignificance, and begin to declare itself a world-mastering principle, this mightiest empire of Time was its enemy ; its ‘ enemy,’ did I say ? was its most terrific and consuming assailant. All the powers that pertained to it, so prodigious and omnipresent, as swayed by one will, inspired by one aim, and pushed to their purpose with relentless ferocity, were to converge at once on the work of arresting and then of eradicating the hated Christianity. The sharpness of swords and the darkness of prisons would be its swift and certain answer to every appeal which invoked for the Gospel the tolerance that it showed toward all other religions.—And so Paul knew that this as well, this mightiest establishment of government on the earth, this impregnable despotism which was touched by no fear, against which human power seemed vain, and to strike which was like trying to startle the stars—that this should also, in God’s own time, be broken and wrecked, and “brought to nought.”

But HOW SHOULD IT BE DONE ? By what agencies should each of these prophesied victories, over Judaism, Heathenism, and the terrible iron-limbed Empire of Rome, be brought to pass ? Not, he affirms, by the forces which already are at work in the world, in a manifest development, and with recognised

efficiency, and which may be still further augmented and multiplied, and made to bear on this new issue ; not by armies revolting, or statesmen conspiring, or philosophers projecting new answers to Heathenism ; not by nations reclaiming their ravaged rights, or the still existing Senate combining with the people to bury the haughty imperial prerogative in a cataclysm of revolution. The forces which God shall employ for this work, and to which He shall give a might irresistible, are simply thus far the "THINGS WHICH ARE NOT;" which exist but in embryo, and are not so far developed or recognised that men even despise them ; the things which He alone can bring out of the secrets of thought and life, and make triumphant on their mission.—It is here that we encounter the whole meaning of the Apostle, and rise to the level of the theme he presents to us. And even with the cursory view we have taken of these so solid and gigantic establishments which confronted the Gospel, how apparent to us is the truthful energy of his expression. How immense the disparity between the great powers and institutes that were, and the agencies so recent and so imperceptible which were to overcome them !

For what were these agencies ? To apprehend them at all in their primitive insignificance, we must go back, remember, of all that Christianity has done and has been, of all that it is in the world around us, and think of it as it was, in its wholly unembodied and impalpable life ; back of churches, schools, and homes ; before one temple had sprung toward heaven, in the novel uplift and delight of its architecture ; before one treatise had wrought its principles into scientific statement, or clothed them in the grace and the majesty of letters ; before any government had sought to incorporate its rules into statutes ; before any one of all the great names now associated with it had become its bulwark in the popular confidence. In the simply spiritual elements it involved, it was set against this array which opposed it ; and of all the auxiliaries which it

afterward gained, not one had as yet appeared on the earth. How utterly insignificant seemed then its force! How incredibly inadequate to the end to be accomplished, its tenuous, delicate, and precarious instruments!

The truths which had been taught the Apostles, and afterward recalled to them and unfolded more fully by the witness of the Spirit, and which were to be enshrined in evangelical narratives, not one of which had yet been written, which were to be expounded in a series of letters by the apostles to the churches, of which only those by Paul himself to Thessalonica had thus far been prepared,—*these* were the primary instruments to be used, with the oral proclamation of their principles and laws, for the spread of God's Kingdom, and the overthrow of whatever withstood its advance. And these!—it seemed like binding the lightning in the meshes and knots of metaphysical argument to set them to the work which thus lay before them. Epistles, and talks in the synagogue, against armies! The might that lay on letters and lips, against the might that ruled from thrones! The publication of doctrines, against establishments of power as rooted as the hills. The sneer of Pilate, "What is truth"?—'one scream of the trumpet, one rush of the legionaries, and teaching and teacher both are ended'!—the contemptuous carelessness of Gallio afterward, toward what seemed even to his practised mind a dispute about words and an antique law: these only represent the more than disdain, the sarcastic indifference tending only toward disgust, with which the ministers of the powers that were regarded such invisible weapons of thought.

The living energy of Christianity in the world, through the souls into which its truths should be transferred, throughout whose affections its charity should be shed, whose hopes should be kindled and their courage inspired by its high promises—this personal force of Christianity in the world, realizing the principles which epistles were to teach, and incarnating the spirit with which gospels were to glow: this was the second

of the agencies to be used for the triumph of God's Kingdom over all which withstood it. And this was just beginning to be realized, under the resolute ministry of the apostles, at a few of the points central to commerce and chief in population. The woman and the jailer converted at Philippi, who lead the long march of European Christendom toward the cross and its service, toward the crown and its splendors, had now some others associated with them. The woman named Damaris, and Dionysius the Areopagite, were doubtless still illustrating at Athens a more divine temper than Grecian homes had hitherto known, or Grecian philosophy ever had taught. And at Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, Berea, Antioch, Jerusalem, and a few other points, individuals could be found who were beginning to illustrate, though as yet how imperfectly, the kindling contact of the Divine heart with theirs, the renovating force of the spirit of the Lord.

But this, thus far, if a power at all, was plainly a power only in embryo. And it might well be questioned, in the light of previous human experience, whether it were a power at all; whether, as matched against what was opposed to it, the characteristic spirit of the Christian was not an element of positive weakness and dangerous inefficiency. For it was meekness, arrayed against might; penitence and piety, against a jealousy and wrath which swept sea and land with military force. It was a charity which forgave all offences, against the infuriated passions of millions who were eager to commit them. It was a tender and scrupulous patience, that hardly asserted the common right of self-defence, against the impetuous and sanguinary onset of bands inured to rapine and blood; whom confession of helplessness could not conciliate, any more than an armed resistance could daunt them; who were only more savage in their tyranny over those who lay most entirely and plainly at their mercy. What possible chance, then, on mere rational grounds, for such a spirit, represented

in such feeble and imperfect communities, scattered so widely from each other, to withstand for an instant the real resistance, much more to overcome the marshalled onset, of all the powers arrayed against it! Words cannot surpass, they can hardly set forth, the apparent utterness of the impossibility. That the tuneful strains of Orpheus' lyre should have tamed wild beasts, and stirred the trees and rocks to motion, could not have seemed to the sceptical philosopher in the least more improbable. It was as if a child of days would rival Jove; and flinging back smiles in answer to thunder-bolts, would seek to hurl him from his throne.

And yet these were the very agencies—these “Things which were not” in every sense—which were not regarded, and which hitherto existed only in germ, these Gospels and Epistles which were still to be written, these teachings and preachings which had scarcely commenced, these Christian forces in life and character which hardly thus far had appeared on the earth, which were not self-conscious enough to be formed as yet into separate communities, which could not be spoken of as one of the Fathers afterward spoke of them as ‘verdant islets amid raging oceans,’ but which now were only as scattered flowers casually dispersed on the surface of a sea that at any moment might swell with tempests,—*these* were the forces which God had chosen to bring to nought the “Things that were”: the ancient, immense, and impregnable institutions, that stood in all their august might and tremendous effectiveness fronting the Gospel. Not with energy only, but with an exact precision of speech, had Paul then described them. The philosopher thought of them, if he thought of them at all, with a contempt only greater than that which he gave to the most absurd or childish of fables. The soldier regarded them less than the mists which had hovered last year around the crests of the hills. To the Jew, in comparison of his august forms and world-challenging miracles, they seemed as frail and shadowy as dreams. The whole wisdom of the

world anticipated as little an impression from them as we that the tiny animalculæ in the ocean, streaking its waves with phosphorescent glow, will arrest the revolution of shaft and wheel, and stay the steamship on its march.

Those secondary forces, too, which were in time to be evolved by God's plans, and confederated in effective alliance with these—although of course existing in embryo, they were if possible still more unrecognised, and even unrealized, when Paul was writing. How far they all were present yet, even to his inspired expectation, we cannot say; though some of them, no doubt, he plainly foresaw. The awakening spiritual longings under Judaism, at which his ministry to so large an extent was sympathetically aimed; the awakening moral instincts within Heathenism, whose premonitions he must have felt, of which Plutarch soon afterward became so illustrious and engaging an example; the gradual progress of moral decline in all the systems that were rooted in error and maintained by force, a decline which was vastly increased and accelerated when the heavenlier power came in controversy with them; the reâction which took place in even the hard-nerved Roman mind, when all the arts and all the terrors of a persecuting world were found unable to shake the hearts or silence the lips of humble men and holy women who still confessed Christ amid dungeons and flames, and under the reddening jaws of lions—a reâction which at last arrested persecution, when the final edict of Dioclesian had been issued from that palace at Nicomedia beside whose ruins stands to-day a Christian church, and which came ten years later to its sudden consummation when Constantine took the cross for the ensign of the empire, and blazoned upon it the monogram of Christ;—all these were things which one by one came into developement, each in its time, as the truths and the spirit of the Gospel went forward, and which had been parts, from the very beginning, of the enginery of God for the work to be accomplished, but which were as latent, when Paul looked

forth from Ephesus on the sea, as were the germs of modern oaks.

And those still additional procedures and events, also auxiliary to these more silent forces, which came as the comets come, with exactest precision when their time was accomplished,—already they were purposed in the mind of the Most High; already He saw their seeds unfolding; but how vaguely, if at all, were they thus far foreshown even to Paul; how entirely unsuspected were they yet by the world!

The destruction of Jerusalem by the arms of Titus, who when Paul was writing was a lad of fifteen, just recovering from the poison with which accident or design had nearly blighted his life, and who seems to have felt himself but the instrument of a Power which he could not comprehend and could not contravene, in his overthrow of the city; the consequent extinction of the Jewish nationality, the final obliteration of all distinctions between the tribes, and the scattering of their impoverished remnant to the ends of the earth:—this was a fact lying still as hidden among God's plans as the lightning which summer clouds secrete in their calm folds, but which came at the instant for which it was prepared, as the shattering bolt drops out of those clouds upon fortress or tree. And then, at last, the tremendous descent on the centres of the Empire of those northern barbarians who, when the Apostle dwelt at Ephesus, and for many years after, were divided among themselves, without arts or arms, without iron or money, strong only in undisciplined valor, and hardly more regarded by the Romans than the Indians or the Esquimaux now are by us, but who already were mysteriously pressed forward by some power from behind toward the seats of the tyranny which despised and forgot them, and who, when at length they broke upon the Empire, though destroying its structure, revitalized its blood, broke it up to recast it for the basis of modern European civilizations, and gave to Christianity such a sweep-

ing distribution as ages without this could not have accomplished:—this was another of those latent forces, then existing but in germ, not discovered or hinted to the minds of mankind, but which lay already in the reach of God's view, and was prepared at the crisis for the grasp of His will, for the overthrow of whatever opposed his evangel!

These were the instruments which He had selected, so utterly vague and formless hitherto, possibilities only and not actual powers, to accomplish his majestic and beneficent will. And through them, by His might, it did come to pass in the due time, as Paul had known and declared that it should, that the Gospel which seemed so slight a force when he was proclaiming it in the school of Tyrannus, and the agencies for which looked so frail and so few, did triumph illustriously and dominate for all time over the colossal institutions and influences which resisted its march. Where none had welcomed, there all at last accepted and honored it. Where every thing had opposed it, there every thing sped to do it service. The truths it uttered,—spreading electrically from mind to mind, with resistless velocity and atmospheric ubiquity they came to pervade and irradiate the nations. The spiritual life in the souls of believers,—rushing with fleet though silent contagion from heart to heart, and from people to people, it remoulded literature, it subsidized commerce, it changed the aspects and the tendencies of society, and it blossomed into churches as the hidden vegetative force of the spring bursts forth into flowers or shoots upward in trees. Judaism was surpassed, absorbed, and terminated, in a higher Religion, more adequate to man's wants, more illustrative of God's glory. Heathenism was not only broken down and exterminated on the scenes in which so long it had reigned, but it was made, thenceforth and forever, the veriest outcast of civilization. The Roman Empire was as finally extinguished as if the crust of the globe had been opened to swallow it up. And all was wrought—

this change at which the world still wonders, and which no other change recorded in history ever has paralleled—all was wrought, within a few centuries, by what at the outset had appeared so unreal or so ineffectual. God's might had crowned with an absolute victory what mankind had despised; and weakness, as used by Omnipotence, was supreme. The vanishing shadow, as it looked to men's eyes, had shaken and dissolved the earth-centred mountain. Doctrine and suffering had discomfited despotism. The market-places vocal, and the catacombs crowded, had been mightier than armies. The Mamertine Prison had conquered the Capitol!

"The city of God is built," it has been said, "at the confluence of three great civilizations." It is built as well, let it never be forgotten, on the ruins of three prodigious, ambitious, and defiant establishments; a perverted Judaism, deriving vast strength from the truths it denied; an ancient, haughty, and universal Heathenism; a military Empire that encompassed the earth. And the forces which brought all these to nought, they were not descending squadrons of angels; they were not astute combinations of statesmen, the eloquence of scholars or the strategy of soldiers; they were forces which Paul could only describe, even in his day, a score of years after Christ had ascended, as "THINGS WHICH ARE NOT"!

FATHERS AND BRETHREN: I have tarried too long, I fear, for your patience, though not long enough for the demands of the theme, on this illustration of the words of the text; on this majestic demonstration in history of their profound and literal truth. And now, as we turn from Ephesus and Corinth, and leave the whole sphere of ancient life which they represent, let us take with us the thoughts with which the theme is instinct, and which fit themselves to our assembly.

Let us meditate anew on THE MAJESTY OF GOD, which is shown us here in full brightness of discovery, and which never should cease to inspire our hearts.—It is shown us in nature;

not so much amid phenomena the most dazzling or vast, as where he makes the force which looks smallest the lord of the greater, and where he sets the [unseen energies to construct and control the combinations of matter ; where he leaves the great laws which regulate the worlds mere invisible conceptions and melodious ideas of his archetypal and tranquil mind ; where he poises the Universe, in the final analysis, on a globule of ether, beneath which stands only his ‘ word of power.’ It is shown us in miracles ; where the prophet’s rod opens paths through the waves before whose recoil the chariots are as chaff ; where the dust and the spittle are omnipotent through his will for removing the blindness that no surgery touches ; where the tones of the voice are indued with a potency that masters the storm and raises the dead. It is shown us, as brightly as any where else, in this progress of the Gospel ; where the humblest of energies become clothed with supremacy, when auxiliary to his aim ; where is suddenly brought to light what had lain deeply hidden, that it may work his wondrous will ; and where what appeared to have no existence is invested in his plans with irresistible efficiency.

What a resource for our hearts ; what an unfailing stimulus to our too often fainting faith ; what a ground of awe, and love, and wonder, more vivid and vast than the theophany upon Sinai, is the discovery thus made of Him ! How plainly does prophecy become possible to him, who knows from the beginning all these occult forces which he is to marshall and make to determine the history of the world ! And what a privilege is Prayer shown to be, when we place it in its relation to His supreme mind, to His all-controlling and absolute will !

And further, let us notice THE INTERPRETING POWER OF THIS SAME DIVINE ELEMENT in more recent history ; the light which it casts on the subsequent changes that have marked the advance of Christianity in the world. Every where we shall find it, if we search for it aright, gleaming as a thread of

heavenly gold throughout the tangled and bloody annals that cover the interval between Paul's day and ours.

After he had long ascended to his rest, and the Christian temple long had stood on the very site of Nero's circus, there came that time beneath whose darkness history yet shivers, when all the fearful agencies of ill, which had apparently finally been scattered, seemed to rally again and re-combine, in different forms but with the same spirit, once more to withstand and overpower the Gospel; when Romanism was supreme,—the old Heathenism over, though baptized with new titles and adorned with new splendor,—over Western Europe; when Western Europe, and Romanism through it, was as mightily predominant as the Empire had been in human civilization; when Mohammedanism confronted it, with flaming sword and fanatical zeal, in the very seats where Judaism had been; and when Heathenism, bulwarked behind this false faith, remained undisturbed and even unquestioned over the remaining area of Asia. Again the whole power of the world seemed compacted, to crowd back the truth from the minds of mankind; and again there appeared, looming darkly above this, an almost unworldly malignity and energy, working tireless and triumphant for the same drear result. And again it seemed, as it had done of old, like looking to see the Alps melt away, or the continents and seas exchange their conditions, to expect such powers of ill to be vanquished, such prodigious establishments to be remoulded.

But again the possibilities which men had not considered, the germs of things which they had not discerned, were God's chosen and adequate instruments for his end; and he brought them out from their silent retreats, and made them victorious over all that opposed him. Kindling the primitive fires again in the souls of his faithful, by the word of his Gospel and the touch of his Spirit, he made their lips and lives to be vocal, as had been those of the primitive martyrs. He shot an inspiration over the nations, from the prisons of Lollards and

the stake of John Huss. He stirred new longings in Rome itself, after a higher Christian life. He made the progress of scientific thought contribute to the movement which thus constantly broadened. He awakened and invigorated, and brought to powerful development and action, the elements which worked toward national liberation and popular freedom, and made these auxiliary to his august plan. And then he gathered around these forces, nascent only as yet though full of promise, such an armory of instruments, suddenly revealed, as no other age had ever possessed. He unfolded the mystic might of the type, which makes human thought palpable. He brought to view other worlds by the telescope, and disclosed the true stellar and planetary system, to shake men's faith in the 'infallible' Church which had passionately denied this. He picked up this continent out of the seas, by the touch of that needle which is as his own finger of light, guiding the mariner through the darkness. He put the Bible, in the speech of the people, into the hands of all who could read, and made powerless beside it the priestly establishments which were based upon ignorance and bulwarked by force. He wrenched at last the whole of Northern Europe from the grasp of the Papacy, put a commerce into its hands wider than the ancients ever had dreamed of, and inspired it by degrees with a devotion to the truth unknown till then since the era of the Apostles. He peopled this continent with a Christian colonization, insignificant in its beginning, apparently almost accidental in its direction, but providential in its movement, and amazing in its growth. He drew out the energy from that Southern Europe which still remained Romanist, and equally from that fierce and aggressive Mohammedanism which so long had arrested the advance of the Gospel. And so he brought the world to this stage in which it meets us: with Protestantism prevalent and Romanism weak, both in Europe and here; with Mohammedanism shat-

tered in the centres of its power, and Heathenism pierced at multitudes of points by the progress of the Gospel ; with the whole world now open to the march of the truth. And in all the long progress, his method has been that which the text first declared. He has conquered the powers that seemed irresistible, and overturned the establishments that looked solid as the earth, not by great forces at which all the world wondered, by monarchies and their might, by universities and their learning, by military movements and magnificent diplomacies, but just as of old by the things which 'were not' till He bade them to be ; which existed but in germ, unrevealed to the knowledge or the hope of mankind.

It is the key which unlocks for us History. It is the method which shows God supreme, and still active in the world, and which associates distant ages in the long triumphal procession of his plans. He uses most these minor means, that we may hear his sounding steps reverberating on earth. He brings in ever the ultimate triumph of his truth and his Son, through the humbleness of the manger and the sorrows of the mount. He leaves the earthquake to shake the lands, and go vibrating on to the caverns where it hides. He leaves the wind to whirl over the surface, and mingle again in the quietness of the azure. He leaves the fire to blaze ineffectual into the heavens, and expire amid a smoke which the star-beams soon pierce. But he utters Himself in the 'still small voice.'

We cannot, I think, be content without noticing the relation which the truth thus declared to us by Paul sustains to OUR OWN LAND AND TIME ; the light which it casts on those purposes of God which already we feel to be wheeling through the mists, and articulating themselves amid the uproar and tumult, with which we are environed.

What is the lesson it teaches here ? Is it that the Government which so long has been powerful is to be overturned by the startling Rebellion which so recently was not, but

which now has expanded to colossal proportions? that God *thus* designs to exalt the mean thing to a might unexpected, and to vindicate his supremacy through the triumph which he gives it over that which it seemed inadequate to shake? Nay! but the line in which he chooses to do this is the line, you observe, in which his ancient plans advance to the reduction of the world to allegiance to his Son. The things which are mighty, and which he overturns, are those which obstruct, not those which assist, this beneficent progress. And the feeble and obscure things to which he gives effectiveness, are those which are adapted by their nature to his work; which are marked from the beginning by a radical righteousness, though at the beginning most faint in development; whose expansion is therefore harmonious with his character, as well as directly auxiliary to his aim. And so this is not the lesson which is taught for our times by the text. A diverse application is that which it has for them.

Our Government in the past, so broad in its basis, so noble in its frame, builded so grandly on primordial truths, and seemingly riveted to them so firmly by the terms of its charter and the traditions of its founders, has still been confronted, and to some extent combined, in unnatural alliance, with another its opposite. Perverted by this, in many of its officers, laws, and operations, it has been rendered in some degree, it has been in peril of being rendered more largely, a bulwark of bondage, and not a grand power for popular liberation; the ally of a force which would shut the book of God to a race, and not of the faith which would open it to all men; the minister of a rule before which the family-institute is nothing, and not of the great idea of the Scriptures that the family inviolate is the solid corner-stone of all civilization, the first and most sacred of governments and of churches. It has seemed sometimes that this abnormal system—this marvellous complication of legalized lies, fronting the heavens in our late century—was so established in all our seats of ancient renown

and national power that nothing could shake it; that every institution, officer, law, must be subservient to its behests. Strong in the wealth produced for it by millions of laborers unrequited; crafty in the policy and effective in the tactics which leisure gave its leaders opportunity to master; domineering in its spirit and tenacious in its will as was the Roman Empire first, and the Papacy afterward; aiming at incessant renewal and expansion, and even with a certain religious fanaticism confusing its conscience and intensifying its passion,—it has looked to those who have studied it in the past too vast to be avoided, too strong to be subdued; almost certainly the master of our national policy for generations to come; whose pride and might would be only cemented with the progress of time, and to shake whose dominion were like breaking the Alleghanies into a prairie.

But God has taken the impalpable powers of thought and prayer, which alone remained to set against this, and has made them mighty as of old on his errand. The weak and despised, and the base things of earth, yea, even the things which 'were not' when he commenced, he has made in part victorious already over this gigantic and inveterate system. He is carrying them forward, let none of us doubt, to their certain consummation. If we are true to ourselves and to Him, it is SLAVERY that is going down, not our benign and venerated GOVERNMENT, in this fierce struggle which agitates the land. It is Slavery which is to disappear in the end from its last stronghold within nominal Christendom. The truths that started in so much feebleness, that gained so tardy and reluctant an acceptance from even the minds which most were attuned to them, that have had to encounter such constant opposition, and whose power to overcome it has seemed so slight—they have mastered many mechanisms, and enthroned themselves in pulpits; they have found multitudinous voices in literature; they have organized themselves by degrees into statesmanship; they have had their martyrs here and there, as

all great truths must have to be vindicated as such ; they have reached and grappled the popular conscience, inspired and directed political action, and at last have placed their nearest representatives among public men in the chief seats of power, and have crowded the imperious and exasperated system which has watched their advance, and has frantically resisted the approach of its end, to a point where it snatches up arms in rebellion, and makes civil war to blaze and thunder for the first time in our history—and also for the last !—along the mid line of our peaceful confederacy.

And here, as of old, other instruments that were not till God bade them to be, are now made auxiliary to the spiritual forces of the truth and of righteousness. The wondrous uprising of an intense patriotism, which flashed with actual lightning-speed from New-York to the Pacific, from the shades of Katahdin to Californian valleys, when the outcry went forth that by bullets and bombs the old imperial starry flag, riddled and rent, but undisgraced, had been hurled from the bastion ; the amazing military development that has followed ; the unexampled enthusiasm of the whole Northern mind for the maintenance of the government, and the extent to which already it is impregnated with a principled and determined detestation of Slavery ; the immense expansion of the culture of cotton beneath the vast stimulus which now is applied to it, preparing it every where to spring up more profusely, till it binds in the filaments of its delicate fibres that system which thought to command the world by a monopoly of its staple—all these are things which were not at first, which were not a year since, which not the most prescient could have anticipated, but through which and by which God will vindicate his supremacy, and overwhelm that which would hinder his Gospel from largest publication.

As in all our career—wherein a faith that seemed so obscure surmounted at first the obstacles that were mighty, wherein the scattered and fragmentary colonies humbled the

empire which threatened at the outset to crush them by its weight, wherein the inventions that subdue to man's use the unfatigueable powers of nature have arisen to displace and replace the old instruments in so swift a succession,—as in all our career, so here, most of all, shall the principle of the text be vindicated to us: when the final demolition of Slavery shall have come; and when, as Pericles built the Odeum, for great musical performances, out of the masts of Persian vessels captured at Marathon, so the generations which come after us shall find that that magnificent and durable temple which is here to be erected to Universal Freedom, and within which shall arise, age after age, the Te Deums of millions, has taken its stateliest proportions and pillars from the shattered strength and the vanquished rage of this present Rebellion!

And, finally: how the whole pressure of the theme bears instantly and always on OUR MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE; and what an animating view does it open of the prospects of this work in the ages to come! We cannot close but with this thought.

Last year, as was fit, our minds were turned backward along the magnificent march of the work up to that anniversary; and with grateful hearts and praising lips we could but exclaim, at the end of the Half-century, "What hath God wrought"! We will not forget the successes then recited. We will not let slip from the hold of our minds the great memories then awakened. Our thoughts and hearts are anchored still to the colleges, churches, and schools of the prophets, in which this Society had its commencement. Our tender recollections cling still to the homes amid whose piety has been nurtured the faith which has signalized its annals; to the graves where so much devoted life, the dignity of man and the beauty of woman, has gone down in its service from the vision of men; to the scenes which are forever consecrated, by the labors of its teachers, and the sacrifice of its martyrs. Blessing and honor and glory and power be unto Him who hath raised it

up, and girded and hallowed it, and given it His help ! Its past is secure ; and in the clear effulgence of that our souls grow bright.

But standing to-night at the end of the first year of its second Half-century, and assembled as we are in this beautiful city which was not in existence when its labors commenced—looking out on these regions, then almost untrodden, whose lakes and prairies and river-vallies, stretching on to the Pacific, are teeming now with so copious a life, which is organizing so fast into Christian communities,—it is not possible but that we look forward, and anticipate what the present period, in its swift circuit, shall also bring. And so looking on, what invigorating influences rain upon us from the text ! What vistas of glorious and immeasurable advancement for the Kingdom of Christ open in bright perspective before us !

It is inspiring to think of those far-scattered preachers, some of whose associates are with us to-night, who are carrying the great truths which apostles first bore, to distant lands ; again establishing missionary churches ; again reducing the languages that are Pagan, and that have been from the start, to the mastery of Christ. From city and jungle, from coral islands and the echoing marge of ancient continents, we know their thoughts and hearts turn hither ; and to them all our souls send back their glad All-Hail ! But it is, if possible, more inspiring still, not to our affection, but to our courage, to think of those impersonal forces, unknown as yet even by us, which God has marshalled for his work ; which cannot die, and shall not fail, and which he will use, each in its time, for his fit end. It is wonderful that he should have set in Hindostan, two hundred and fifty years ago, in such uttermost weakness, and with such absolute unconsciousness on the part of his instruments, the seminal principle of that English dominion which, beginning when Elizabeth irradiated England with the brilliance of her reign, hath waited for its fulfilment

to the day of her latest and loveliest successor. It is wonderful that Australia, first seen by the Portuguese, and whose neighboring islands, with the glittering name of Islands of Gold, were first linked to Europe by the commerce of the Spaniard, should still have remained for two centuries and a half unoccupied by settlements, till there as well English colonies were planted, and English influence made supreme. But who does not see that the Protestant energy which pervades those vast regions is to be henceforth the dominant power in Asia and the Pacific ; and that the beginnings, so feeble and so distant, held in them the germs of Christ's ultimate victory ? It was not known, when the missionary spirit first awoke in this country, that the era of steam-navigation was at hand, to give to commerce world-wide enlargement and lock all lands in alliances of trade. It was not known, when all Christian missions began to need a rapid expansion, that the picking up of a flake or two of gold in the dry beds of streams with which Indians and Mexicans had long been familiar, was to augment the wealth of this country and of Europe by incredible additions, and to furnish the resources for which millions had been praying. But so has God made the things unexpected, and the things that looked trivial, the things which he alone foresaw, to fit into and further his on-working plans. And so shall he do throughout the future.

The obstacles before us seem great sometimes, but how small they all are beside those which already have been overcome ; and how certain it is that even already the forces are at work, not yet to be recognized probably by us, before which they all shall come to nought ; before which worships, castes, and despotisms, shall melt as melts the morning mist ; before which new men shall spring to action, new routes of travel and trade be opened, new nations be inspired with evangelical fervor, our country be made more than ever heretofore a missionary land, and the fierceness of the world be subdued unto Christ.

Our grand prerogative is it to know this: that all things coming are our helpers; that as fast as the possible becomes realized and actual, it assists our advance! That which statesmen always fear, is these possibilities which they can not yet measure. What makes the hearts of monarchs quake, amid palaces and armies, is the chance that already, among the secret seeds of things, is germinating that which shall threaten their thrones. But all these boundless possibilities are ours. These germinating influences, every one of them is for us. God's mind controls and chooses all. They are indeed his selected auxiliaries, for the furtherance of his plans. And we have but to advance in the line which He marks out, to find them all our unwearied fellow-workers; to find the Half-century of missionary history which we have commenced, full even to the end of still culminating successes! Over every discouragement, and to every fresh victory, He shall lift us by means which we least had anticipated. The most solid of the barriers that still stand in our path, already the unseen and impalpable agencies are conspiring for its downfall. And the great revolutions which, when they come, shall startle and amaze us, lie really infolded already, did we know it, in forces and causes which we have not discerned.

Let us know, then, beforehand, what the issue is to be, and take hold on it with our faith. Let us look upon Nature, Commerce, the Arts, on the movements of states, the changes of dynasties, and feel that in all of them lie hid our helpers. Let us never be discouraged, and never be timid, till the end is attained, or till our life closes. And let us know that when the end has fully come; when the kingdoms of this world are all the Lord's, in loyal faith; when every shackle at last is loosed, and every home is free and secure; when from each hill to every other there rings abroad the shout of joy, and over every outstretched plain there streams the Gospel's radiant morn; when all the world securely rests in perfect love, and that various beauty which no autumn can typify has robed its

coasts in hues and lights which are the reflection of that great Bow bended of God around His throne—it shall be seen emblazoned in light on the long progress, it shall be heard resounding in music from every part of the vast triumph: “THE THINGS THAT WERE”—so ancient, proud, and full of might—by “THE THINGS THAT WERE NOT,” they are all brought to nought!

God make the truth our teacher here; and make its fruits our glory there; and unto Him be all the praise! Amen.

ENLARGEMENT.

A

BACCALAUREATE SERMON,

DELIVERED AT

WILLIAMSTOWN, MS.

AUGUST 2, 1863.

BY MARK HOPKINS, D. D.

President of Williams College.



BOSTON:

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN & SON, 42 CONGRESS STREET.

1863.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1863, by

T. R. MARVIN,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

S E R M O N .

2 CORINTHIANS VI. 13.

NOW FOR A RECOMPENSE IN THE SAME, (I SPEAK AS UNTO MY CHILDREN,) BE YE ALSO ENLARGED.

THAT is a slow process by which enlargement comes to man in his apprehension of himself, and of his wider relations. At his birth he is often spoken of as a stranger. He is a stranger in a strange world—how strange!—but to no one is he a greater stranger than to himself. How little does the infant know or suspect of the capacities that are in him for apprehension, for joy and suffering, for varied emotion and passion, for action, and for an eternal duration. He is a point that is to enlarge into a capacity to reflect the universe, but that capacity is revealed only as he is brought face to face with that which is to act upon him, and upon which he is to act, and few men, if any, learn, during a life-time, their own capacities. Among the last things that a man comes to know thoroughly, is himself.

Then of the past, of the future, of things around him, what does he know? Of that endless duration that is back of him, he knows nothing. He

does not know that there has been such a duration, much less what has taken place during its countless ages. Whether he is the first child of the first man, or the last in a succession of myriads of generations, he knows not. So of the space around him, and what is in it. To him, the walls that his eyes rest upon are the limit of the universe, and those around him are all the beings it contains. Of wide plains, and high mountains, and broad oceans, of an infinite space with its countless suns and systems, of the multitudes of men, and the myriads of the heavenly hosts, he has no apprehension or suspicion. So also of the great future. Shall all things continue as they are forever? Shall the earth and the things that are therein be burnt up? When will the millennium begin? Where will he be after myriads of ages? These, and such as these, are questions that do not as yet disturb him.

Now the business of education for this incipient being, certainly its first business, is simply enlargement — enlargement in the apprehension of things past, and future, and around him; and the comprehension of them so as to bring them all into unity.

But to this enlargement there are great natural obstacles; and if man be left to himself, it must, whether we regard the individual or the race, be slow. In part, it is indeed spontaneous. The child, let alone, will grow up to such apprehension and enlargement as will enable him to meet his animal wants, and something more. But in its

relation to the human faculties, this universe is so constituted that enlargement soon ceases, unless there be voluntary, rational, persistent, and organized effort. From the great number of objects around us, their complexity, the magnitude of some and the minuteness of others ; from the subtlety of natural agents, the interaction of laws and the long cycles of nature ; and from the necessity of labor and the brevity of life, it is clear that one individual, or one generation, could do but little. How could the first man, or the first generations of men, have known that the earth is round, or that it revolves round the sun, or that its surface lies in strata, or have calculated an eclipse ? How could they have known the composition of bodies, and the subtle agents of chemistry ? Clearly man was placed here as in a school, and both the individual and the race were to be gradually educated into such an enlargement as to comprehend and use wisely the substances and forces around him, and to know something of his position, among the stars, and as related to other worlds.

Owing to the obstacles just mentioned, this process of enlargement could not have been rapid, but it might have been more so than it has been. Men are sluggish, and gravitate towards sensuality ; they fall into habits and routine, and run in ruts ; they carry the grain on one side of the horse, and a stone on the other, because their fathers did. Notions indolently taken up gather about them a crust of antiquity, that no one dares to break through. There is nothing that men have been

so reluctant to do as to think. They would go on pilgrimages, hang on hooks, accept dogmas, bow down to power, but they have been slow to put forth their powers in an earnest effort after comprehension and enlargement.

And not indolence only, but pride and selfishness have arrayed and organized themselves against this enlargement. Once accepted, a dogma links itself with modes of thought and habits of association; it becomes a part of the systems of the schools, or of religious teaching. Then pride comes in, and the will is up, and men contend, not for truth, but for victory. Often also a dogma is so interwoven with the structure of society, that if you overthrow it, men's occupation will be gone. Then interest takes the lead, and pride and passion fall in, and the whole guild of silversmiths, with whatever rabble they can collect, are full of wrath, and cry out, saying, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." Again, knowledge is power. Ignorant men may be held in subjection, and used as instruments; and whole classes, nay, the mass of mankind, have been so held, of set purpose, and by law, that those thus holding them might rule over them, and avail themselves of their labor.

From these causes there has been little zeal for truth; and men zealous for it, and especially those in advance of their age, have been persecuted. Leaders of the race, and those set for the advancement of truth, have been its worst enemies. Holding the key of knowledge, they have not entered in themselves, and them that were entering

in, they have hindered. Seats of learning, the very fortresses erected to guard and advance truth, have turned their guns against her.

But now there is a change. The bonds are relaxed. Henceforth no coming Galileo shall need to smite with his foot the floor of a dungeon when he says the earth moves. If not the summer, yet the spring-time of truth is come. The few are greatly enlarged, and the mass of humanity is quickened. A feeling that gropes for the light, is pervading it, a dim thought that it is coming out into enlargement. Always there has been a voice from every thing that could supply want, or gratify curiosity, or enlarge science, or adorn life; from the flower on the earth and the star in the heavens, saying, Be ye enlarged; but now that voice is heard by the alert sense of very many. Now, too, it begins to be felt that truth is one. The different angles and walls of her temple are seen to belong to one building, and instead of scowls and reproaches, the workmen more often send greetings to each other, and feel that they are working together.

To this wide enlargement there are, as has been said, natural obstacles; but there is also a tendency to it, and with right affection progress would be indefinite. From the first, the affections are complicated with the intellect, they react upon it as the brain upon the stomach, and when these are disordered and dwarfed, it is not possible that the general intellectual level should be high. Society will soon reach a point where it will become sta-

tionary, and will begin to go back. Hence the great thing needed is enlargement of the affections, and it is accordingly of this that the Apostle speaks in the text. "O, ye Corinthians," says he, "our mouth is open unto you, our *heart* is enlarged. Ye are not straitened in us, but ye are straitened in your own bowels. Now for a recompense in the same, (I speak as unto my children,) be ye also enlarged." Be enlarged in your affections. Give as you receive; love as you are loved.

For the Apostle Paul to say this to the Corinthians, was a great thing—how great, we can understand only by going back to his position. Socially, the world was in a state of disintegration. Men were divided into clans, tribes, nationalities, with diversities of language, customs, interests, that were constant grounds of alienation and of settled antipathies; and, to human view, any common ground or centre of unity for the race was hopeless. Except in dreams of conquest and subjugation, the very idea of such unity did not exist. But of nations thus diverse and hostile, the Jews were the most exclusive, and the Apostle was not only a Jew, but had belonged to their straitest religious sect. As a Jew, his pride, and self-complacency, and zeal for Judaism, were boundless, and he looked upon Gentiles with contempt and aversion. Yet we here find him offering his fraternal regards, and warmest love, and intimate fellowship to Gentiles, and seeking theirs in return, and this without regard to the previous rank, or cultivation, or character of those

Gentiles. Of some we know that their origin was low, and that their character had been vile. This too he did on a principle that would include all, for we hear him saying to other Gentiles, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise."

Now here was a moral miracle. I do not hesitate to say it. To one who has observed the tenacity of national pride and hate, and the virulence of religious bigotry, and who knows the state of feeling at that time in regard to women and slaves and barbarians, this transition from the extreme of narrowness to enlargement and absolute universality of affection, and to the recognition of all as entitled to common privileges, is as unaccountable on merely natural principles as any miracle of the New Testament. Now, the sympathies of this former bigot embraced the race. He knew no man after the flesh. To him every man was a *man*, made in the image of God, redeemed by Christ, exposed to the second death, but capable of being saved, and so he preached Christianity to all men alike, and received all men alike, for so must it be preached, and so must men be received, if it is to have its full power.

In adopting the above principle, the Apostle was simply faithful to the system he had espoused, which stood self-vindicated as from God by its recognition of man as man, and through that, by

its fitness and tendency to become universal. Hence its leavening power. Did the Apostle preach at Rome? Why not in Spain also? If in Spain, why not in Britain and to our barbarous ancestors there? By ignoring every thing incidental, and seizing, as the material of its system and the ground of its regards upon humanity itself as it must exist under all modifications, it passed at once through all barriers of nationality, and clanship, and caste, and condition, and showed itself to have an assimilating and organizing power that was capable of bringing all people into unity. This was the wonderful fact about it. As related to ultimate success it was the cardinal fact, and one not to be compromised. It is the fact that has made Christianity revolutionary from that day to this. If at times the giant has seemed to be quiet, as if pressed down by the mountains of human wickedness, it has only been to gather strength for the upheaval, and the earthquake. And so it will be, for in this fact is the principle of all true progress.

Marvellous then as this enlargement of the Apostle would appear on any other ground, it is yet perfectly natural when we look at him as a disciple of Christ both comprehending his system, and in sympathy with him. As in sympathy with Christ he could not do otherwise. The example of Christ was the great miracle of love, both in its intensity and in its enlargement. In its intensity it was unto death, in its enlargement it was for the whole world. Receiving such a spirit of enlarge-

ment as this from the Master, how could there be in the disciple any thing of restriction or limitation? How could he refuse to preach Christ's gospel to any for whom He died? How could he refuse to receive any whom Christ received? No longer do we wonder when we find this former bigot and persecutor exulting in this universality, and saying so freely, and fully, and grandly, "Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all, and in all."

From this example of the Apostle, we readily see what that enlargement is of which he speaks. It is a coming out from all narrowness and restriction of nationality, or clanship, or sect, or caste, or local prejudice, or prejudice from color, and so apprehending the rights of man as God-given, and his dignity and destiny as made in the image of God, that we shall always feel towards every man, and treat him as a man. This is no glittering generality, barren and impracticable. It is the great want and claim of this age in which we live. It is the law of God. It is the claim of humanity.

This enlargement, which is that of Christianity, some, especially French writers, have sought to identify with democracy; but while Christianity is the only foundation of a quiet and permanent democracy, they are yet rather in contrast. Democracy respects political rights and relations; Christianity respects all relations, and may exist under all forms of government. Democracy looks chiefly at rights; Christianity at duties. Democ-

racy respects this world ; Christianity includes both worlds, but looks chiefly at ultimate destiny. Democracy concedes rights, but requires no enlargement of the affections ; Christianity is, itself, in its very essence, an enlargement of the affections. Democracy is compatible with great individual corruption within a nation, and with hostility and boundless ambition in the relations of nations to each other ; Christianity involves individual integrity and good-will to all. Democracy may be atheistic—men have sought to make it so ; the very principle and foundation of Christianity and the enlargement it implies, is from the relation of each to all as in the image of God, and so from their common relation to him.

To the enlargement now spoken of there is not, as to that of apprehension, any natural obstacle. Enlargement of affection might, and should accompany that of the intellect as naturally as the heat of the sun accompanies its light. But in this world it is not thus, and it is both sad and amazing—if it were not so sad it would be amusing—to trace the history of the world as it is related to this want of enlargement. There is no conceivable difference by which men are separated from each other that has not been made a ground of alienation in affection, and often of positive hostility.

“ Lands intersected by a narrow frith
Abhor each other. Mountains interposed
Make enemies of nations.”

A difference in name, nation, color, language, clan, occupation, residence, as in different towns, or even

at different ends of the same street, and especially a difference of belief and opinion, become the ground of alienations, divisions, and of settled, hereditary and unreasoning hate. Passions thus excited have been strong enough to override both humanity and self-interest. Often, as in families and clans, these passions have been intense and persistent in proportion as their range has been narrow; often too as the point of difference has been frivolous, and as the opponents resembled each other the more, except in the one point of difference.

Such differences must, of course, respect points that are capable of drawing in by association the deep feelings of our nature, and will have more power as those feelings are deeper.

Hence it is that, in this respect, religion has furnished so sad a chapter in the history of the world. When its grand beliefs, tending only to enlargement, are displaced by superstition, and those deep feelings in which true religion chiefly consists, concentrate themselves about trifles and forms, we might expect a narrowness more intense than any other, and a bigotry more unscrupulous and cruel. And so it has been, and is now. So great has been this narrowness that it has been impossible to caricature it, because the imagination could conceive of nothing more narrow. The Little-Endians and the Big-Endians of Swift, whose difference was on the question whether they should break their eggs at Easter at the little or the big end, were not a whit beyond the four-year-

olds and the five-year-olds in Ireland of whom we have seen accounts the present year, whose feuds have often led to murder, and between whom it became necessary for the bishop to interpose his authority. But more wonderful than this, we have seen, in our own country, large and intelligent bodies of Christians whose differences touched, and were conceded to touch, no vital point of Christianity, withholding all tokens of Christian communion and fellowship, and holding each other as heathen men and publicans ; and we have even heard prescribed, as the way of peace, the putting up of high fences and keeping them in good repair. What a work for the followers of Him who “broke down the middle wall of partition” between the Jews and the Gentiles, “having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances” — that is in external rites and things unessential — “for to make in *himself* of twain, *one* new man, *so* making peace !”

It is also impossible to conceive of bigotry more unscrupulous and cruel than there has been. In connection with no one of its elements, save that of religion, could human nature have either originated or endured such an institution as the Inquisition ; and the imagination may be drawn on in vain to exceed in its conceptions the horrid enginery that has been devised to do professedly the work of Christian love.

But as much ground as there is for discouragement in regard to this form of enlargement, yet

here, too, the bonds are relaxed. Not alone is there light on the mountain tops, there is more of quickening warmth in the valleys, and here and there a deeper verdure. That the perfection of the world requires that the two forms of enlargement should go on together, we can see. But as there are in the way of this no natural obstacles, so neither is there for it any law of progress, except as love naturally follows light, which all experience shows that in this world it does not in fact do. Hence, for such a training of the race as shall effect this enlargement, we must rely wholly on the special providence and grace of God.

The two points to be reached are — the one, that every man shall so respect manhood as to treat every other man as a man — the other, that every Christian shall so respect Christianhood, as to treat every Christian as a Christian. Manhood in man ; Christ in the Christian — these are to be the objects of our regard, and nothing selfish or sectarian, nothing local or accidental may prevent our enlargement to the full recognition of every right and claim which these would involve. It is not that the claims of self-interest rightly viewed, and of nearer relationship are to be disregarded. These have their place, primary, imperative, sacred ; but these claims are met with the broadest wisdom only when they are met in full compatibility with the claims of the widest enlargement. Towards these two points the movement has been slow. It is wonderful with what difficulty men have broken away from the narrowness of family, and clan, and

tribe, and party, and caste, and sect, and nationality. But there has been movement. Feudalism melted into nationalities, often ill-assorted, and mere aggregates, but always with some increase of enlargement. Clanship, as in Scotland, that seemed to inhere as by some special mordant, has faded out. The Thugism of Ireland has well-nigh passed away. The French Emperor has kissed the English Queen, and the English and French have fought side by side. A new continent, this American continent, has been opened, where men might stand and see in the distance, and in a way to cause enlargement, arbitrary distinctions and conventionalities that had become chronic and hopeless, and where they might begin anew on a broader basis. To this continent and to this country have been swept, as by a vast diluvial current, English, and Irish, and Scotch, and French, and Germans, and Hollanders, and Swedes, and Jews; and in the surging of free institutions they have been rolled together, and rounded, and smoothed. No experiment devised for the purpose could have been better adapted to promote enlargement.

And if we turn from nationalities and political relations to the church and to sects, there too there is movement. The cave whence Giant Pope formerly came out to seize pilgrims on the King's highway, has become his prison, where he is guarded by foreign soldiers, and must needs be defended from his own subjects. The Inquisition cannot be reproduced. In Spain, though by great effort and special grace, instead of imprisonment

for nine years, those who read the Bible are only spoiled of their goods, and banished. Even Turks are converted to Christ, and avow it, and their heads remain on their shoulders. Nay, Turkey may well put Spain to the blush, for there the Bible may be freely sold and read. In England there is progress. The intolerance of the Established Church is waning, and, both politically and socially, Dissenters are less under ban. And then there is one country where there is no alliance of church and state, and no civil disability, or liability, to taxation, or social ban with a court to sanction it, on account of religious belief, or form of worship. If, to some of these things, there are tendencies here ; if we are in danger, as we are, from ecclesiasticism ; if the old aristocratic leaven, driven from politics, tends to pass into the church ; there are also opposite tendencies, and we hope the spirit of enlargement will gain the mastery. It must gain it in the end.

Having thus seen what that whole enlargement would be that is involved in the text, I observe in the first place, that the Bible method of reaching this is the reverse of that adopted by the world. The world seeks first intellectual enlargement. Its education is for that, and the ends secured through that. For enlargement of the heart it cares little, and supposes that will follow of course. But not thus can even a general enlightenment be reached. The interworkings and counteractions of selfishness would prevent that. Those who would gain

such enlightenment must first seek a higher end, as he who would have all other things added must first seek the kingdom of God. Hence the method of the Bible is to begin with the heart. Any enlargement of the intellect without this it reckons as nothing. For the guidance of a moral being it is nothing. The doctrine of the Bible is, that "he that loveth his brother walketh in the light," but that "*he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes.*" This doctrine the world has yet to learn. A general enlargement of intellect in any community can be reached only by bringing to bear upon the heart of that community the great motives of Christ's Gospel.

I observe again, that we may learn from the doctrine of this discourse what must be the solution of that problem which is now convulsing this country, and steeping its soil in the blood of civil war.

In speaking of the elements of that experiment, if I may so call it, that grand providential movement which God is now making in this country for the enlargement of men, I purposely omitted to mention what may ultimately appear to be the most effective element of all, that is, not the people who have come, but those who have been brought here. Under our declaration of independence, asserting for every man the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and under institutions practically, as never before, maintaining

that right, all, with the exception of the negro, have been thrown together, if not without fear, yet without favor, to work out as they might their personal ends; and though we have had cast upon us nationalities so diverse, and have had sent to us the vicious and abandoned products of other institutions and forms of civilization, and then been reproached with the results, yet, under the beneficent agencies of freedom, with the exception above mentioned, the processes of elevation and assimilation were working well. But in the face of our public and solemn declaration, a declaration that in our own case we had maintained with blood, here were men endowed by God with every natural right, having in their veins that "one blood of which God made all nations for to dwell on the face of the whole earth," who were deprived by statute and organic law of every natural right. Thus aloof from the legitimate working of our institutions, the negro element became, first an irreducible, and then a disturbing element. It did nothing positively, but was an obstruction that showed itself at every point. It was marvelous how inevitable it became in every political, in every religious meeting. Every body wished it out of the way, or said they did, and nobody knew what to do with it. Here was a call for enlargement, and it was not fairly met. The nation failed signally, and before the world, to apply impartially its own avowed principles; and every man knows that this is *that cause*, without which the present civil war could not have been.

And now it has not escaped the observation of many, that the point of enlargement to which the providence of God is pressing us in this war, is the full recognition of the manhood of the negro in all his rights as a man. This point, as fully as the laws of the Union would allow, was reached in this State, immediately after the Revolution. In the eye of the law the negro was placed on an equality with other men. From this no harm came, and if this point could be reached throughout the whole country to-morrow, our troubles would cease. When the black man shall be permitted to go where he pleases, to earn his own honest living in his own way, to enjoy all the natural rights of a man, and such civil rights as he is fitted for, the country will be quiet. We may not wish this ; probably we should not have ordered it so ; we may struggle against it. But this distinction of color and of race is from God ; these people are here by his appointment, and we are not to narrow ourselves by prejudice, and fear that the heavens will fall, if we apply impartially and fully those great principles of natural right which are surely from God, and which we have avowed before the world. It is these principles that are now in question, and it is the struggle between these and their opposites that is convulsing, and is yet to convulse the nations.

It is into that double enlargement of the intellect and the heart, which has been presented in this Discourse, that I now invite you, my dear

Friends of the Graduating Class, to enter more fully. With the enlargement of your sphere of action, be *ye* also enlarged. As liberally educated, you are under obligation to intellectual enlargement. You owe it to yourselves, and to the community, not to lay aside your liberal studies. You ought to do something “for the increase of knowledge among men.” Especially ought you to have that wide and liberal spirit which will appreciate knowledge of every kind, and encourage its advancement.

But, as you will have inferred already, my chief desire is that you should be enlarged in your hearts. There has been enlargement of heart towards you. You little know how you have been loved and cared for by parents and friends. There has been enlargement on the part of the public in providing for your education; there has been enlargement towards you in the hearts of your teachers—there has been in my heart—as I have known you more, you have grown upon me—and now what we ask you is, “For a recompense in the same.” The best recompense of love is love in return, and the deeds which love prompts. What a recompense that is which you can make to your parents and friends! How will your parents rejoice, how will your friends, how shall I rejoice, to see you giving back love for love, care for care, and filling every enlarged sphere with an enlargement of intellect and of heart like that of the Apostle himself.

For this enlargement there is ample scope in this world; but in that which is to come, O the

illimitable enlargement of which you are capable! O the wealth which God has provided! The wealth of this universe is not in the things that may be possessed, though they be gold and gems, though they were suns and systems; nor yet in the sciences that may be known, though they branch out into infinity; but it is in the beings that may be loved—God himself and his holy kingdom. Possessions, knowledge, are but the pedestal to be crowned with love. It is because there is excellence to be loved that heaven is possible, and the possibilities of heaven itself are to be measured by the possible enlargement of love. My dear friends, I speak as unto my children—have not I a right so to speak? Be ye also enlarged.

At this point, however, perhaps a caution is needed. The enlargement to which I call you is not to be confounded with what is sometimes called liberality. This is a term under which, with the pretence of enlargement, men often cover indifference to the truth, and, if the truth be pressed, essential narrowness and even bitterness. With such liberality, the enlargement to which I call you has no affinity. It is its opposite. The more enlargement there is, the more vivid the apprehension will be of the beauty of truth, and of the dignity and excellence and unutterable value of righteousness. You are called to an enlargement of comprehension and of love like that of Paul, with a corresponding opposition to all fundamental error and essential wickedness. The enlargement to which I call you is that of Christianity itself, which

is at once the most universal and catholic, and the most exclusive of all systems. If it had not been broad and catholic, it would not have been fitted to include all nations ; if it had not been exclusive, it would not have revolutionized the world—it would not have had martyrs. Christ himself would not have died, if there had not been something to stand up for, and to hold on to, with the whole energy of our being. What this is we may know. God has not shut men up to the alternative of the frigidity and imbecility of indifference on the one hand, or to a narrow and fierce bigotry on the other. No ; there is an open way of enlargement in comprehension, and in the love of God and of man, and in hating nothing that love and righteousness do not compel us to hate.

With this caution, the word that I would leave with you, that I ask you to carry with you through life, is *enlargement*—enlargement of intellect, enlargement of the heart, enlargement of the intellect through that of the heart.

From this combination there will naturally, but not necessarily follow, an enlargement of personal influence. To insure this there must be added, energy of will. With that added, your preparation for the work of life will be complete. Then, not only will you yourselves grow by the exertion of your own activities in the right direction—grow to be more like God, and so more truly human—but in the same proportion you will have an influence for good over others. Influence for good over others ! This is the object of a legitimate ambi-

tion ; and in this you will find, what so few have found, the point of coincidence between the highest ambition and the highest duty.

And now, my dear friends, in view of what has been done for you, of what is expected of you ; in view of the wants of your distracted and imperiled country, of the wants of a lost world ; in view of your capacities, and of the scope there is for them in the infinities that surround you ; in view of the call of God himself, and of Redeeming Love, I speak to you as unto my children, and I say to you, “ Be ye also enlarged.”

CHRISTIAN STEWARDSHIP.

A

FAREWELL SERMON

DELIVERED IN THE

FOURTEENTH STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

NEW YORK,

SABBATH MORNING, NOV. 15, 1863.

BY

REV. ASA D. SMITH, D. D.

NEW YORK:

ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH,

No. 683 BROADWAY.

1863.

PRINTED BY E. O. JENKINS,
20 North William Street.

NEW YORK, November 17, 1863.

DEAR PASTOR:

Having listened, with deep interest, to your Farewell Discourse, delivered last Sabbath, and desiring that its record of your pastoral labors with this Church be put in permanent form for distribution among the people, the Session, in behalf of the Church, request you to favor them with a copy of the manuscript, for publication.

WILLIAM A. BOOTH,	} <i>Elders.</i>
JOHN McCHAIN,	
LUCIUS HART,	
OLIVER R. KINGSBURY,	
JOSEPH F. JOY,	
STEPHEN CUTTER,	
SALEM H. WALES,	
WILLIAM T. BOOTH,	
EDWARD C. CHAPIN.	

NEW YORK, December 5, 1863.

To the Session of the Fourteenth Street Presbyterian Church,

DEAR BRETHREN:

The Sermon of which you speak was prepared, as you know, under an extraordinary pressure of cares and engagements, connected with the transition to which Providence had called me. Yet, as containing facts of interest to the congregation, and simple utterances of an affection which can never die, I submit it to your disposal.

Yours most truly,

ASA. D. SMITH.

SERMON.

“Give an account of thy stewardship.”—LUKE xvi. 2.

THE parable from which these words are taken, has been one of the vexed places of Scripture, both to ancient and modern commentators. It has had various, discordant, and often, as we judge, erroneous interpretation. Both the variety and the error have resulted, in great part, from the undue magnifying of particulars—the mere back ground of a vivid and impressive picture—and the consequent disparagement of the few great lessons which our Lord designed to teach. For our present purpose, we need not so much as approach the rocks which have so often proved fatal. We are called to no extended and minute explication of the parable. We only fasten, as the clause in hand leads us to do, on certain principal thoughts—thoughts, which if they include not the culminating point or moral of the passage, do at least underlie it, while they are variously and abundantly set forth in all the Word of God. We shall consider, in the first place, the RELATION presented in the text, and in the second place, the RESPONSIBILITY

connected therewith. We shall find both these points, as we proceed, quite relevant to the present occasion. For myself, I could scarce pursue, this morning, any other line of thought. As the fast falling sands of time have been bringing me near to this day, not of gloom but of tender solemnity, ever have these words been ringing in my ears : " Give an account of thy stewardship."

I. The text suggests to us, it has been observed, a RELATION. I need not say, it is a relation of man to his God. What we are and what we owe, in this view, the Scriptures set forth in divers forms. They employ, largely, figurative phraseology, derived sometimes from natural objects, but oftener from our social relationships. No one representation would grasp the complex whole. Now the plastic clay gives its similitude ; now the rod of the smiter ; now the branch drawing life from the vine ; now the flock led by the shepherd. Rising to a higher plane, man is represented as a subject, as a servant, as a pupil, as a son ; nay, in the fullness of his exaltation by grace, as a king and a priest unto God. In the text we have a different figure, derived primarily from domestic life in the days of our Lord, but not unfamiliar to modern times. It is that of stewardship. The steward is one to whom his master's goods are intrusted ; who has the care and disposition of them, in some sense as if they were his own, while yet they are not his own ; while he is bound to

hold and use them as his master's, and with an eye evermore to his pleasure and advantage. A beautiful example of this we have—the first the Bible gives us—in the faithful Eliezer of Damascus.

No figure could better exhibit one of our most important spiritual relations. We are all stewards of God. Whatever we are, whatever we possess, lies within the compass of our trust. We ourselves are not our own ; God has in us the most absolute proprietorship. We are to glorify Him in our bodies and our spirits which are his. Whatever faculties we rejoice in—physical, mental, moral—from the lowest level of sense up to the loftiest range of the reason ; whatever outward possessions are ours—of lands, tenements, securities, hoarded treasures ; whatever influence we possess, flowing out through the various natural and social channels ; whatever opportunities are afforded us, ordinary and extraordinary ; everything which we can grasp and wield, as a means to an end ; though we call them ours, are all really God's, and are just as truly to be used for Him, as the goods in your agent's hands are to be disposed of as you direct, and with supreme regard to your benefit. You may not have acknowledged this relation, you may have studiously ignored it ; but it exists nevertheless—it is one of the fixed facts of the universe. You disregard it at your peril ; nay, in peril of your own best good as well for time as for eternity. There is one point in which the likeness between the earthly and the heavenly stewardship par-

tially fails. "In worldly things," as Trench has well said, "there is not, and there never can be, such absolute identity of interests between a master and a servant, that a servant dealing wholly with reference to his own interests, would at the same time forward in the best manner his lord's. But our interests as servants of a heavenly Lord, that is, our true interests, absolutely coincide in all things with his ; so that when we administer the things committed to us for Him, then we lay them out for ourselves, and when for ourselves, for our lasting and eternal gain, then also for Him." A blessed stewardship this—why should it ever seem onerous to us?—in which as we lose we gain, as we give we receive, as we deny and even forget, we immeasurably enrich ourselves !

Life is to all, it has been said, a stewardship ; it is so, peculiarly and preëminently, to the Christian. To the goods of nature committed to him, far more valuable spiritual goods have been added. Redeemed from the curse of the law, and adopted into the family of God, he is an heir of God and a joint heir with Jesus Christ. He has treasures of grace inestimable in possession—not to speak of the greater in reserve ; pardon, peace, communion with God and with his people, the privilege of prayer and of praise, the word and the ordinances, with all the manifold opportunities of Christian usefulness. It is a solecism to say that all this, though for himself in part, is for himself alone. It is for others largely, and so for God. If he is in the

vineyard, it is that he may work there. If the light of grace is kindled in him, it is that others may see it, and so honor its Author. If he sings for joy along his upward way, it is that dull ears may be won by the strain. If he has power in prayer, it is not merely that he may draw about himself God's good angels, but that he may prevail to the breaking of the prisoners' chains and the raising of the dead in sin from their graves. Freely he has received, eternity alone will show how largely ; and the divinely appointed motto of his life-career is, "freely give." In the closet, in the family, in the church, in the world ; in largesses of intercession, of exhortation, of more eloquent example ; of gold and silver, which while it perishes may yet save the perishing ; he is to be ever giving. So Peter said : "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another." God could save souls without us, either directly or by other agents. But it is the plan of his kingdom to make every subject of it his instrument, his almoner, and so his steward. Let us be grateful for a function which the blessed angels might covet.

To reach the highest form of Christian stewardship, however, we must turn to the Gospel Ministry. For so apprehending it, we have specific Scripture warrant. "Who then," said our Lord, with special reference to his ministers, "is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler over his household to give them their portion of meat in due season ?" "Let a

man so account of us," said Paul to the Corinthians, "as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. Moreover," he adds, "it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful." And again he says to Titus : "A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God." Preëminently apt, in this relation, is the figure of the text. The Minister of the Gospel is in a high and peculiar sense God's agent. Most weighty is the trust committed to him. Most precious are the blessings, which, in the name of the Master, it is his to dispense. There is scarce room for hyperbole in this regard. Were his every word to drop a pearl upon his pathway, and his every footstep to reveal shining grains of gold ; were his breath to infuse health into every breeze, and the glance of his eye to clothe the hills and the valleys with verdure and fruitage ; were the robes and the crowns of an earthly royalty at his disposal, could he give to every man a continent as a kingdom ; it would be but a poor service compared with that to which, as a "steward of the mysteries of God," his ordination vows set him apart.

II. Such, both in a general and special view, is the relation presented in the text. Pass we next to glance at the RESPONSIBILITY connected with it. "*Give an account of thy stewardship.*" Under God's government, there is responsibility everywhere. As he appoints our course, so he watches it. Something within tells us ever, what the Bible confirms, that there is a reckoning

before us. And the record for it, however heedless we may be, conscience is ever preparing.

“ See, from behind her secret stand,
The sly informer minutes every fault.”

We are all hastening to the dread judgment-day, when every one of us must give account of himself to God. And death shall, in some sense, anticipate that day. As the silver cord is breaking, how terrible to the worldly, how solemn even to the Christian, is the voice, rising above all farewell utterances : “ Give an account of thy stewardship.” May the grace of God prepare us all to hear it. Nay, it comes to us daily, sounding out from eternity, sounding up from the depths of our own souls. It is well to have frequent settlements with ourselves, preparatory to the final settlement. It is well to pause at those landmarks in life’s journey,—which God has appointed, we doubt not, for that very purpose,—and “ talk with our past hours.” It is well to review our stewardship, at the close of the day, the week, the year. A like retrospect is wise and profitable at the terminus, so far as we can mark it, of each of those great stages into which our earthly course is divided ; as of childhood, of youth, of middle-life. And when any special service has been completed, or any important connection has come to a close, no thoughtful soul can help hearing, as if God uttered it to him in particular, the very injunction on which we have deemed it meet to dwell this morning.

I close to-day a Pastorate, my first and only one, which has continued, by the grace of God—taking no note here of a merely formal re-arrangement—more than twenty-nine years. An occurrence of this sort is a rare one in these changeful times, especially in this most changeful city of ours. In the pulpits ecclesiastically connected with this, both in New York and Brooklyn, there remains not a single incumbent whose installation here preceded my own. That of one only, the beloved Pastor of the Madison Square Church, was but a few days later. I refer to this fact of continuance, with thankfulness indeed, but not, I trust, in the way of self-complacency. For if aught of credit is due to any human agency, I would ascribe it to that kindness of my people which has borne with my many infirmities, and that prompt and effective coöperation which has enabled me to bear the burdens and grapple with the difficulties, which, in this surging sea of life, meet every Minister of Christ. You will pardon, I am sure, in the review of a Pastorate so protracted, and in such a field of labor, something of detail; and you will allow me, in an hour so marked by tender memories and associations, to speak with the freedom of a father surrounded by his children. Life can bring me no other such service.

It was on the 12th day of October, 1834, that, in the dew of my youth, fresh from the Theological Seminary, I began my labors in this city. I was called to a church which had been recently organized, chiefly through the

agency of the late lamented Dr. CHARLES HALL, the "Brainerd Church," in the eastern part of the city. That church had its origin in the Great Revival of religion which from 1830 to 1835 blessed our city and our land. It grew, I may add, out of the peculiar type of piety engendered then. For though true religion is ever, in essence, one and the same, it has various forms and manifestations. The period was one of great personal activity on the part of God's people. The spirit of a holy propagandism thrilled their hearts. It gave new life to old believers ; young converts caught it—apt as they ever are to be moulded, under God, by the existing Church. It was not enough, Christians felt, to enjoy church privileges themselves ; they were moved with compassion for the multitudes perishing around them. Diffusion, and not concentration or monopoly, was the order of the day. Nor was the evangelic impulse limited to itinerant efforts, however wise, to extemporary neighborhood arrangements ; it took the higher form of church extension. To a greater degree, perhaps, than at any subsequent period, the local church was held to be not a mere personal convenience, an appendage and an auxiliary of wealth and fashion, but a power for Christ—the chief organic force for the extension of His kingdom. It was held that Christian men and women were here, not simply or mainly for purposes of pleasure or of worldly thrift,—not chiefly for their own religious enjoyment,—but for the conversion of the city. Not that all so felt, but the sentiment had unwonted

currency. It was deemed by many just as fitting that personal and domestic arrangements should be shaped by this great purpose, and that changes of residence, attended even with sacrifice, should be made to achieve it, as that missionaries should arrange for the breaking up of home ties, and for weary voyages to distant barbaric regions. So, while the tract distribution was pushed vigorously forward, and divers improvisations of Christian love were attempted, not a few excellent members of the old strong congregations, left their pleasant places in the beautiful crowded sanctuary, either to strengthen feeble churches where they were needed, or to establish new ones. It were well if there were more of this *spirit*, to say the least, at the present day. Without it, I am sure, the Kingdom of Christ can never be fully established here. Nay, it may be doubted if there can be any adequate substitute for those old methods. Certain it is, that not a few of those who have stood ever since as pillars in the churches, were reared into strength and beauty by the reflex influence of just those processes of evangelism.

The Brainerd Church was organized February 9th, 1834, by the Third Presbytery of New York, with only *sixteen* members. At the outset of the enterprise, several gentlemen, with their families, prominent in the churches to which they had belonged, were induced to connect themselves with it. A majority of them were from the Laight Street Presbyterian Church, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. SAMUEL H. COX, D. D.,

whose white hairs are still among us as a crown of glory. This step of theirs was the result, mainly, of an appeal from Dr. HALL. On the 13th of January, 1833, just after the services of the new congregation were commenced, he wrote me as follows: "On Christmas Day, I sat down and drew up a statement and appeal in behalf of a large section of the city, peculiarly favorable to evangelical effort, and addressed it to four good men, telling them the sacrifices they would have to make in coming to take hold of the work of building up a church there, and then told them *to decline if they dare!* Well, our good people have been praying ever since, and I have strong hope that two of the four will, at a considerable expense of convenience, money, and dear old associations, remove their residences to that section of the city, and bear the burden of the congregation." I have never seen that appeal; I know not that it is in being now; but I have seen its precious fruit, whereof many a golden sheaf has already been gathered into God's garner above.

As the call of the Brainerd Church came to me, in my Senior year at Andover, I had also a call from the old Federal Street Church of Newburyport, beneath whose pulpit the bones of Whitefield repose. I was, for a time, in a strait betwixt two. My decision in favor of the New York pulpit, I attribute largely to the prayers and the personal influence of one of the first Elders of the Brainerd Church, their messenger on the occasion. My first sermon as Pastor elect, on the day

already mentioned, was on that clause in the 13th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians: "Charity hopeth all things." The specific theme was, "The tendency of love for souls to awaken hope respecting their salvation." I shall be excused, as I pass on, for mentioning the passages preached on at particular junctures. My heart inclines me to do so. Imperfect enough, in review, have my discourses ever seemed to me, but fragrant has always been the memory of the texts. I was ordained by the Third Presbytery of New York, Sabbath evening, November 2d, 1834. The Sermon was by the late Dr. HENRY WHITE, on the passage: "And hath committed unto us the Word of reconciliation." The Charge to myself was by the Rev. Dr. COX; the Charge to the people, by the Rev. Dr. JOHN WOODEBRIDGE.

Our temporary place of worship, though the best we could secure, was a most incommodious one. It was an upper room, at a noisy corner of Essex and Stanton Street, over a place of low traffic. The Sabbath School children, at first, were seated so near the pulpit, I remember, that their partially suppressed whispers were blent often with the voice of the preacher. But I learned to bear it—nay, almost to love it. Perhaps there was something formative in the fact; for the voices of children, even of the neglected and the outcast, have lingered sweetly on my ears ever since. A lowly sanctuary it was; but I am sure that no sculptured column or vaulted roof, no enamel or tracery of finely arched windows, no long-drawn aisle, or lofty tower, or

spire piercing the skies, would have added to the charm with which, as seen through the vista of departed years, memory invests it.

God blessed us there. His people were refreshed, and as is wont to be the case in such circumstances, were singularly bound together. Said a plain member of the church, now in heaven : " We all went out at one door." Souls were awakened and converted ; and so evident and precious were the various tokens of the Spirit's presence, that when, after the lapse of nearly a year, we held our last service there, it was with hearts overflowing with gratitude. I preached then from the text : " According to my earnest expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, so now also, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death."

A convenient and pleasant church edifice had been commenced in Rivington Street, the cost of which, when completed, was about \$28,000 ; and it was so far advanced on the 27th of September, 1835. that we took possession of the spacious Lecture-Room. It was on our Sacramental Sabbath, and the text that morning was, " The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them." The church was dedicated on the 17th of the following January. A recent illness compelled me to forbear preaching myself on that occasion. The first sermon was by the Rev. Dr. EDWIN F. HATFIELD, then my neighbor ; whose own pulpit, from which physical

infirmity has obliged him to withdraw, I am, by a touching coincidence, to declare vacant this evening. Allow me to give my reverend brother's text, as it seems, on review, to have been both admonitory and prophetic : " And of Zion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her."

That church we occupied, the Lord prospering in all respects our humble endeavors, until Sabbath, May 11, 1851. Our leaving, briefly explained, was on this wise. For some years previous, that northward tendency, inevitable in our city as that of the needle to the pole, had been drawing our members to points considerably above the church. It had been growing more difficult to maintain there a competent working force. A foreign population, besides—various, but predominantly German—had been flowing into the neighborhood, and gradually displacing the native element. It was at length concluded to remove to some point where a new church was needed ; and that there might be no loss, but rather a gain to the cause of city evangelization, it was determined to devote our old edifice to the gathering of a German congregation. As we proposed to select a site in the vicinity of Fourteenth Street and Second avenue, the Sixth Street Church, which had at various times meditated the erection of a new edifice for itself, decided at length to unite with us. It was judged best, for divers prudential reasons, to have a new organization. So on the 18th of May, 1851, the " Fourteenth Street Presbyterian Church " was formed,

with a membership numbering two hundred and seventy-four ; of whom one hundred and ninety-five were from the Brainerd Church, seventy-nine from the Sixth Street Church. A considerable portion of the members of the Brainerd Church, unable to remove, united with congregations near them. One neighboring congregation, at least, of history and spirit akin to our own, the Allen Street, received thus, I am happy to remember, a desirable accession of strength. In the old Rivington Street edifice, a German church was soon formed, and there worshipped for years ; the same that now occupies the house relinquished by the Sixth Street Church. In the Rivington Street Church the Gospel is now preached by an excellent Minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Connection.

The corner stone of this edifice was laid, with appropriate services, July 22, 1850. I had fears, at first, that we had gone a little too far up town, for the lots around were mainly vacant ; yet we trusted the population would reach us in due time. We took possession of our Lecture-Room, Sabbath morning, May 18, 1851. My last discourse in the Rivington Street church, was from the text : "Because thou hast been my help, therefore in the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice." My first here was on the words : "Always abounding in the work of the Lord." The church was ready for occupancy, and was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, Sabbath, January 22, 1851. The text of the dedicatory sermon was : "For the palace is not for

man but for the Lord God." The whole cost of the edifice, with all its furniture, at a price for the lots little more than half what they would have since commanded, was not far from \$60,000. There was a moderate debt upon it at first, which was soon extinguished, leaving it, I rejoice to say, as it now stands, without a penny of incumbrance. With the upbuilding around us, our sanctuary was gladdened by a constant incoming ; an increase so rapid that, at one time, the Trustees had under serious consideration a plan for the enlargement of our accommodations. The blessing of the Great Head of the Church has been ever upon us ; and we are here to-day, after an occupancy of our house for twelve and a-half years, to utter, amid starting tears, the voice of thanksgiving. I could think of no better text for my last discourse in the Lecture-Room, than, "Thine is the glory."

In this series of years, during one of which I was kept from the pulpit by ill health, I have preached to my own people 2,915 times. Sermons delivered abroad, on exchange and otherwise, not including addresses of various kinds, would raise the aggregate much above 3,000. In but one previous year has my home record shown so large a number of discourses as during that preceding the last summer vacation. Of the manner of my stewardship in this regard, it becomes me to speak but briefly. With the deepest sense of my own unworthiness, I may yet say, "I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God." What

doctrine I have proclaimed, you well know. I have insisted chiefly on the utterly ruined state of man by nature, his alienation from God, and his just exposure to the curse of the law ; on the redemption provided for him in his helplessness—the vicarious atonement of the God-man, and the renewing and sanctifying work of the divine Spirit. I have loved to take my stand beneath the shadow of the Cross, and hold out to perishing men, as written in the blood of the Son of God, the Gospel promise. My doctrinal views have undergone no essential change ; only I think, in the lapse of years, the name of Christ has seemed more and more precious to me, his person and his work more and more central, all-sufficient and glorious. With an increasing confidence and joyfulness, in spite of all cob-webs of metaphysics and all protests of unbelief, have I proclaimed a free salvation. The fullness there is in Christ has more and more revealed itself to me, as meeting all the needs both of saint and sinner. To preach it has been more and more self-rewarding. And were I asked now to sum up my doctrine of salvation, which is the sum of all doctrine, I would say, *Jesus Christ, all and in all—the same yesterday, to-day and forever.* Out of this root, I have sought to educe all good practice, urging upon believers a simple living in and to Christ, a consecration of heart, mind, time, treasure, all, to his service ; especially, a ready diligence and a fervent zeal in seeking the salvation of men. I have preached, as both the word and the ex-

ample of the Good Shepherd bid me, the duty we owe the young—in the family, in the Sabbath School, in the lanes, and streets, and cellars, and garrets of our city. On Gospel grounds I have argued for all good reforms ; for the staying of intemperance, of profaneness, of Sabbath desecration ; for the breaking of every yoke. And when the storm of civil war burst upon our land, I did not hesitate, planting myself on the teachings of the New Testament, to plead the cause of the imperiled Republic.

But I may not enlarge. My imperfect labors, seconded ever by those of my people, have not been unblest. While we have rejoiced habitually in the morning and evening dews, and the gentle showers, God has granted us at times the great rain of his strength. Blessed revivals of religion have marked our history, one of the most precious of which gladdened our last church year. The aggregate of admissions to the communion over which I have watched—not including those who united with us, in the new enterprise, from the Sixth Street Church—is 1,393 ; 627 of them, or an average of over 21 a year, on profession of their faith. Of these about 40 have entered the Gospel ministry, some of whom have labored in the missionary fields of our own land, and others have gone far hence to the Gentiles. During my pastorate in Rivington Street, the aggregate of our pecuniary contributions, including the expenditures on the edifice, was, in round numbers, \$103,000. The annual average since the doors of this

church were opened—not including the cost of the church-edifice—has been something more than \$11,500. I will only add to these details, that there have probably been connected with the various Sabbath Schools under our care, not less, on a moderate estimate, than from ten to fifteen thousand different scholars. To compute the good that has been accomplished through this form of Christian effort—much of it apparent, but more beyond the reach of present observation—were about as impossible as to give statistics of the dew-drops.

The long period of ministerial stewardship at which I have been glancing has been marked by various changes. There has been change in the City. I came to a population of 250,000 ; I leave little less than a million. The up-town region in 1834 was in the neighborhood of Bleecker and Bond Street ; in 1863 it is from Thirtieth to Fiftieth Street. There has been corresponding progress in trade, in manufactures, in art, in finance, in literature, in wealth, in luxury. Would I could be as sure of a progress in goodness. There has been, as I have already hinted, change in the Churches. To speak only of our own denomination, when I came to the city, the earnest, wise, laborious BALDWIN was in the Seventh Church ; the clear-sighted and noble-hearted WHITE in Allen Street ; the amiable and spiritually-minded NORTON in Prince Street ; the fervent DOWNER in the West Church ; the accomplished and eloquent MASON in Bleecker Street. They are all now before the

throne of God. Of the twenty-nine persons who were members of the Brainerd Church at my ordination, *but three* are now enrolled in this. Of the Elders who were with me in the first months of my ministry, but one remains—of the Deacons not one. The children I have baptized have brought their own children to me for baptism. The boy on whose head, I laid, in his first septenary, the hand of pastoral blessing, now sits in the Session. How do such changes admonish us, that we have here no continuing city !

The approach of the hour of parting has been a sore trial to me. A thousand memories, both solemn and tender, have conspired to make it so. I have thought of our dead, who, though not with us, seem still to be of us—of HARLAN PAGE, and BREWSTER, and LEAVITT, and SARGEANT, and COLBY, and DODGE, beloved office-bearers, with others of mature years ; of young men and maidens whom we have borne to the grave ; of precious lambs, surrendered with many tears, though at the bidding of the Good Shepherd. I have recalled the harmony that has marked our whole history—*not a feud in it all*—no, not one ! I have thought of the uniform kindness I have experienced at your hands—both I and all who have pertained to me ; kindness which has never flagged ; which has cheered me when I was weary, which has watched at my pillow when I was sick ; which sent me, a worn invalid, over the great and wide sea, and waited long and patiently for the recuperation of my wasted energies ; which has had

patience with all my shortcomings ; which, now that I must leave you, overwhelms me with such manifestations, so delicate, so thoughtful and so generous, as almost break my heart. Yet duty is clear ; so I judge, and you do not question my uprightness in the matter. For your confidence in that regard, I am deeply grateful. And all your love will but constrain me ever to pray, that in the world where the ties of affection are never broken, you may receive God's own free reward of a faithful stewardship.

Though I leave this particular charge, it is with no abatement, you will believe me, of my interest in the Church of Christ. I have somewhere read of a great German scholar, that he was wont to study, with a view, through his window, of the noble Cathedral of his native town. It happened, however, at length, that the extended branches and thickened foliage of an intervening tree, hid from his eyes the magnificent structure. His spirits strangely drooped then ; his ardor in composition flagged ; he could prosecute his once loved work no longer. And it was only as the leafy screen was removed, and the venerable pile revealed itself to him again, that the old inspiration returned, and he could ply his task as aforetime. So—I may be permitted to say—wherever the Providence of God may place me, it will be only as, from my study window, I can see that spiritual edifice, the Church of the Living God—compared with which every human fabric dwindles into insignificance,—towering in mingled beauty and

sublimity heavenward, that I can prosecute joyfully and hopefully the work committed to me.

What remains now, but that I speak as your Pastor, the “word that makes us linger?” Farewell, then, my dear people. Farewell, yon study, where so many busy, sacred, solemn, anxious, joyful hours have been spent; where I have communed on spiritual things, and knelt at the throne of grace, with not a few now before me—with not a few who have come to me as inquirers for the way of salvation. Farewell, yon Lecture-Room, where I have preached and prayed so often, and have witnessed, with you, such manifestations of God’s saving grace. Farewell to this Pulpit, which has been dearer to me than any throne earth could offer. Farewell, ye Elders, with whom I have taken such sweet counsel, and ye Deacons so faithful. Farewell—may I not say it?—to the gray-haired Sexton, so true to his trust; who has been with me through almost my whole Pastorate; who has called me so often to the funeral service, and whose own dead I have aided him to bury out of his sight. Farewell to the Women “that have labored with me in the Gospel”—to the Young Men, who have been such ready helpers—to the Maidens, not less alert in all Christian fidelity. Farewell to the dear Children—the precious, precious lambs, whom I have sought, in some humble way, to bear in my bosom. Farewell to the Young Converts, whom I have welcomed so gladly to the fold. Farewell to those whom I have not been able to win unto Christ—oh, let me win

them now ! So far as the Pastoral relation is concerned, farewell to you all—farewell, till we render up together our final account. God grant that we may all be prepared to render it with joy and not with grief, and so be united, to part no more, in the services and the praises of the Church triumphant !

H Y M N,

*Written for the occasion, by a Lady of the Congregation, and
Sung at the close of the Service.*

At Bethany the Saviour wept;
His pitying love He still doth keep,
E'en while He sends the cruel stroke,
Which parts the shepherd from the sheep.

Back roll the years that long have fled,
Filled with the faithful Pastor's care—
Hallowed with memories of the dead;
Fragrant with praises and with prayer.

Great God, before Thy piercing eye,
The past but yesterday appears;
Brief as the shadow of a dream,
Before Thee stand our future years.

Grant us one prayer— When time is o'er,
Room in the heavenly pastures keep,
And there, where partings grieve no more,
Unite the shepherd and the sheep.

A P P E N D I X .

In giving to the press the manuscript submitted to them by their late Pastor, the Session of the Fourteenth Street Church deem it proper to subjoin the following documents, as historically connected with it.

I.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGREGATION.

ADOPTED AT A MEETING HELD TUESDAY EVENING, OCT. 13, 1863.

OUR much esteemed and beloved Pastor, REV. ASA D. SMITH, D. D., having been unanimously elected to the Presidency of Dartmouth College, and having, after careful and prayerful consideration, decided that duty requires him to accept the appointment, and having requested the Session to concur with him in calling a meeting of the congregation to unite with him in a request to the Presbytery to dissolve his pastoral relations to this church; it was on motion

Resolved, That we recognize with gratitude the good hand of God in giving and continuing so long with us so able, faithful, and devoted a Pastor, under whose ministrations such uninterrupted harmony has prevailed, and so large a number, by the blessing of the Holy Spirit, have been added to the Church.

Resolved, That while we recognize the sacredness of the ties that bind an affectionate Pastor and confiding people to each other, especially when these ties have been cemented by many years of mutual confidence and affection, and while we believe that such ties should not be sundered, except for the most urgent reasons, we also recognize our obligations to the Great Head of the Church, to hold ourselves and our Pastor subject to the call of duty.

Resolved, That we shall ever cherish a deep interest in our Pas-

tor, and shall follow him with our prayers, that he may be eminently useful in the new and important sphere to which he has been called.

Resolved, That in concurrence with the request of our Pastor, we unite with him in requesting a meeting of the Presbytery to consider the expediency of dissolving his pastoral relation to this congregation; and that a Committee of Three be appointed to represent this body at the meeting of the Presbytery.

The Committee appointed in accordance with the last Resolution, consisted of MESSRS. WILLIAM A. BOOTH, CHARLES TAYLOR, and ORSON D. MUNN.

II.

ACTION OF THE THIRD PRESBYTERY OF NEW YORK

ON THE APPLICATION OF REV. ASA D. SMITH, D. D., FOR A DISSOLUTION OF HIS PASTORAL RELATION TO THE FOURTEENTH STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND CONGREGATION, NOV. 9th, 1863.

THE REV. ASA D. SMITH, D. D., informed the Presbytery that he had, in due form, been notified of his unanimous election to the Presidency of Dartmouth College; and that the most urgent representations had been made to him, by the Trustees of the College, and other distinguished friends of Education, in relation to the desirableness of his acceptance of the appointment; that, after much consultation, and the most earnest and prayerful consideration, he had been led to the conclusion that the call was of God; and that, therefore, he was constrained to request a dissolution of his pastoral relation to the Fourteenth Street Church and Congregation.

Mr. WILLIAM A. BOOTH appeared and was recognized as a Commissioner from the Church and Congregation, and presented a copy of their proceedings, at a meeting on the 13th ult., duly called; from which it appeared that, with much and painful reluctance, they had united with their Pastor in referring his request to the judgment of the Presbytery.

Whereupon, after the fullest expression of opinion and feeling, it was *Resolved*:

1. That the Presbytery have heard with deep regret the request of Rev. Dr. SMITH, and desire to place on record their high appreciation of his great usefulness in the position that he has so long and honorably held as a Pastor; first, in connection with the Brainerd Church, from its organization in 1834, and then with the Fourteenth Street Church, into which the former Church was resolved in 1851, a period of more than twenty-nine years, during which he has commended himself to the numerous brethren who have been associated with him in the Presbytery, as a ripe scholar, a sound and able theologian, a devout and consistent Christian, an eminently acceptable and successful preacher of the Gospel, a laborious and faithful pastor, a prudent and sagacious counsellor, a true patriot, a lover of good men, and the ardent friend and ready advocate of the cherished enterprises of the Church of Christ for the relief of the oppressed, the elevation of the degraded, the reform of the vicious, the help of the unfortunate, and the advancement of good morals and true religion both at home and abroad.

2. That deeply impressed as they are, with the importance of the pastoral relation, and the great desirableness of its permanency, the Presbytery cannot but regard the position, to which their brother has now been called, as opening before him, in some respects, a much wider field of usefulness than the pastorate of a single congregation; and they judge that he has been wisely guided, in determining to seek a release from his present charge, in order to accept of the appointment, so worthy of him, and so urgently pressed upon him; and the Presbytery, in giving their reluctant consent to his removal, cannot but anticipate for him, should a kind Providence prolong his life and health, as we hope and pray, a Presidential career of honorable and eminent distinction and service.

3. That the Church and Congregation, whom he has so long and faithfully served, and to whose warmest and best affections he has so commended himself, have acted a truly noble part, in yielding so uncomplainingly to the convictions of their Pastor, and consenting to part with him for the greater good of the Redeemer's cause; and are entitled to the warmest sympathy of the Presbytery, which is most fully accorded to them, with the most fervent prayer and the hope that the Great Head of the Church will ere long, for his Great Name's sake, bestow upon them, a pas-

tor after his own heart, who will esteem it both a duty and a privilege to walk in the footsteps of his honored predecessor, and prove to them and theirs a rich and lasting blessing.

4. That, in accordance with these views, the request of Rev. ASA D. SMITH, D. D., be granted, and his pastoral relation to the Fourteenth Street Church and Congregation be dissolved from and after the 15th inst.

Rev. Drs. E. F. HATFIELD and S. D. BURCHARD were appointed to preach and declare the pulpit vacant.

III.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL SABBATH SCHOOL
OF THE FOURTEENTH STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, AT ITS MORNING
SESSION, NEW YORK, NOV. 15TH, 1863.

WHEREAS, In the providence of God, our beloved Pastor is about to remove from this Church to another field of labor, therefore,

Resolved, 1, That we, as a Sabbath School, desire to unite with the Church in expressing our heartfelt sorrow, in view of that Providence which directs the separation, while, at the same time, we would bow with humble resignation to its will.

Resolved, 2, That our most hearty thanks are due to the blessed Saviour, for continuing our dear Pastor so long in this Church, for his watchful and tender care over the lambs of the flock, for his unwearied efforts to bring them into the fold of the Great Shepherd, and for all the success with which that Great and Good Shepherd has crowned those efforts.

Resolved, 3, That the ties of affection which bind us to him and to his dear family, cannot be impaired by the lapse of time, nor by the distance of separation, but will remain strong and enduring when all earthly relations shall have been severed.

Resolved, 4, That we will not forget to pray to our Heavenly Father, that, in their new home, His blessing may continue to rest upon them.

CHARLES FANNING,
Superintendent.

AN
ADDRESS
DELIVERED AT THE
INAUGURATION OF THE AUTHOR
AS
PRESIDENT OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE,
NOVEMBER 18, 1863.
BY REV. ASA D. SMITH, D. D.
WITH THE
INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS
OF
HIS EXCELLENCY JOSEPH A. GILMORE.
GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

HANOVER, N. H.
1863.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

THE Order of Exercises at the Inauguration of the Rev. ASA D. SMITH, D. D., as President of Dartmouth College, was as follows : 1. Music, by the Lebanon Band. 2. Introductory Address, by His Excellency JOSEPH A. GILMORE. 3. Reading Select Portions of Scriptures by the Rev. Professor DANIEL J. NOYES, D. D. 4. Prayer, by Rev. ZEDEKIAH S. BARSTOW, D. D. 5. Music, by the Handel Society. 6. Inaugural Address, by the PRESIDENT ELECT. 7. Music, by the Handel Society. 8. Prayer, by the Ex-President, Rev. NATHAN LORD, D. D. 9. Benediction, by the Rev. S. P. LEEDS, of Hanover.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

BY

HIS EXCELLENCY JOSEPH A. GILMORE,

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

OFFICERS, STUDENTS AND FRIENDS OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE :

THE occasion on which we are met is one of peculiar interest. After the lapse of a third of a century, this ancient seat of learning is without a head. We have met here to-day to supply that want, or rather to consummate that action of the Honorable Board of Trustees by which the want has already been most promptly and efficiently provided for. It is my privilege and my duty, as Chief Magistrate of the State of New Hampshire, to formally announce to you those facts which have already gladdened your hearts. The Trustees of the College have unanimously chosen Rev. Dr. ASA D. SMITH, of New York city, to preside over its affairs. He has signified his acceptance of this high and sacred office, and presents himself here to-day to formally enter upon the discharge of its duties. It is my privi-

lege, Sir, to welcome you to our Commonwealth, and to an office which I am sure you will signally honor.

There are certain circumstances and relationships which render this duty especially pleasant to me, and almost reconcile me to the unaccustomed service of speaking before such an assembly and in such a place. It is no formal welcome which I give you, Sir, to-day. We have played as boys together amid the Green Mountains of my native State, and the name of ASA DODGE SMITH recalls the tenderest memories, and reminds me that the same blood flows in your veins and my own. Widely have our paths in life diverged, yet here we meet again in maturer years ; not too old, I trust, nor too much elated by the honors which have fallen to our lot, to renew the friendship of our childhood.

I welcome you, as a son of Dartmouth, back to your mother's arms, after a generation has passed away, and rejoice that no ordinance, human or divine, hinders us from hailing the son as at the same time the husband and the father. Your vigorous manhood gives promise of a lasting union. That large experience which the Great Metropolis has given you, joined to that native strength of character which led me to look up to you when a boy, assures us that the offspring of mother Dartmouth which shall be reared under your charge, will be worthy to be remembered with such illustrious names as Webster and Choate. The tender and tearful reluctance with which the people of your late charge have given you up, leads us to believe that you will

soon win the confidence of your associates in office, and the love of the young gentlemen entrusted to your care.

I feel, Sir, that the interests of our college are safe in your hands. You will not only exemplify a pure morality and inculcate lessons of sound wisdom, but enforce a patriotism which, while it is untainted by fanaticism, shrinks from no sacrifice which our country demands. The sons of Dartmouth in the camp and on the battlefield will be to you as your own children. Relying on God for aid, you will assuredly win the praise of all, as a Christian, a scholar, a patriot.

Although the founders of this republic have, with a wise forethought, given its rulers only a nominal connection with this seat of learning, yet let me say to you, that you will find myself and my associates in office ready to coöperate in every work which may lighten your labors, or render them more effective for good. The sense of what I have myself lost in being deprived of such training as is here given, only makes me more anxious to extend these facilities to others. It shall be my personal aim to render our only college worthy of the honored names which grace its catalogue, and of Him to whose service it was dedicated by its pious founders. It shall be my prayer, that not the least prosperous epoch in its history may be when it was governed by the counsels of President Smith. In behalf of the Corporation, Sir, I welcome you to these solemn services, which are to invest you with the high and responsible office of President of Dartmouth College.

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT ELECT.

I HAVE been deeply impressed, may it please your Excellency, by the terms in which you have seen fit to address me. Especially touching have been your allusions to bygone years. I deem it a rare felicity, that in declaring thus publicly, as I have already done in a more private way, my acceptance of the position to which I have been called, I do it through one, in whom I recognize at once the playmate of my boyhood, and the honored Chief Magistrate of my native State. The scenes to which you have referred, seemed, as you spoke, to pass freshly before me. And I cannot but think, as I recall them, that your own training amid the Green Mountains, had no small share in preparing you for the eminent public service you have rendered, in this great crisis of our country's history. Again thanking you for the kindness of your greeting, I reserve for another point in the programme, what I have to say of the important trust committed to me.

THE COLLEGE, IN ITS PROPER FUNCTIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS.

AN INAUGURAL ADDRESS,

BY

REV. ASA D. SMITH, D.D.

THERE are four chief organic forces, by which, under the providence of God, humanity has its normal development. These, generalizing broadly, are the family, the school, the state, and the church. Wherever you find, even in its lowest measure, a true civilization, these exist ; and as it rises they rise, sustaining to it the relation both of cause and effect. Concerning, as they do, one and the same complex nature, they have, in different degrees and combinations, the same underlying elements of power. In the family, we have, in its rudimental form, both teaching and government. It is a patriarchate—a little commonwealth ; and to its head—a priest as well as a patriarch—that Scripture should ever be relevant, “the church that is in thy house.” In the school, the simplest offshoot, perhaps, from a

congeries of families, we have, or ought to have, the parental element; we have magistracy also, and a certain statehood; we have, or should have, worship. The state, properly apprehended, is not only governmental but didactic—it is a teaching power; and though not, at this age of the world, theocratic, it should be, in a large view, religious. In the church, having specially and predominantly the last-named characteristic—being, of divine appointment, and as ministering to our imperative needs, the foster-mother of devotion—we have, also, as essential to its purpose, both rule and instruction. And in the influence they wield, these great moulding agencies are perpetually interpenetrating and modifying each other.

It is of the second of these, the school, that we are now called to speak. The service we essay is connected with an educational institution, using the term in the specific sense; a fact, it may be said at the outset, which of itself dignifies the occasion. Not to insist on those affinities and mutual influences just adverted to, and of which there will be further occasion to speak, there is a view of education, a large and comprehensive one, which gives to it the very grandest elevation. It is the end, next to that which the good old Catechism makes chief, and subordinate to that, of all the divine provisions and arrangements. God is the great Educator of the universe. More glorious in his didactic offices is He than even in creation; nay, creation was for these. Earth is our training place—time is our cur-

riculum ; eternity will but furnish to the true pupil the higher forms of his limitless advancement. We have our lessons in all providence, in all beings and things, God teaching us in and through all. No mean vocation, then, is that of the earthly educator ; no unimportant theme that now in hand. Yet even of the school in the more technical sense of the term, we cannot speak at large, except as in touching on any one department we more or less affect every other. Our thought may be fitly limited to that class of institutions which these ancient halls of learning and these inauguration solemnities naturally bring before us. THE COLLEGE is my subject, considered IN ITS PROPER FUNCTIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS.

I use the term College in the *American* sense. This, not for the poor purpose of ministering to national vanity, but because we must needs take things as they are ; and for the further reason, that there is much to commend in the shape the institution here assumes. It has hardly its prototype either in the Fatherland or on the Continent. It has but a partial resemblance either to the German Gymnasia or to the English preparatory schools, as of Eton and Rugby. As preliminary to professional study, it is in some respects far in advance of these. It differs materially, at once from the German and English University, and from the College as embraced in the latter. University education in Europe was once somewhat rigidly divided into two portions ; the one designed to form the mind for whatever sphere

of life ; the other, the *Brodstudium*, as the Germans significantly term it, a course of training for some particular profession. Long ago, however, this division became mainly obsolete. "On the continent," said an eminent English scholar, some years since, "the *preparatory* education has been dropped ; among ourselves, the *professional*." He speaks, of course, comparatively. So far as England is concerned, the same testimony is borne by a well-informed recent observer. This ancient and wise division is by us still maintained ; with this peculiarity, that the "preparatory" education, so-called,—by which is meant the highest form of it,—is the sole work of the Colleges. Professional culture is remitted to other and often separate schools. The undergraduate course is for general training ; it lays the foundation for whatever superstructure. It has no particular reference to any one pursuit ; but, like the first part of the old University course, aims to fit the whole man for a man's work in any specific line either of study or of action.

In this conception of the College, there are, it is believed, important advantages. It is better for preparatory education ; it is better for professional. It felicitously discriminates. It keeps things in their place. It defines and duly magnifies each of the two great departments of the educational process. It is likelier to dig deep, and build on broad and solid rock ; it tends to symmetry and finish in the superincumbent fabric. It is well, on many accounts, that the different

professional institutions be, as often happens, linked with the College ; in this relation, they may both give and receive. Yet let them not lose their identity. Let them not trench upon the College, or the College upon them. Let that still remain, as the great central reservoir, as the galvanic battery whose life-currents thrill them all. Call the whole a University, if you please ; yet we own a preference for our more common term. Nor is there reason for attempting, what some have proposed, a still higher class of schools for general culture. The object is a good one, but not the method. It is better, we judge, to endow more amply and variously existing institutions, and so to furnish, within their walls, whatever opportunities may be desired. It is more accordant at once with the genius of our political system, which favors diffusion rather than concentration and monopoly, and with the work proper to our present stage of national development, that of founding rather than finishing. That we adapt ourselves to both, is no less philosophical than patriotic. We would retain not only the old name, but the old form of the American College, only giving enlargement to the form, and rendering it more worthy of the central position it holds.

Of the importance of the College, as thus defined, it would seem scarcely needful, in this presence, to speak. It might put us in peril of commonplaces and truisms. Yet it fares with this power as with the great forces of nature ; the very universality and quiet might of its

working, the quietness coming of the night—the unpretentious commonness of the blessings it confers—dulls, even in the intelligent, the sense of its worth. The truth concerning it is “so true,” as Coleridge phrases it, that it “loses the power of truth ;” and our minds need to be refreshed with repetitions, at least, if not with novelties. It is no rhetorical exaggeration to say, that we find in the College the Archimedean condition, the $\pi\omega\upsilon\sigma\tau\omega$ whence the world is moved. We have already glanced at its relations to professional study, in virtue of which it shapes and colors all professional life. We speak in general, not oblivious of the great merit, in exceptional cases, of self-made men. It is as the secret laboratory of nature in which the material is furnished for the statuary, whether the fine Carrara or a block of coarser grain. The professional teacher has to work on what is here supplied ; and the result of his labor is largely determined by the habits of study, the mental acumen, the logical power, the various furniture of knowledge, the intellectual and moral leanings, which the pupil acquires in the College curriculum. Here are the seeds and germs of things ; here, intertwined with each other, the roots of all sturdy growth. This is true, in a degree, of all previous education ; yet that is rather a preparing of the soil, than a radication, such as College training gives, of great informing principles. We touch the Bar here, training the intellect to thread all perplexing mazes, and the tongue for masterly speech. We touch the Bench ; we send a quickening and an

elevating influence through all jurisprudence. Largely is the Medical Profession affected; for, while we accord due honor to many of its members who have not been favored with a course of liberal culture, even they would gratefully acknowledge the beneficent issue of such a course, in the science elaborated for them, and ministering so variously to their art, as well as in the radiance of many of the great lights of the fraternity. Still more deeply is the Gospel Ministry, with all the momentous interests that hang upon it, indebted to the College. Not only are the clergy more generally trained there, they bear through life, more evidently perhaps than any other profession, the stamp of that training. It affects not only the form, but the very substance of their thought. The teacher who, with cunning hand, moulds the metaphysics of a student, goes far, say what you will, to mould his theology; to settle the question whether he shall be reverent and biblical, or opinionated and rationalistic, meagerly literal and narrowly individualistic, or of a generous and far-reaching catholicity.

Need I advert, with the history of this Institution before us, to political life—to that relation of the school, hinted at the outset, to the State? “The four pillars of government,” says my Lord Bacon, “are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure.” How much have our Colleges done, not only to form, but to keep intact and beautiful, that pillar of “counsel.” In what comitia of the democracy, in what legislative assembly of the

land, are they not an ever-present power? There is another training, indeed, for the mere politician. Nay, we concede much, as we have already hinted, to that extraordinary native talent, that self-constructive ability, which, in public as well as private life, outstrips often all expectation. Yet we still insist, that here, mainly, are the springs of all lofty statesmanship. Nor do we disparage our noble Common School System, we virtually plead for it; for as touching both its inception and its wise progression; its books, its apparatus, its teachers; its method and its pabulum of thought; the College is its life. So of all other inferior forms of education. Even Agriculture and all Mechanical Industry are concerned. There is not a hill-side or a valley in our land, but has been illumined and gladdened by the most abstract science of our higher training; not a ploughshare but it has sharpened; not a spring, or a wheel, or a spindle, or a steam-engine, or a furnace-fire, in any of our work-shops, but it has adjusted. It has given to the miner the true divining-rod and the safety-lamp. It has made the stars of heaven the familiar guides of the mariner; it has peopled the deep with new and strange leviathans of art; and it is now busy in piercing it with those cords of a grand sodality, by which in due time the jarring nations are to become one. As we call to mind thus, the universality of the influence wielded by the College; that it is not only itself a centre of power, but is ever forming centres of power—that it not only leads itself, but is ever training

the leaders of all thought and action ; as we consider its relations to all literature, periodical and permanent ; as we think of its adaptedness—especially in its American attitude of accessibleness to all, and its strong hold on the popular sympathy—to check that materialistic spirit, which, from obvious causes, marks the age, and which has been so the bane of our land, that the God of our fathers must needs employ these fires of war to purge it away ; it will not be deemed strange, that in words which do but stir up these pure and learned minds by way of remembrance, we have been beguiled beyond our first thought, in urging its importance.

As the capabilities of any human instrumentality grow in our apprehension, so deepens within us the sense of responsibility. In view of the proper position and functions of the College, as they have now been set forth and emphasized, it is natural to ask, how may it be made most effective ? Let us note, then, in that mere outline to which the time restricts us, *some of its chief normal characteristics*. If we picture the ideal, it will be all the better ; for only as it works toward that, has the actual a true advancement.

The College should be marked, we say then, first, by a certain *completeness*. Rejecting the fragmentary and the unfinished, the well constituted mind ever craves this. Modern thought, especially, is passing from an excessive nominalism to a more realistic habit ; by many a broad induction, from mere details to a rounded whole. And nowhere more persistently than in relation to institu-

tions. The college should be complete as to its *objective scheme*. There may be oneness here. There may be, for example, an excessive or ill-directed pressing of utilities, as in the speculations of Mr. Herbert Spencer ; or there may be an undue exaltation of what he calls "the decorative element." The theoretic may be too exclusively pursued ; or there may be a practicalness which has too little of theory, like a cone required to stand firm on its apex. There should be completeness, also, as touching the *subjective aim*. It should embrace, in a word, the whole man, and that not in his Edenic aspects alone, but as a fallen being. You may not overlook even the physical ; the casket not merely, holding all the mental and moral treasures—the framework rather, to which by subtle ties the invisible machinery is linked, and which upholds it as it works. The world has yet to learn fully how dependent is the inner upon the outer man, and how greatly the highest achievements of scholarship are facilitated by proper hygienic conditions. As you pass to the intellectual, it matters little what classification you adopt, whether with the author of the *Novum Organum*, in his Advancement of Learning, you resolve all the powers into those of memory, imagination, and reason, or whether the minuter divisions of a more recent philosophy are preferred ; only be sure that not a single faculty is overlooked or disparaged. Be it presentative, conservative, reproductive, representative, elaborative, regulative, or whatever the fine Hamiltonian analysis may

suggest, give it its proper place and its proper scope. Take not your pupil as a Briareus, all hands, or a Cyclops with but one eye. Let Memory, the mother of the Muses, by some undervalued and neglected, be duly cared for. Let strength and tenacity be given her, and in her mystic repositories let all precious things be accumulated. Let the judgment, in the broadest sense of the term, be thoroughly trained ; let it be taught to analyze, to synthetize, to add link to link in the longest chain of ratiocination, to hold with a steady hand the golden balance of truth. Give to the imagination, that weird and potent faculty, at once its impulse, its furniture, and its law. With deftest touches, let the whole æsthetic nature be developed ; both the source and the test, as it is, of all that is most charming in letters and in art. And let the communicative faculty, combining so marvelously the intellectual and the physical, with its " Gate Beautiful " between the inner and the outer world, have the wisest culture. Give us not monsters from this laboratory of character, but men, symmetrical men.

To attain this end, however, we must pass, as has been intimated, beyond the merely intellectual ; we must embrace the moral nature. How vast the void if we omit it. One of the masters of modern fiction has given us as one of his chief characters, exquisitely pictured, a man literally and absolutely without a conscience. But we have no Margraves in real life. Not one such did the Great Apostle to the pagan world

find, in all the wide circuit of his evangelism. Not only is the moral nature universal, it is central, it is ultimate. The whole man is for it. To fail either of including or of magnifying it, is the starkest educational solecism. Nor do you thus a partial wrong. One of De Tocqueville's chapters on "Democracy in America," is given to the position, that "excessive care of worldly welfare may impair that welfare." A like evil results from an exclusive culture of the intellect. The man suffers more than a hemiplegy ; the whole being is touched. We may admit, with De Gerando, that "intellectual progress is always, *in itself*, favorable to moral progress." But we must deny, with him, "that the first can supply the place of the second." We must insist, as he does, "that the former only imposes a greater necessity and a greater duty of laboring for the latter, in order to preserve constantly the harmony of the two systems." It is a fine saying of an English Essayist, "Genius should be world-wide, but it should not be world-limited." The issue of such limitation—the shutting out from its vision of the great, supernatural and eternal verities—can hardly fail to be a limitation of its power, as well as a dimming of its brightness. An evil influence flows out, besides, through all channels, into the wide world. We have a Byron and a Shelley instead of a Milton and a Cowper ; a Jeffreys instead of a Hale ; a Buckingham instead of a Burke ; an Arnold instead of a Washington. It will not be soon forgotten, that no small part of the

treachery in military circles which has marked our present great national conflict, has been ascribed, on high authority, to a system of discipline "calculated to confound in the mind of the pupil, the distinctions between right and wrong, and to substitute, in the decision of grave moral questions, habit for conscience."

To completeness as touching our *aims*, be it further noted, completeness of *method* is essential. Much that has been held by some a reproach to our Colleges, as if it were useless, and so a mere waste of time and labor, has been really to their praise. If you would unfold all the powers, you must have all the processes, and it is just at that the programme of study aims. If we would reach the desired result, not only teachers but patrons and pupils must have done with the notion, that this or that branch is of little moment, and may be omitted or slighted. In Language, that meets us on the threshold, we have not only the exponent, but the instrument and auxiliary of thought. As it mirrors the soul, it helps us to the knowledge thereof. And, as thoroughly studied, it gives to the various faculties—to every one of them—a kind of discipline which can neither be found elsewhere, nor safely dispensed with. We say language, meaning first our own, worthy in every College of a distinct professorship, and not excluding whatever modern tongues can be acquired, but emphasizing, also, the ancient classics. The controversy about these may perhaps be considered as ended. Dead, those old languages may be called; but it is only as the

grain of wheat is dead which we have cast into the ground. Many a glorious *ἀνάστασις* have they in all modern literature, and not least in our Anglo-Saxon. With their manifold vitalities our own tongue is all instinct. Nay, their fleshy fibres run through all its frame-work ; so that we can have the full mastery of it, in its spirit as well as its form, in its nicer as well as its bolder points, only as they are mastered. They lead us, besides, to the old fountains of thought, fresh, pure, sparkling, as the springs that gush from our mountain sides. With no little truth may we apply here, what Chaucer sang in a broader view :

“ Out of the old fields, as men saithe,
Cometh all this new corn fro yere to yere ;
And out of old books, in good faithe,
Cometh all this new science that men lere.”

To linguistic study let Mathematical be added. It has a worth peculiar to itself, promoting, as it does, concentration, continuity, and comprehensiveness of thought. By learning to tread safely the *pons asinorum*, and other perilous places indicated on the blackboard, the student escapes many a *lapsus mentis* on dizzy heights of his future life-journey. He gains the very key of knowledge, besides, in various important practical relations. Nor let Metaphysics, whether in the narrower or the broader sense, be held in contempt, as shadowy, uncertain and unprofitable. Shall man know all things that minister to him, and not know himself? Or shall he know the visible and tangible, phenomenally alone?

Scarce any line of study is more conducive to mental acuteness. Scarce any is more imperatively enjoined by the signs of the times. What need of guarding the future guides of opinion against both the Scylla and the Charybdis of modern speculation ; against a dreamy idealism, on the one hand, introducing us to a phantasmagoric universe, carrying its resolution of all visible entities beyond even the primeval fire-mist, merging, by some form of Berkeleyism, the *not me* in the *me*, and at last the finite in the infinite, and so landing us, after preliminary vagaries of rationalism and reason-worship, in a dreary and desolate pantheism ; or a shallow though pretentious sensationalism, on the other hand, losing the *me* in the *not me*, making the phenomenal and the material all, substituting in ethics utilities for principles, and coming, finally, through tortuous passages of the positive philosophy, to a dark and comfortless atheism. With intellectual philosophy, Logic is intimately connected, that science of the laws of thought as thought, or of thought as it masters truth, including all processes of reasoning, which the genius of the great Scottish metaphysician has of late so illustrated and dignified. Can we omit this from our circle of attainment ? Or can we forget the goodly offices of Rhetoric, arraying all thought in robes of beauty, and giving it a tongue of sweetness and power ? There is little need of insisting on Natural Science, in its various departments ; so well recognized are its claims, as it passes from the once mute but now eloquent rocks up to the marvels of human physiology,

from the play of all minuter affinities to the music of the spheres. Most enriching is it to the mind, not to speak of practical ends ; so luminous with thought is all nature, and of such typical significance. It has innumerable relations, moreover, to all other science. We add only a word for History, reverend chronicler of the ages, philosophy, in the largest view, teaching by example ; and that word is, not only to vindicate the measure of attention we award it, but to pronounce it—in the greater value and the wider compass assigned it by modern thinking, as it not only prosecutes more fully its old explorations, but enters the comparatively new field of ethnological inquiry—worthy of still greater prominence. “Histories,” says Bacon, “make men wise.” So far as the intellect is concerned—and quite as clearly, we might show at large, in relation to the moral nature—we can spare nothing from our full-orbed programme ; we will increase the diameter, but we cannot mar the circumference.

Let it not be forgotten, however, that to this completeness of aim and of method, a corresponding completeness of endowment and of furniture is indispensable. You set us the old Egyptian task without it. We must have professorships in adequate number, not crowding into one department what might fitly and amply fill two. We must have apparatus. We must have College buildings, sufficient and convenient—good workshops, if you ask for good work ; and if there be some touches about them of the rising architectural taste, it will be

all the better. A façade or a tower may teach, as effectively as a book. We must have libraries. Here has been, perhaps, the weakest point of our American Colleges. Said one of our eminent scholars, some thirty years ago, "There is not a library in the United States, in the European sense of the term." In the lapse of these years, it is true, the case has been greatly improved ; yet even now, the aggregate of the books in the alcoves of all our New England Colleges, would not equal some single libraries of the Old World. Give us more books then. They are needed for reference, for study, for incitement. What inspiration there is in a well filled library, what guidance and food of thought, how light beams and electric currents flow forth from its shelves, every real student knows. We need, too, foundations for worthy young men, rich in genius but poor in pelf. While many such are kept from our halls, the education of others, is by the stern hand of poverty pinched into sad incompleteness. Let those whose joy it is to transmute their gold and silver into mental and moral treasures, see to it, that our Colleges have the amplitude of equipment essential to that fullness and symmetry which we have thus briefly sketched.

We have next to affirm, that the College should have also a *conservative* character. There has been much abuse of that trite term conservatism ; yet, rightly interpreted, it has a broad and precious significance. It is not bare immobility. It is not the girdling of trees till they die, or the rearing of fences around their lifeless

stumps. A pile of rocks is not a conservatory ; nor even a hall of cold, motionless statuary. True conservatism is the cherishing of all the great vital forces ; the principles, which, though old as creation, or even as God, do yet flourish in immortal beauty, and are worthy of perpetual reverence. It is that holding fast to the old, in its fundamental, changeless elements, without which all the new is as “ the baseless fabric of a vision.” Colleges, from the very thoroughness of their investigations,—descending as they do to the roots of things,—and from their natural predilection for the orderly and the systematic, instead of the desultory and the disjointed, might be expected to be conservative. They are too scientific to be rashly empirical. Conservative they have ordinarily been, from their inception until now. They have kept safe many a good thing, which mankind would otherwise have lost. In this excellent way let them continue. As to modes of teaching and discipline, let them not follow every *ignis fatuus*, but carefully and patiently “ prove all things.” As to alleged discoveries in the realm of physical science, let them not make haste. The jaw-bone of the geologist may turn out not quite so effective as that which Sampson wielded, and so the old chronology may have some days of grace. Let them not be unduly propense to change, in the metaphysical, ethical, or religious sphere ; lest the mirage be taken for fountains, or cloud banks for solid land. We need here in America, amid the fascination and intoxication of all our newness,

and the self-sufficiency engendered by it, to cultivate, every way, the habit of reverence, and especially of reverence for the old. Not the old dross, indeed, but the pure old gold. There was something known, let us often remind ourselves, before the culmination of this most knowing age. The masters of thought and opinion in bygone times—such as Bacon, and Locke, and Edwards—however they may have failed in some points, were no prating sciolists. Even the wise modern world may learn something of them. In points, not a few, of our real advancement, it should be gratefully remembered, we have but built on the foundations which their giant hands had laid. Nay, in many directions, we are reminded of our Lord's saying : " No man having drunk old wine, straightway desireth the new ; for he saith, the old is better."

Yet with a due conservatism, the College should be animated also, be it further observed, by the *spirit of progress*. Else it is not really conservative. For whatever is vital, naturally grows ; and, with the lapse of time, everything pertaining to science and literature is becoming more and more vital. Law—pervading, quickening, moulding—is seen everywhere. We may say of it as Inspiration has said of Wisdom : " When there were no depths it was brought forth, when there were no fountains abounding with water." Even old chaos, lifeless and barren as it seemed, was yet most germinant, and so, in a good sense, most radical ; it imbosomed manifold elements of progress—principles,

divinely originated and sustained, that must needs develop themselves in forms of beauty and grandeur. There is a theistic, as well as an atheistic theory of development. Nowhere in nature have we absolute stagnancy, but everywhere action, reaction, movement. What we used to call the imponderables,—caloric, for example,—the later science is resolving into mere modes of motion. The burning of a dwelling or a city is held to be nothing more than an extraordinary agitation of the monads. Even ponderable “hard matter,” philosophers are beginning to tell us, is but “an antagonistic force,” the product of “God’s simple activity in counter-agency ;” and that in such perpetual flux, that we can speak of nothing, in strictness, as *being*, but only as *becoming*. One of our profoundest physicists has just shown us, on a broad scale, that “the law of nature’s constancy is ever subordinate to the higher law of change ;” the stabilities, or underlying forces, are ever for the mutations, the transformations, the advancements. So meet together, as we have said, the old and the new ; so does progress harmonize with conservatism. After this manner all providence goes onward, not moving pendulously, or in a vain circle. So language grows, and industry, and commerce, and law, and government, and all our complex civilization. So all human thought proceeds ; and that educational institution is unworthy of the name, which fails practically to recognize the fact.

In a higher sense than Galileo affirmed, “the world

moves," and we must keep abreast with it. What progress has there been, in modern times especially, in all physical science! What a meagre thing, comparatively, was the chemistry of fifty years ago! What poor makeshifts were many of its theories! Where was geology then? Where, ethnology? In almost every department of knowledge, what new discoveries have been made; what new definitions and generalizations, what improved processes have been introduced! Even in metaphysical science, remitted though it is by many to dream-land, there has been, we are fain to believe, substantial gain. A little spiral the movement may have been; yet we think it has been onward. And not only have we the present to master, a great future lies before us; we are as yet, in Newton's phrase, but picking up pebbles on the shore of the great ocean of truth. We are to go on from knowing to know. Even in ethical relations there has been, and there is still to be, progress; not in the old principles, immutable as their author, but in the ever-varying applications. It is the same sunlight that shines on from dawn to mid-day, only it beams farther and farther down into deep valleys and ravines unvisited at first. And while, as to the matter of all good learning, the College should be in no respect behind-hand, the same may be said of the methods. As has been hinted, we are not to adopt at once all new-fangled schemes; otherwise we shall vex ourselves with much educational quackery. Yet we are never to imagine that, touching a work so great as the

training of the human mind, nothing remains to be learned. Our eyes should be open to all the new that is true and good, and our hands ready to modify our own system accordingly. Let the standard of attainment which we propose to our pupils, above all, be ever rising. Let us not cater, however tempted, to that spirit of unprofitable and really unprogressive haste which, unhappily, is not yet quite exorcised even from New England. To all who seek admission to our halls let us say, rather, *festina lente*. It were well if the line of preparation for College were, in most cases, much extended, or at least more thoroughly mastered. Nor let us here essay the casting up of any royal roads, save as hard and protracted study is ever right royal—that, only, tending to a true advancement.

We cannot forbear to note, in this relation, what has been already suggested in another, the importance of ampler College endowments. I speak not of this institution particularly, but of the sisterhood generally. Such endowments are essential to a rounded fullness, as has been said, and they are indispensable to that growth for which we plead. Let clear-sighted men of means understand the matter ; would I could reach the ears of all such in our land. As the farming apparatus of the last century, the factory, the mercantile establishment, would be quite inadequate to the demands of the present times, and as what now replaces them must surely have various improvement and enlargement in coming years, so, clearly, is it with the College. You

cannot take it, if you keep it worth anything, out of the current of an ever-advancing civilization. It must have, therefore, ever-increasing means. Let its generous patrons understand that it *is never done*; it follows the physical law just now alluded to—it is ever *becoming*. Be it that you have met what seem its present wants; others, be sure, will soon arise. A new professorship will be needed, or a new building, or new apparatus, or new scholarships, or a new alcove of books. Your heart, if God permits you to live as his noble-minded steward upon earth, will as certainly be gladdened by another call from it, as

“Through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns,”

The College, we add only, should be distinctly and eminently *Christian*. Not in the narrow, sectarian sense—that be far from us—but in the broadest evangelical view. Our course of thought culminates here; and here does all else that has been affirmed find its proper centre and unity. Christianity is the great unity. In it, as was intimated at the outset, are all the chief elements of organic influence. It is itself the very acme of completeness, and it tends to all symmetry and finish. It is at once conservative and progressive, balancing perfectly the impelling and restraining forces; by a felicitous adjustment of the centripetal and centrifugal, ensuring to human nature its proper orbit. It is the golden girdle wherewith every institution like this

should bind her garments of strength and beauty about her.

Were it needful to argue this point, we might put it on the most absolute grounds. All things are Christ's ; all dominions, dignities, potences ; it is especially meet that we say, to-day, all institutions. It is the grossest wrong practically to hold otherwise. It is loss, too, and nowhere more palpably than in the educational sphere. It is no cant saying to affirm, and that in a more than merely spiritual sense, that in Christ "are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." At His throne the lines of all science terminate ; above all, the science that has man for its subject. Of all history, for example, rightly read, how is He the burden and the glory ! Otherwise taken, it is a more than Cretan labyrinth. The Christian spirit, besides, raising the soul to the loftiest planes of thought, giving it the highest communions, bringing before it the grandest objects, and securing to all its machinery the most harmonious action, is eminently conducive to intellectual achievement. We have already said something like this as touching moral culture ; but that, be it ever remembered, takes its proper form and direction only as it is vitally linked with Christianity. What God has joined together let not man put asunder. Let the studies which we call moral, have all a Christian baptism ; and, with all our getting, let us not stop short of the cardinal points of our most holy faith. Let the Will be still investigated, not as a brute force, or in a merely intel-

lectual light, but in those high spiritual aspects in which our great New England metaphysician delighted to present it. Let Butler, with his curious trestle-work of analogy, bridge, to the forming mind, the chasm between natural and revealed religion. Let the Christian Evidences be fully unfolded. We can hardly dispense with them in an age, when, by means of Westminster Reviews, and other subtle organs of infidelity, the old mode of assault being abandoned, a sapping and mining process is continually going forward. Let Ethical Science, —embracing in its wide sweep, the Economy of Private Life, the Philosophy of Government, and Law, which “hath its seat in the bosom of God,”—be all bathed in the light of Calvary. That light is its life. “Let us with caution indulge the supposition,” said the Father of our country, “that morality can be maintained without religion.” Let the Bible be included among our text-books as the sun is included in the solar system ; and let all the rest revolve in planetary subjection about it. Let it be studied, not in a professional, much less in a partisan way ; but with the conviction that it is indispensable to the broadest culture ; that without theology we have but a straitened anthropology ; that we see not ‘nature aright, but as we look up through it to Nature’s God. Be ours, in its largest significance, the sentiment so devoutly uttered by the old Hebrew bard : “In Thy light shall we see light.” And let the discipline of College, so intimately connected with its prosperity, be fashioned on the model of the Gospel. Let

it copy, in its way and measure, the wondrous harmonies of the redemptive scheme, in which "mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other." So shall it bless our halls with some faint reflection of the Divine fatherhood, and give to our society some happy resemblance to a Christian family.

Such, in the ideal, is the College—the American College ; such in its position and power, such in its completeness, its conservative, progressive, and Christian character. How far the ancient institution, at whose bidding we have assembled to-day, has realized this portraiture, it would not, perhaps, become me to say. I would not dishonor the silver locks of my Alma Mater by aught of boastfulness. Yet none will question, that in all the long track of her history—antedating the Republic, stretching now over almost a century—she has, at least, aimed at the wisest and best things. She has attempted, and she will still attempt, a scholarly balance and thoroughness of training. A precious link as she is between the present and the past, she would bring forth out of her treasury things new and old. Nor can she be ever untrue to her pious origin. Never can she forget the tears of Christian love and zeal with which her early pathway was bedewed ; the *vox clamantis in deserto* will ever linger on her ears. On a façade of the magnificent galleries at Versailles I read, years ago, "*A toutes les gloires de la France.*" To my mind's eye, these halls bear a nobler inscription : *Christo*

et ecclesiæ. And I do but utter the one sentiment of the guardians and teachers, the friends and patrons, of this institution, when I say, better that “both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it, their voice shall sing in the windows, desolation shall be in the thresholds,” than that a godless philosophy shall supplant here the Divine Word, or our common Christianity cease to be revered and vindicated.

At the call of these honored Trustees, I assume to-day new and weighty responsibilities. It is neither affectation nor egotism to say, that I approach them with the deepest solicitude. As I think of the excellent men who have preceded me ; of those especially to whom I sustained the relation of a loving and grateful pupil—one of whom has passed, in all ripeness of wisdom and virtue, to his reward, and the other, after a long term of able and faithful service, is permitted to honor this occasion with his presence ; I cannot but fear that I shall follow, *non passibus æquis*. Yet with whatever self-distrust, thoughts of hope and of courage cluster about me, and as good angels beckon me onward. The radiant memory of the past cheers me. I think of the jewels which, with liberal hand, old Dartmouth has scattered not over the land alone, but over the broad earth. Some of her brightest names, dear alike to science and to Christianity, have been inscribed imperishably on barbaric isles of the sea, and on regions darkened by the shadow of the mosque and the pagoda. While the genial voices of her living sons float about

me ; sounding out from the bar, the bench, the pulpit, and the walks of medical science ; from the chair of instruction, the laboratory of art, and the lone study of the man of letters ; from the legislative hall and the cabinet ; and even from the haunts of industry, of trade and of finance ; inspiring voices of the dead steal upon my ear. The day and the place waken many an echo of that unique utterance—worthily commended, at last, to succeeding times by a son of Dartmouth—the delight and the pride of the metropolitan bar, fascinating alike to the grave Senate and the rustic throng, but now hushed forever in Mount Auburn. The sleeper at Marshfield stands again before the Supreme Tribunal of the land, pleading with filial devotion the cause of the College ; and, the matchless web of argument all woven, his whole soul wells up,—while his massive frame trembles with emotion, and hard legal faces are wet with tears,—in the simple, but tender utterance : “ *Sir, there are those who love it !* ” Yea, many a noble spirit, lost to earth, seems to gather fondly about us, breathing anew a benison on this familiar home of science.

How often—we cannot but remember to-day—has death found in the corps of instruction here, his “ shining mark ! ” My thoughts revert tenderly to my own beloved Professors. There was the lamented CHAMBERLAIN ; in whom we knew not which most to admire, his rare command of the ancient classics, or his eloquent mastery of his native tongue. There was the pure and single-hearted ADAMS ; the right lines of whose geomet-

rical demonstrations were so aptly emblematic of his whole life-course. There was the affable and indefatigable HALE, since the honored Head of one of our sister Colleges. There was the urbane and accomplished HADDOCK ; whose very countenance, in its fine esthetic contour, did but image forth to us the still finer combination of inward graces. There was the genial and earnest SHURTLEFF ; who charmed us not more by his acuteness, perspicacity, and playful wit, than by his fervent and outspoken devotion to our moral and spiritual welfare. I think of fellow-students, too, Teachers here for a time, who have ceased from their labors. There was PEABODY ; of such exquisite finish as a scholar, of such winning and yet commanding mien. There was CHASE, the profound mathematician ; the light of whose genius, as it gleams through one of our text-books, yet lingers in our halls. There was YOUNG, calm, judicious, kindly ; so lucid and thorough in all his instruction. There was LONG ; so keen in analysis, of such clear insight ; so gentle, so guileless, so unassuming ; “in wit a man, simplicity a child.” Nor can I forbear to add my own classmate, WORCESTER, whose active, penetrating, forceful intellect revealed itself as unmistakably in his pupilage, as in the Tutor’s chair or the sacred desk. Alas, that within these recent weeks, another dart has been sped by the “insatiate archer !” It casts, indeed, a shadow upon the scenes of the day, that the places which have been made glad by the presence of the gentle, refined, scholarly, true-hearted

PUTNAM, shall know him no more! But the will of God be done. He hath smitten, and He will heal us. He can replace, as He has done, the stars which fade from our firmament; which do themselves decline only as

“Sinks the day star in the ocean bed.”

We have keenly felt, and we may have still to feel—though we humbly trust, not long—the touch of war; that war which treason most atrocious has waged against both the life of our nation, and those great principles of freedom which are the hope of the world; that war which makes vacant places in the Colleges, as well as in the dwellings of the land. Yet we yield from both our sons to the contest, in the glad assurance of a glorious issue. In meekness and lowliness of mind, but with no despondency, would I receive, to-day, the keys of office. I shall lean confidently both on the wise and faithful guardians of the Institution, and on the large and able Faculty, with which I deem it an honor to be associated. Amid these touching services, as we solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, we will all take heart for our work. Trusting devoutly in that Providence which has been so gracious in days gone by, we will tend together this ancient light of learning, not doubting that it will shine on, more and more brightly, till its radiance shall be blent with the noon-tide of a world-wide Christian civilization.

Boston, Mass. March 7, 1884.

Rev. W. E. Caldwell,

Dear Brother,

Sound of the
22d reached me here,
where I am spending
a few days, on College
business.

I have requested
my son, who is still
at New York, with my
family, to send you
the pamphlets you speak
of. You will doubtless
receive them soon. If

give me pleasure to
comply with your request.

Many thanks for
your words of sympathy.
Nothing is more grateful
to me than the kindness
with which I have
been welcomed back to
my native hills by
the clergy of New
England. In my im-
portant & arduous work,
let me have your prayers.

Yours most truly,
Amos A. Smith.

THE BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.¹

WE have given these modifications of the title-page of successive volumes of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, because they represent so much of its history. But it has a history anterior to its name and birth-year. It may claim a considerably higher antiquity than we can trace for it in its present form. It is the legitimate successor, or rather the continuation, of what we suppose to have been the earliest New England periodical devoted entirely to theological learning. Journals of religious literature, weekly and monthly, there were indeed previously, and some of these contained occasional erudite monographs on subjects of learned research, and on the leading questions at issue between different sects and opposing schools of criticism. In the *Monthly Anthology*, 1803–1811, hardly less theological than literary, there were many articles of this class, as also in the *General Repository and Review*, 1812, 1813, and in the *Christian Disciple*, 1814–1823, a journal which was at least as highly distinguished by the ability and scholarship of its contributors under its first and almost forgotten designation, as it has been under the familiar title of the *Christian Examiner*. Nor was its antagonist, the *Panoplist*, unworthy of its name; for polemic divinity has seldom sent into the field warriors more thoroughly armed for defence and

¹ *BIBLIOTHECA SACRA*. Vols. I.—XX. 1844—1863. [Vols. I.—VII. *AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*. Vols. VIII.—XIV. *AND AMERICAN BIBLICAL REPOSITORY*. Vols. XV.—XX. *AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY*.] Vols. I.—VIII. Conducted by B. B. Edwards and E. A. Park, Professors at Andover. Vols. I.—VII. With the Special Coöperation of Dr. Robinson and Professor Stuart. Vol. VIII. With the Special Coöperation of Dr. Robinson and Professors Stuart and H. B. Smith. Vols. IX.—XX. Conducted by Professor E. A. Park and S. H. Taylor, A. M., of Andover. [Vol. IX. With the Special Coöperation of Dr. Robinson and Professors H. B. Smith, J. Hadley, George E. Day, and D. H. Allen, and Rev. J. M. Sherwood. Vol. X. With the Special Coöperation of Dr. Robinson and Professors H. B. Smith, G. E. Day, and D. H. Allen. Vol. XI. Aided by Professors Robinson, Stowe, Barrows, Smith, Allen, Day, Phelps, Shedd, Brown, Putnam, and Drs. Davidson of England and Alexander of Scotland. Vols. XII.—XIV. Aided by Professors Robinson, Stowe, Barrows, Allen, Day, Phelps, Shedd, Brown, Putnam, and Drs. Davidson of England and Alexander of Scotland.] Andover. 1844—46. Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. 1847—49. William H. Wardwell. 1850—1863. Warren F. Draper.

assault than the champions of New England Orthodoxy during the struggle that issued in the elimination of the (so-called) Liberal party from its fellowship.

The earliest American journal devoted to scientific theology was at Princeton in 1825, and this, with some variation of title, has retained its identity and its vigorous life to the present moment, having been for the greater part of the time under the editorship of Professor Hodge. In 1831 Professor Robinson commenced, at Andover, the publication of the *Biblical Repository*, and in 1843 he issued in New York four successive numbers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Meanwhile the *Repository* in 1838 had absorbed the *American Quarterly Observer*, assuming its continental prefix for its own previous title, and it continued a separate work till 1851, when it was incorporated with the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, then commencing the eighth year of its new series, its Andover life, and its indebtedness to the editorial skill and industry of Professor Park, who now closes his twentieth year of service.

In addressing ourselves to the review of these volumes, we must be permitted to express at the outset our admiring gratitude to Professor Park. An editor's task is no sinecure in our country, whatever it may be elsewhere. Of our good writers not one in ten has the skill or patience to prepare his articles for a blameless passage through the press. The very best and most instructive material is often furnished in so crude a form, or with so little reference to the minor graces taken note of only when they are ignored, as to need little less labor from the *rédacteur* than it would cost him to clothe the same thoughts or reasonings in language wholly his own. Clergymen, indeed, generally prepare better copy than any other class of men; but their habit of writing for the ear rather than the eye is apt to render their style diffuse and repetitious, demanding condensation, if not correction. Then, too, so various and so frequently careless are the habits of even learned men as to references, quotations, and statements resting on the authority of others, that a careful editor feels it incumbent on him to verify whatever he publishes; and if he only indulge himself in a summer journey remote from books, and take a single article by a reputedly safe writer to work upon at his inn, it is next to certain that this article when printed will betray some oversight or glaring error. Now, as we have intimated, it is no slight service thus elaborately to prepare eighty numbers of a quarterly noted for its accuracy no less than for its ability. Especially must this have been a labor of self-re-

nouncing benevolence to Professor Park, whose active and vivid intellect must needs have craved employment as a producer from its own resources, while it has been busy in helping other men's productions into the light.

Our readers must have been struck with the large amount of talent, learning, and excellence represented in the names of Professor Park's colleagues in the editorship of this work. His present co-editor needs no praise of ours while his grateful pupils are to be found in every walk of honorable life. As to Professor Edwards, no language of eulogium would seem excessive. He united qualities and endowments that are seldom found conjoined. He had the fancy of a poet, the fervor of a devotee, and at the same time a singular clearness and precision of thought and style. He held an eminent place equally among classical and Biblical scholars. He was always thorough, often profound, yet never obscure, — always weighty, yet never heavy, — always grave, yet never dull. He discussed controverted opinions and interpretations in the spirit of the Beatitudes, while he vivified trite and unquestioned themes by traits of the fresh and earnest activity of his own mind and heart.

Of the distinguished men whose "special coöperation" has lightened the task of these editors, we cannot speak at length. Yet we would ask our readers to look at the list in both its dimensions of depth and breadth. It comprises some of the profoundest scholars in their several departments that our age has seen: — Robinson, who almost created the geography of Palestine, and whose opinion is a counterpoise to a score of the best authorities beside; Stuart, who, but for redundant masses of erudition beyond the manipulating power of any one man, would have had few equals as a Biblical critic; Smith, second to no American and on even ground with the foremost rank of the European students and writers in the field of ecclesiastical history; Shedd, occupying a similar position as to the dogmatics and metaphysics of theology; Hadley, with whom the Greek is but a portal to tongues which the major part of our learned men know only by name; Putnam, whose recent death fails to be regarded as a public calamity only because his rare ability and worth were exceeded by his modesty. Nor do we mean, in specifying these names, to intimate that their associates are less worthy of emphatic mention. We have but given fair types of the order of genius, talent, and attainment concerned in the preparation of successive numbers of this work. These writers, too, are not mere echoes of one another. They cover a great deal of ground, and rep-

resent numerous phases of opinion and methods of criticism. They belong to different colleges and seminaries, each with its own peculiar position in philosophy and theology, and its own outlook upon the field of thought. They are of various shades of belief, from the undisguised liberalism of Dr. Davidson to the severe orthodoxy which alone would pass current in the more conservative of our New England institutions; while we have occasional contributors from every section and sect of the religious world that could claim a place in a work devoted to the advancement of Biblical and theological learning.

Among the contributors whose names do not appear on the title-pages of the volumes,—we still beg to have it understood that we are not giving a list of the eminent writers, but that we only specify a few to indicate the kind of men who have chosen this journal for their organ of communication with the public,—it is enough to name Presidents Sears, Woolsey, and Goodwin, all of them holding no less prominent places in their respective departments of learning than they occupy as educationists; Professor Hackett, whose Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles is one of the few works of the kind in the English language which approaches, in point of massive erudition, the master-works of the great German critics, differing from them only in possessing a soundness and accuracy which they too often lack; Rev. Dr. Withington, in whom we hardly know whether most to admire the generous range and marvellous wealth of his culture, or the versatile genius and kaleidoscopic fancy which prepare for his readers a fresh surprise in every paragraph; Rev. Dr. Thompson, whose position as an Egyptologist would alone suffice for his reputation, while yet it is but one of the many titles he has to literary and professional distinction; and Rev. Eli Smith, the missionary, without whose skilled coöperation Professor Robinson's success as an explorer would have been limited and doubtful, and who would have taken his acknowledged place in the front rank of Christian scholars, had he not chosen rather to be enrolled among those who "count all things as naught" in comparison with the redemption of human souls from guilt and misery.

The encyclopedic character of this work deserves, also, our especial notice. It has not confined itself, nor even inclined with marked partiality, to any one department of the field of theological learning, but has devoted its pages to each in its due measure, and to every separate topic in proportion to its intrinsic importance, its prominence in the discussions of the time, or the contributions made

or needed toward its fuller comprehension. Nor has it been one-sided in its advocacy of any particular class of views, or of the opinion of any one school or sect. On mooted questions both sides have not infrequently had a hearing through their special advocates; and when this has not been the case, it has been the habit of the *Bibliotheca* always to give an opponent the full benefit of his own statements and arguments. Thus, in a recent article on Colenso's first volume, by Professor Bartlett of Chicago, we find more than justice done to the Bishop; for while there is not a full display of his oversights and misstatements, his definite objections to the authenticity and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch are set forth in their full array, and with an explicitness and candor which we doubt not he would cordially recognize. It is in this way that all the controversies that have enlisted the scholars of the present generation have been treated, so that these volumes constitute a journal of the progress of Biblical and critical science during the last twenty years, with distinct record of its marked antagonisms. Among the departments in which the *Bibliotheca* has abounded in articles of pre-eminent merit—some of them monographs the loss of which we should not know where to supply—are Biblical archaeology, the geography of Palestine and the East, patristical biography and opinions, the critical history of the canonical Scriptures, and the various phases of dogmatic theology in the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches of America.

This work is worthy also of especially grateful regard for the wide scope which it has given to its qualifying epithet *sacra*. It proceeds upon the assumption that all knowledge is sacred, and that whatever interprets either God or man may be made availing as a source of religious wisdom. In truth, none are so ignorant of theology as those who take pride in studying nothing else; and none know so little of the Bible as those who deem it a waste of time to become conversant with other literature. Christianity, we believe, came from God, and was adapted to man's condition and needs; therefore the whole creation and providence of God throw light upon it,—the entire psychology and history of man illustrate its methods and verify its teachings. It is at the hands of *mere* theologians that our religion has received its deepest wounds. It is they who have made of Christian dogmatics a science of micrology, and of ecclesiastical forms a mere grovelling fetichism. Professor Park and his coadjutors have wisely introduced into the *Bibliotheca* a great deal of the kind of material which the theologian needs for the nourishment of his

intellect, the discipline of his critical faculty, and the strengthening of his powers of argument or persuasion. In particular, the intelligent cognizance of Christianity and its records is essentially aided by the study of the Grecian and Roman classics. We do not here refer to them as to the most truthlike representation of the exterior life of the ancients; for in all that appertained to manners, customs, and social intercourse, classical analogies mislead oftener than they guide the Biblical student. But in the master-works of pagan antiquity, we have an exhibition of the highest attainments of man independently of revelation, of the development of humanity when left to its own resources, and of the providential preparation in opinion, philosophy, and social order for the advent of the Redeemer and the diffusion of his gospel; and in thus studying the birth-time and birth-world of our religion we often discern else hidden adaptations and harmonies, and are enabled to read its records with a truer intelligence and a deeper sympathy.

This view has been recognized in almost every number of the work before us. Its second article is the first instalment of an elaborate biography of Aristotle, in which Professor Park displays great acuteness in the collation and discussion of conflicting testimonies, and in the application of the canons of historical criticism. In the same volume we have an able and thoroughly philosophical treatise on "The Collocation of Words in the Greek and Latin Languages, examined in Relation to the Laws of Thought," by Rev. Mr. Adams, then an eminent classical teacher. About midway in the series we find a review of Riley's Translation of Plautus, by Professor Lane, which hardly has its parallel as a castigation of pretentious superficiality and incompetency. True to its antecedents, the volume just closed contains an article by Professor Tyler, entitled "Athens, or Æsthetic Culture and the Art of Expression," which is so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of ancient culture, holds forth Grecian models so admiringly and lovingly, and is itself so charming an illustration of its own thesis, as to seem at once the embodiment and the echo of the Horatian precept, —

"Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna."

One great drawback from the worth of a review — we have often felt it keenly for excellent contributors whose papers we have been constrained to curtail or reject for their length alone — is, that the ordinary dimensions of an article do not suffice for the full and satisfying treatment of any large subject, while custom has generally forbidden

in the English and American quarterlies the continuation of articles from number to number. The editors of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* have wisely set aside this usage from the very first. The length of an article has never been a ground of exclusion ; but in numerous instances an essay ample enough for a volume has appeared in instalments in several successive numbers. Thus it has been no uncommon thing for a large and important subject to have in these pages a treatment no less full and exhaustive than if the writer had had the press at his own free command.

We would refer also to the several very valuable series of articles, not always contributed by the same author or formed after the same model, yet arranged, either so as to present, when completed, a comprehensive view of a connected group of subjects, or so as to admit of being multiplied indefinitely. Of the latter sort is the series on the Theology of Eminent Divines ; for it is impossible to estimate the number of Christian scholars, teachers, and writers who have had enough of salient and interesting individuality in their opinions and in their theological affinities and experiences to make them worthy of special commemoration. To the same category belongs a series of the Difficult Texts of the Bible, which might with profit be so extended as to include all those passages of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures which admit of a serious diversity of reading or of interpretation.

A series which we trust may be found terminable has been recently commenced, consisting of statements of the distinctive doctrines of all the leading denominations and religious bodies of our Western world, each written by some prominent member of the particular communion described, and generally by some person occupying a conspicuous official position, and fittingly regarded as a representative of his co-religionists. This series will doubtless subserve numerous important purposes. It is evident, at first glance, that such a paper must be a much more authentic exposition of the actual belief and teaching of a denomination than its written creeds. We are perpetually doing injustice to various sects by ascribing to them whatever beliefs can be deduced from their formal articles of faith. We well know that such forms, once adopted, remain, by a certain *vis inertiae*, long after they have ceased to interpret the thought of those who employ them, and that their words become gradually warped in significance, so as to correspond to opinions and ideas which their founders would have spurned and loathed. It is manifestly impossible for the leaders of opinion to put in operation

the complicated instrumentality by which alone the symbols, which form the constitutional law and the federal compact of the widely-scattered Christian communities belonging to any particular church, can be changed. Therefore, the free and significant words of its living members, not the dead and obsolete words of its founders or fathers, are the true exponent of its present theological position.

A series of papers like that now under our notice is of worth not merely for the important knowledge it conveys. It serves the still more valuable purpose of introducing different sects to one another's more kindly regard and appreciation. Every Christian denomination is liable to be charged not only with its acknowledged peculiarities of doctrine, but also with the idiosyncrasies of its eminent defenders. He who represents his own sect in behalf of his brethren, and before the Christian world, is held equally by the obligation of fairness and honesty in stating the opinions to which the entire body is pledged, and by that of abstinence from all offensive extremes. The tendency will always be to tone down the particular dogmatic expression toward the common type, to attach paramount importance to the points of agreement with collective Christendom, and thus to approximate that unity of faith which will indeed never be reached so long as minds vary and language is ambiguous, but which may be so far realized as to embrace all sincere Christians in mutual good-will and charity. There is so strong a centrifugal tendency among different churches, that we can hardly prize to excess any centripetal force or movement that may be put in operation. But the effect of such a mutual introduction of the sects is not confined to their estimate of one another. A statement of doctrine, made under a profound sense of his responsibility, by one who fitly represents the body to which he belongs, is of great avail with his co-religionists in repressing their vagrancy of speculation, in leading them to review their eccentricities of opinion, and in recalling them to the common standard of faith in the Scriptures, from which their departures are less likely to be wild and schismatic than are their deductions from the obscure and often undefinable symbols of their church.

We have been strongly impressed with the worth of these considerations in reading, in the *Bibliotheca* for last October, an admirable compend of the doctrines of the Episcopal Church, by Bishop Burgess of Maine. We trust that we are not violating our theological neutrality when we say that the extremists of the Episcopal Church have done little toward placing their body in an amiable

aspect before the outside world. For ourselves, very strongly attracted toward that church at an early period, we have felt only a growing distaste for it with the towering pretensions and the exclusive bearing assumed of late years by many of its neophytes. Bishop Burgess has renewed the old charm, recalled the cherished memories of its broad charity, its expansive catholicity, its reverence for ancient forms without formalism, its loyalty to its own traditions, conjoined with the most cordial recognition of the religious rights and claims of those not of its communion. In his conception, his church is not an exclusive body, but the most comprehensive of all the churches. So it is in the writings of many of the earlier English divines. So it is in the representation of the lamented Whately, whose "Kingdom of Christ" — while it lays open to ridicule the baseless assumptions which, if admitted, are fatal to the English Church, and can only pave the passage from Canterbury to Rome — establishes the Anglican hierarchy and ecclesiastical order on grounds which "unchurch" none who believe in Christ and his gospel.

While the Bibliotheca has devoted most of its pages to articles on subjects rather than on books, it has been by no means deficient as a literary critic and chronicler. Book-notices have, almost from the beginning, formed an important and instructive portion of the work; and they have not been confined to theological or religious publications, but have embraced a somewhat extended range of substantial and valuable literature. These notices have always borne the marks of conscientious care and of a catholic taste. At the same time, the literary intelligence, especially from Continental Europe, generally condensed for each quarter, has often been such as we know not where else to find, and has had no less interest and worth for the classical or general scholar than for the theologian or divine. Indeed, this department could have been supplied not even by a large conversance with foreign journals, but only by intimate relations and correspondence with men of learning at numerous centres of intelligence.

In order to form a just estimate of the amount of study, research, and labor represented in the volumes under review, we should consider the intense and prolific activity which the last twenty years have witnessed in the departments of knowledge relating to theology and the Scriptures. In no antecedent period since the Protestant Reformation has the human mind in quest of religious truth traversed so broad an arc, — whether on the meridian upward, or

whether in a parabolic curve, on which it will lose zenith-distance, yet will gain velocity for its future ascending path, coming ages must determine. All movement is not progress, but all earnest movement is the presage of progress. A time of strong agitation with regard to fundamental truth may pass by with no appreciable results, but not without leaving a rich deposit of materials, from which larger generalizations, a truer *gnosis*, a higher philosophy, will grow. Such a time has been the lifetime of the generation now upon the stage. Twenty years ago the old authorities in matters appertaining to the Bible and its interpretations still retained their prestige with most of our scholars. There was, indeed, free thinking and loose thinking; but a good degree of conservatism was essential to one's fair standing as a Christian. It was generally conceded that assaults on the church from its interior were dastardly, and out of keeping with the laws of civilized warfare. The forms of unbelief, too, were old, though in fresh guise. The weapons picked up from ancient battle-fields had been straightened and furbished for new conflicts. Pantheism was essentially the same as in the days of Lucretius. The opponents of historical Christianity availed themselves freely of Voltaire's now almost forgotten witticisms, and coined others after their similitude. The methods of construction which Eichhorn, and critics of his class, had devised for the sacred books, were indeed laid aside by the naturalistic school as involving greater miracles than are contained in any theory of inspiration; but no more philosophical mode of accounting for the genesis of those records had been offered in its stead.

It was only in 1835 that Strauss published his "Life of Jesus," which, though it has already become, in great measure, obsolete, has had a stronger influence for evil and for good than any work of the present century. It has led the way in the application of the canons of historical criticism to the New Testament, — a criticism of which Neander and Baur may be taken as representing the two opposite types, the former admitting the miraculous element, and yet claiming to find in the Gospels only the imprint which a being endowed as was Christ must needs have made in history and literature, while the latter proposed to himself the far more difficult problem of accounting for the origin of the Gospels on the hypothesis of their presenting only magnified and distorted images of an extraordinary man. In this last direction, theorists have taken divergent routes, demanding close watchfulness and keen discrimination in the scholar who would give account of their movements. At the same time,

the traditional beliefs as to the authorship of the Pentateuch, the integrity of various books of the Hebrew canon, the inspiration of the prophets, and the Divine element in Judaism, have been shaken at every point, and have given birth to a very wide range of critical and controversial literature.

Within the same period, also, natural science (or rather natural *history*, for it has not yet outgrown this name) has claimed the right of eminent domain over the entire realm of religious thought. Previously, geology had suggested grave questions as to the Scriptural account of the creation and the deluge, while physiologists had demanded either the repudiation or the broad interpretation of portions of the Pentateuch that seem to imply the common parentage of the human race; but no comprehensive theory of nature had assumed to embrace the entire cosmos, its human denizens, and its Creator. Of late there has been a strong and growing tendency to employ the phenomena of matter in determining the laws of mind, of the spiritual universe, of the Infinite Being, — a sort of differential calculus by which propositions demonstrated as to infinitesimal atoms and germs are affirmed of the immeasurable soul of man and its Author and Father. The Comtian philosophy is, in fact, a view of nature and being through the reversed telescope, — an application of the laws and limitations of the tadpole to the Creator, — a materialism as crass and grovelling as that of the most degraded fetich-worshipper. With this influence Christianity is now brought into close conflict, and that not by professed infidels alone, but even by office-bearers in the Christian church, who, like Baden Powell, elude the charge of Atheism only by Pantheistic word-jugglery.

When we say that the Bibliotheca has never slumbered on its watch-tower during the pendency of any important discussion, but has been loyal equally to freedom and to truth at epochs when to betray either the one or the other seemed almost inevitable, we certainly have given it, not only high praise, but a title to more than transient interest and favor. There are few periodicals whose volumes we should wish to keep for future reference: while this is a work for the library, containing the authentic record of phases of opinion, which indeed are essentially short-lived, yet will possess a permanent historical interest and importance.¹

¹ It may be well here to advert to the fact that there was issued, in 1857, an Index to the first thirteen volumes, or, we should rather term it, four Indexes; namely, an analytic table exhibiting the contents of each number in its order, a list of Scriptural texts illustrated, an alphabetical index of subjects, and another of writers. Undoubtedly this labor will soon be renewed.

Apart from controversy, there has been, since this work commenced, a vast increase of positive knowledge. The recension of the sacred text has been pursued with a thoroughness of method, and a certainty as to results, distancing Griesbach as far as he distanced his predecessors on the same career. There have been, also steps taken in the science of interpretation which cannot be retraced; and commentators have arisen who have given a new *essor* to an exegesis both rational and reverent, and who are making the Bible seem more than ever the living word of God, and not the record of things past and buried. As to the external history of the sacred cannon, aside from the fundamental points at issue between the opposite schools, yet in great part because of the joining of these issues, there has been accumulated, collated, and coördinated a mass of materials, preëxistent indeed, yet many of them before unused or unwisely used. As to collateral sources of illustration for the Biblical interpreter, even were we to pass in silence all that have been derived from excavations, monuments, inscriptions, and hieroglyphics, the mere results of travel and intelligent observation have become surprisingly rich and significant, especially when the travellers have been, like Professor Hackett, and Rev. W. M. Thomson the missionary, men who know so thoroughly what to ask and seek; for the inquirer's revenue is determined more by his skill in asking questions, than by his opportunities for answering them. Now, in all these departments the Bibliotheca has contained not only the *résumé* of what has been accomplished elsewhere, but a large proportion of first-hand contributions. Especially in the extensive range of research open to the missionary and to the tourist who loves the Holy Land, have the original papers been frequent, copious, comprehensive in their scope, and full of illumining suggestions for the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. The contributions from different missionaries, covering the ground of their own personal knowledge and experience, would alone suffice to give to this department of the work the prestige of undoubted authenticity, and a high and rare measure of interest.

We are inclined to believe that the interests of theological science and Biblical learning can in our day be served in few ways more effectually, than by publications of the class to which the Bibliotheca Sacra belongs. We must, indeed, always welcome the advent into any department of sacred knowledge of one who can devote himself wholly to its labors; and from men of this class we have a right to expect revised texts, continuous commentaries, or

systematic treatises. Yet it must have occurred to every person familiar with the theological literature of Germany, that the most eminent German divines and critics have in numerous instances distinguished themselves at least as much by their contributions to periodicals such as they have often edited, or by brief monographs printed independently, as by more weighty or voluminous productions ; and that, on the other hand, these writers in their more elaborate works are constantly referring with honor to, and quoting from, precisely such articles. The method is adapted both to the writers and to the subjects. In our country, at least, with hardly an exception, the most learned theologians and Biblical scholars are busy men, often hard-working parish ministers or painstaking teachers, — not infrequently remote from large libraries, and dependent mainly on their own books. A man thus situated cannot hope to prepare an edition of the New Testament, a critical commentary on the four Gospels, or a body of divinity, which shall contain so much of the products of his own peculiar genius, special study, or independent research as to place it far in advance of the similar works already in existence. But he may, if first thoroughly grounded in theology and hermeneutics, so concentrate his powers, inquiries, and labors upon some one among the countless subjects open before him, as to present it in new aspects, to enrich it with a wealth of erudition never expended upon it before, and especially to illustrate it by those somewhat remote, yet none the less instructive relations and analogies, which do not suggest themselves to the more systematic writer, however profound. Indeed, it may often be the case that a man's habits of mind, mode of life, or line of study may make him the most suitable of all men to cast light on some one limited subject, while he could only "darken counsel" on other subjects even in the very same department.

A case in point is afforded by Smith's treatise on the Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul. This, if we leave out of our account that portion of the introductory and supplementary matter which has no especial relevancy to the subject in hand, is about long enough for a double article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. The author evinces no adaptation for critical studies in general, and his essay on the Sources of St. Luke's Writings is but a feeble reproduction of what had been often written before. But on St. Paul's Voyage and Shipwreck he has expended a vast amount of study, classical, philological, mechanical, geographical ; he has made surveys and explorations in person, has interrogated navigators in the Mediterranean, has

heaped together illustrative and confirmatory facts and quotations from an immense range of reading, all with this end in view, and has, as it seems to us, left nothing more to be inquired on the subject. Now a commentator on the New Testament, or on the Acts of the Apostles alone, could not afford the time, and probably would be destitute of other requisite fitnesses and means, for such works as this. But its results have been freely used by Conybeare and Howson, by Hackett, and by others who have written since the book appeared, so as to attach to the narrative a reality and vividness such as it has not had till now. One chief use — we would say with emphasis — of a work like that under review, is to afford a medium of publication for these products of concentrated study on a single passage of Scripture, or point of controversy, or topic of critical or historical interest. A large part of the best talent and ripest learning of Christendom is every year condensed in such writings. A press ready to welcome them will often be a condition precedent to their preparation; and in the absence of such a press, and with the difficulty which besets independent publication in the mind of one of slender experience in type, many valuable papers of this sort would remain in manuscript to feed the paper-mills of the next generation.

. It must be borne in mind, too, that several of the departments that come within the scope of the theologian demand treatment in detail, rather than in systematic order. Theology itself is too vast to be circumscribed by any man-made syllabus or nomenclature. Its system lies unfolded in the Infinite mind alone; its order is the order of the universe. But there are numberless individual topics connected with the nature of man and their mutual relations in the past and future, many of which can be more fairly treated when discussed by themselves than when considered merely in their relation to some general "scheme." The Scriptures, also, and those of either Testament, present too much ground to be covered (except very superficially) by any one historiographer or commentator, unless his professed aim be to make a thorough and careful compilation of preëxisting materials. This last is what our best general commentators have done, to a greater extent than is imagined, except by one whose fortune it has often been to trace some felicitous explanation from one of the *Fratres Poloni* down through Bengel, Wetstein, Rosenmüller, "done into English" and launched anew by Scott, Doddridge, or Kenrick, and finally reappearing in a popular American commentary. A large part of this work will be best

wrought by being wrought in such instalments as one would never think of printing except in a periodical journal. This remark applies to the critical history of the several books of the Old and the New Testament, and to the various and numerous questions relating to the history of either canon. It applies with still more pertinence to exegesis. St. Paul's writings alone might be the study of a lifetime; and there are many single texts which deserve dissertations, rather than notes. In the series of articles on Difficult Texts of Scripture, to which we have already referred, we can see the advantage of the converging of all the lights of intellect and study on a single passage, the one writer who has taken a hard text in charge having often done more to relieve it of difficulty, obscurity, and misapprehension than was done by the generations of erudite commentators that preceded him. In fine, in critical scholarship, classical no less than Scriptural, the actual achievements, successes, triumphs have consisted in the clearing up of single doubtful readings, or the elucidation of single sentences, verses, or paragraphs; while the more ponderous work has been hand-work rather than brain-work, — the mere decanting of old wine into new bottles, and that often without filtering.

We know that it is a very rare thing for one literary journal to review another. Perhaps it ought so to be; for, were such a procedure authorized by custom, it would be very apt to lead to mutual operations on the credit of the literary community corresponding to "kite-flying" in the money-market. But our intention is, by this entirely exceptional method, to express our strong sense of the obligations of American scholarship, in its leading departments, to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Such a work proffers the highest claims on liberal support, — we will not say *patronage*, for that is too mean a word to be used about anything that deserves support. Simply because it is elevated in its whole character, — because it addresses only the advanced and cultivated mind of the country, — because it is not the organ of a sect or a party, but of whatever we have in the land of devout scholarship, of consecrated learning, — it has a smaller subscription list than it might easily secure by a lower grade of excellence.

We are aware that we have used very strong and emphatic terms of commendation in speaking of this journal, — much stronger than we should have used had we contented ourselves with a cursory examination of it, or had we trusted to the vividness of the impressions made upon us by each successive number. In point of fact,

it has few of the usual characteristics of a periodical, except that it keeps itself abreast of the times in literature and learning. Its articles are not adapted to some transient mood of the public mind, — appropriate when printed, yet such as would cease to be of value if delayed for a single quarter. Its papers are, indeed, suited to the demand of the religious world at the time of publication ; but their subjects are, from their very nature, of enduring interest and moment ; and the successive phases of theological opinion with reference to them represent only successive stages of research, development, and knowledge, — the earlier claiming the cognizance of all students and thinkers who would pass on to the later. Such essays, therefore, if ever worth the writing or the reading, are not likely to become obsolete. Subscribers to the *Bibliotheca Sacra* are, then, not only placing a new number every quarter upon their tables, but are adding with every year a reference-book of value to their libraries ; and we dare not say how very far, with the scholar of slender pecuniary ability, the entire series, up to this day, might compensate for the lack of ponderous and costly works whose absence from his shelves would else be his perpetual grief.

A

S E R M O N

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Executive and Legislative Departments

OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS,

AT THE

A N N U A L E L E C T I O N ,

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 6, 1864.

BY

W M. A. S T E A R N S , D. D.

B O S T O N :

W R I G H T & P O T T E R , S T A T E P R I N T E R S ,

N O . 4 S P R I N G L A N E .

1 8 6 4 .

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, STATE HOUSE, }
BOSTON, January 12, 1864. }

DEAR SIR,—Pursuant to an Order, unanimously adopted, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to present to you the thanks of the House for your able and instructive Discourse, delivered before the Government of the Commonwealth on the 6th inst., and to request a copy of the same for the press.

It gives us pleasure to communicate to you the action of the House, and we trust it will be both agreeable and convenient for you to comply with the request at an early day.

Most respectfully yours,

M. S. UNDERWOOD,
JOSEPH ALLEN,
CHARLES BEECHER,
Committee.

To the Rev. Pres. STEARNS, Amherst, Mass.

AMHERST COLLEGE, January 18, 1864.

GENTLEMEN,—Your note of January 12th, requesting, in behalf of “the House of Representatives,” a copy of the Sermon recently preached “before the Government of the Commonwealth,” came duly to hand. Have the goodness to express my acknowledgments to that honorable body, and inform them that a copy of the Discourse is at their disposal.

Respectfully and truly, I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

W. A. STEARNS.

Messrs. M. S. UNDERWOOD, JOSEPH ALLEN and CHARLES BEECHER.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 23, 1864.

The Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the Order from the Special Committee on the Election Sermon of Rev. Prof. Stearns, of Amherst, providing for the printing of five thousand copies thereof, have considered the same, and report that, in their opinion, the importance of the topics so ably discussed by one who has been called by the casualties of war to endure a most painful sacrifice, the extraordinary interest felt by the people of the Commonwealth in the principles involved, and the desirableness of a wide dissemination of the patriotic sentiments inculcated therein, fully justify the printing of the extra number of copies proposed.

They therefore recommend that said Order, as reported, be adopted by the House

For the Committee,

CHAS. W. PALFRAY, *Chairman.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 21, 1864.

ORDERED, That five thousand copies of the Discourse delivered by the Rev. Dr. STEARNS before the Executive and Legislative Departments of the State Government, on the 6th inst., be printed for the use of the Legislature.

W. S. ROBINSON, *Clerk.*

S E R M O N .

2 SAMUEL, x. 12.

BE OF GOOD COURAGE, AND LET US PLAY THE MEN FOR OUR PEOPLE, AND FOR
THE CITIES OF OUR GOD: AND THE LORD DO THAT WHICH SEEMETH HIM
GOOD.

Thank God we have still a country. We have a country which treason, rebellion and the opinion of foreign nations notwithstanding, gives at this moment brighter promise of perpetuity and ultimate nobleness, than it has given for a quarter of a century before; a country whose prospects, compared even with a year ago, are as the broad-breaking dawn to the dark night of tempest which preceded it. The steadily waning power of the rebellion; the remarkable contraction of the area which it dominates; the great victories which electrified the country in midsummer, and those which have recently crowned our arms; the marked progress which has been secured in the military measures of emancipation, and the improved sentiment and intelligence of the people

in reference to that much abused race who are the innocent occasion of this strife; the change which has taken place in some foreign nations, from adverse dispositions and acts towards a real neutrality, if not co-operative sympathy; the trial and growing strength of the Constitution, evincing its wisdom and power in proportion to the strains which are put upon it; the new confidence inspired in our republican governments by the calmness and strength with which they have put down domestic insubordination and executed wholesome laws; the manifestation of suppressed patriotism in seceded States, and of the returning loyalty of thousands, perhaps millions, whom the rebellion had swept into its frightful vortex; the healthful condition of our public finances and the wonderful prosperity of the loyal people generally, together with their ever-growing determination to maintain the integrity of the nation, however great may be the sacrifices, and however protracted the struggle;—all these facts and considerations are adapted to inspire us with courage, and call out our gratitude. On this early day of January, 1864, at this first assembling again of the legislature of our honored Commonwealth, it is right and becoming that we express our united thanks to Almighty God for his goodness,

and greet one another with a courageous “Happy new year.”

But though gratitude and courage are seemly, we have no time for glorying—hardly time for rejoicing. We must address ourselves to more serious thoughts and undertakings. When the life of a nation is at hazard; when political earthquake has shaken the government and its foundations are still trembling; when hundreds of thousands of peaceful citizens, summoned from their occupations, are marching everywhere in military array; when precious blood is flowing, and aceldemas spot the land, and homes are draped in mourning, and tears are dropping, and all hearts are throbbing with anxieties;—solemn thinking and earnest working demand our attention; nor can I properly select any subject for consideration on an occasion like the present, not connected with the condition of the times, and the circumstances in which we are placed.

It will be the business of the hour to reflect on some of the problems of social prosperity, and especially to inquire what we can do to defend, perpetuate, and enlarge the life of the nation.

First of all, we must prosecute this terrible war to its righteous results. The rebellion must be

put down. It must be put down, if there were no other reasons for it, because it *is* rebellion. Government is a nullity so far as it is impotent against or tolerates rebellion. Would any of the great Powers of the earth—would England, or France, or Russia, for any cause—tolerate rebellion within their dominions? And shall we for no cause? Never.

But what we call rebellion, the insurgents call secession, and justify as a right. There is no such right. Secession has no foundation to rest upon. Its assumed basis is the idea of independent sovereignty in the States.^u But no State ever had such sovereignty; no, not for a moment. From the beginning, and always, the States have been clusters of population, suspended from and nourished by some common vine. Originally they were British dependencies. The Declaration of Independence was not the declaration of separate colonies, but of a National Congress, which represented the colonies and expressed their unity. The “Articles of Confederation” adopted in 1781, were not the terms of an original league, so much as the principles of a union already existing. They declared, however, the unity to be *perpetual*, and they confirmed the declaration by irrevocable conditions, especially by the surrender and acceptance of territories, for

the general good. When it came to be known, through the tests of experience, that the written compact intended to express and strengthen the pre-existing union was operating rather to limit its power and hinder its usefulness, the nation set itself to the construction of a National Constitution. It was framed and adopted by "the people of the United States," and was intended not to originate a union, but to make the existing union more intelligible and more perfect. When adopted, it was adopted not merely by the States as States, but more expressly by "the people" of the States as a people. It gave, expressed and everywhere implied, all the powers requisite for its perpetuity, and none whatever for its destruction. From that day the nation's life has been a constitutional and inviolable unity. As a unity, it has not only carried on the usual operations of government, but it has purchased territory, and conquered territory, and annexed territory, and divided territory into new States, and admitted States, and been a *Body* "joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, making increase unto the edifying of itself." Nor, whatever may be said of disturbing elements always within it, is there a nation on the face of the earth whose parts have so intergrown, complicated them-

selves with each other, and compacted themselves into one as our own. Secession, then, is rebellion, and rebellion must be put down.

It is not necessary to present a further reason for overthrowing it. But it is well to keep always before us the consequences which would follow from its triumph. We should not only admit a principle of national disintegration into the body politic, and introduce years, perhaps centuries, of anarchy, shame and misery, but we should suffer a terrible and odious despotism to rise and domineer at our side. This fact has not yet been sufficiently pondered. A Southern confederacy, were it possible for such a monstrosity to exist, from the character of its population and the nature of its institutions, as well as the disposition of its leaders, would be a great war-power on our borders. It would consist chiefly of three principal estates:—an oligarchy of large slaveholders; a great working class of African bondmen, indefinitely increased by the foreign slave-trade; and a vast standing army, constituted chiefly of what are now called “poor whites.” Such an army would be necessary. It would be necessary to keep down the slaves; to defend a mighty wrong against the adverse sentiment and action of the civilized world; to make aggressions upon neighboring territory, for slavery,

like the “daughters of the horse-leech,” will forever “cry, give, give ;” and finally, as a standing menace and power of violence against any free State or nation around it. The material of the army must be what I have described ; for it is available, and adapted to the purpose, and there is no other position for it in a slaveholding confederacy. The poor whites in such a community, too proud and too indolent to labor, too ignorant and impotent to rule, without schools, without the functions of high citizenship, without the means of bettering their condition which the working classes of the North possess, would become soldiers. They would be the great *fighting* class of the South ; and the great and only great fighting class, as a class, on the continent. We are addicted to the arts of peace, and, though we *can* fight and have fought with indomitable courage and persistency, our employments and our tastes dispose us to peace. But should a Southern confederacy, by any possibility, be established, we should be compelled to fight in self-defence, and that too from generation to generation, until it should be destroyed, or we ourselves go under.

Some imagine that the rebellion needs coaxing and compromising, and that then it will subside. We coaxed it and compromised with it before it

fairly broke out. We almost gave up our manliness to appease it. But it never would down. Our alternative is submission to its extremest demands, the degradation of ourselves and our posterity, the surrender of our birthrights of freedom, or its subjection by force. What has any Northern man to expect from its success, from giving it any measure of sympathy, from withholding denunciation, from keeping back the sword? We may or may not sympathize with a particular administration, we may or may not approve of all its acts and policies, we may belong to this school of politics or to that; we may even believe that the terrible issue now upon us, by wiser counsels might have been avoided; but circumstances being as they are, what have any of us to hope for in the triumph of the rebellion, or of the principles which sustain it? We may crouch and fawn before it, but it will despise us. We may betray our country to it, as Iscariot sold his Master, but when, in remorse, we throw down the price of blood, the response will be, "What is that to us?" and we shall have no alternative but the shame and despair of him who went away and hanged himself. Apologies for treason, irresolution, half-way measures, soft words, are all just now out of place. What we need is blows, and hard blows,

and blows all the time, till rebellion submits itself. Would you have even the respect of the enemies of your country, you must conquer them. Nay, would you have a country, you must conquer its enemies.

Foreign nations may cry out against us, and profess to be shocked by the terribleness of this war, as though their own histories were immaculate, and they were not at this moment drawing the sword. But they know as well as we, that if we are not the most degenerate and the meanest of the nations, we shall prosecute this war to a righteous close. Let treason and mad ambition rend us asunder, when sacrifices and efforts might have saved us, and their own future historians would write of us, that in an age when Italy, "the land of political earthquakes and volcanoes," after desperate struggles, rose in power and bound itself into the unity of a mighty people, America, the freest, the happiest, the basest of the nations, went down ingloriously, and was buried in imbecility and shame. No, God helping us, we shall perform our terrible duty; we shall triumph; freedom fought out for man will triumph; humanity will triumph; and a multitude of the heavenly host will praise God again, and cry, "Glory to God in the highest, for on earth there is peace and good-will towards men."

We must, in the next place, take higher views of the value of a nation, and especially of our own nation, than was common among us before the war. What is a nation? It is a great community of people, held together by common bonds, under one government, and compacted into a living organic whole. It is distinguished by its unity in one body politic from other communities of people, organized and held together among themselves in a similar way. The diversity of races and interests; the number and character of populations; configuration of the earth's surface, divided as it is by seas, and continents, and mountains and rivers, with that depravity and selfishness of man which induces the larger and stronger communities to oppress the weaker,—make divisions into nations a necessity. Human necessities are Divine decrees. What natural theology thus teaches, revealed religion confirms. There is a King of kings, and an administration above administrations. “The Lord is governor among the nations.” “The Most High divideth to the nations their inheritance.” “He hath made of one blood all nations, and hath determined the bounds of their habitation.” A nation is thus a vast and divinely-quickenened organism—a million-handed and million-hearted life—everywhere sensi-

tive, everywhere throbbing with vitality. It wraps up in its own being the most precious interests of the human race. It inspheres and protects great histories, examples, ideas, principles; the ashes of ancestors, monuments of by-gone days; the activities of great populations,—in cities, in towns, in villages,—thronging in masses, scattered in solitudes, covering banks of rivers, spreading up the sides of mountains and down along the shores and harbors of the ever-sounding sea; the germs, too, of coming growths and the welfare of hundreds of millions thronging upon our imagination from the future. Institutions, churches, schools, homes, souls more than can be numbered, are involved in its destiny. It comes down from the past, and is the offspring of the centuries. It looks towards the future, and is fraught with good or ill to unborn generations. It has relations to all the other organized populations of the earth. It is one of the family of great organic lives, which divide among them and possess the globe. Its prosperity throws sunshine into countless homes; its adversity blights the hopes and joys of vast communities. Millions tremble when it is agitated; millions stagger with faintness when it is heavily struck; and when it falls, its dying groans sometimes terrify all the habitations

of men. Whoever strikes at a nation strikes at an immense life, involving immense interests, and he that lifts a parricidal arm against it, commits a crime, the enormity of which can be measured only by infinities.

What greater study, then, for statesmen and patriots than the study of nations? We should study them in their rise, in their greatness, in their fall. We should study their organizations, their weaknesses, their powers; we should study their convulsions and their revolutions, their relations to contemporaries, their position in the world's progress, their special missions for mankind, and their contributions to human advancement. We should study them in their relations to Him, who, in the faith of all Christendom, is the centre of human history, and towards the glory of whose kingdom all that went before was preparing, and all that follows will contribute.

Especially should American citizens study their own nation. They should study and comprehend it. They should comprehend the nation in its history, in its institutions, in its industries, in its sections and prejudices, in its spirit and tendencies, in its resources and capacities, in its geographical conformations, in its dangers. They should compre-

hend the nation, as one among the great family of nations, and as belonging to the present period of the world's life. They should comprehend the stars in their individualities, and in their relations to each other, and in the unity of the constellation which inshrines them. They should honor the nation as one of those great public lives which cannot be destroyed or injured, without imperilling the welfare of millions. They should love the nation, not only as philanthropists and patriots, but as members of a vast fraternity, embarked in the same ship of State, with their affections, and hopes, and interests all on board. They should sacredly perform their duties to the nation as its citizens, and, by consultations, by the honest expression of opinions and reasons, by suffrage, by administration when called to it, strengthen and adorn it. They should esteem it honorable to live for the nation—more honorable, if necessary, to die for the nation.

We must also take higher views of civil government, especially of the importance of our own government as adapted to us. Government is the principle of order, so enforced that the movements of the many shall be harmonized, and the best good of the individual and of the whole secured.

In this respect, it resembles gravitation, by which Deity directs the onrushing spheres through their myriad orbits, prevents collisions and saves creation from the return of chaos.

Government has its foundation in the perfections of God—especially in those eternal laws of right by which He would direct the conduct of men in their relations to each other, and in that goodness of the common Father, which seeks the welfare of all. Government is made necessary to men by the circumstances in which they are placed. Necessities are divine. Government is therefore of divine origin, and a divine ordinance. The old dogma, “the divine right of kings,” is only a perversion of the divine right, or rather, the divine duty of government. God ordained it. Order is alike the law of His being, and a condition of human happiness. In the lofty language of Milton, “He that hath read with judgment of nations and commonwealths, of cities and camps, of peace and war, sea and land, will agree that the flourishing and decaying of all human societies, all the moments and turning of human occasions are moved to and fro upon the axle of discipline. Yea, the angels themselves, in whom no discord is feared, as the apostle who saw them in his rapture

describes, are distinguished and quarternioned into their celestial princedoms and satrapies, according as God himself has writ his imperial decrees through the great provinces of heaven."

Government, then, is not designed for the advantage of one or a few over others, but for the good of all. It was not only ordained by Him who is alike the Father of all, but for men who are alike His offspring, and brethren of each other. Nor is there any reason why, in this great family of children, one should assume to crowd down another and exalt himself. I would not say that if the one or the few were pre-eminent in wisdom and goodness, and would wield power for the benefit of all, it might not be desirable to place it in their hands. Nor would I say that all men are in all respects equal; they are not. But it is the right of all alike that government should be wielded for their benefit, and that each should have equal privileges with others, modified only by the necessity of the circumstances in which they are placed.

What, then, is that *form* of government which God has ordained for man? Some will expect me to say at once—the democratic or republican form. That is not my answer. I believe in republics, but it follows from the principles laid down, that the

normal form of government for a given people is that which is best adapted to promote most impartially the highest good of the individual and the whole. It may be a patriarchate, autocracy, oligarchy, limited monarchy, or limited democracy, or some mixed form; if it is best adapted to the good of a people, and been established, it is the form divinely ordained for them. Why need we, as Americans, contend with England, France or Russia as to their modes of government, till we have settled the question that democracy would make them each a better, happier, wiser nation? What is best for one community might not be for another. It is not certain that any of the great nations of Europe are yet capable of self-government. Besides, existing governments can rarely be changed without revolutions. Revolutions are evils, though in exceptional cases they may ultimate in good. Hence that principle of international law as well as Christianity, that "the powers that be are ordained of God;" and hence the apostle's exhortation "to pray for kings and for all that are in authority, that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in godliness and honesty."

And yet I hesitate not to say, that for communities which are capable of it, a republican or representative government is the divinely ordered form. The

rational natures of men, their common paternity, their brotherhood, make it evident.

But the logical consequence of this position, some will say, is democracy, not republicanism. By no means. If all were absolutely equal, convenience would still demand representation. But when, as matter of fact, there are diversities of ability and adaptation to govern, should not a wise people appoint its best qualified men to the management of its affairs? And what is this but delegated self-government? and what is delegated self-government but republicanism?

Consider now our government as approximating the best standard. It is representative throughout. It derives all its powers in all its departments, directly or indirectly from the people, and restores those powers, after limited periods, to the people again. The completeness with which the representative principle is carried out distinguishes our American constitutions both from the ancient democracies and the freest monarchies of modern times. Nothing can be better in *theory*, if the people are equal to it in practice.

Our republicanism, also, is the result of intelligence and virtue, illumined by thousands of years of political experiment. The course of progress

among the historical nations has always been from the Orient westward. The civilization of Europe is far higher than the civilization of Asia. And the advance nations of Europe, at this day, are those which approach nearest in locality to America. It was not till antiquity had perished, and mediæval centuries had rolled away, that our western continent was revealed. Meanwhile, He who appoints the bounds of human habitations, was preparing a people to settle it. In the new world, every thing was new. The germ of its institutions was started under providential necessities, in the Mayflower, as she ploughed her perilous way through the Atlantic towards unpromising landing-places on this side the deep. Very early in New England, and to some extent at the South, the two great problems of our civilization offered themselves for discussion;—the proper forms of government for the Church, and the proper forms of government for the State. These questions were investigated by free and superior minds, in communities untrammelled by the past, and under circumstances most favorable to their solution. The question of the Church was settled first; the question of the State, illumined by that of the Church, hastened on to a similar conclusion. The result was civil and religious liberty.

When the British yoke was broken, the spirit, habits and necessities of the people determined the method of their local institutions, while a Divine Providence, signally manifested, in a course of overruling events, constrained the formation of a national government. The Convention which constructed the Constitution was composed of remarkable men. They were selected from the peerage of the race. Washington, Hamilton, Franklin, Randolph and their associates, constituted an assemblage which for wisdom and patriotism was never equalled. In high appreciation of their difficulties and responsibilities, they bowed reverently before the Father of lights, praying daily that He would "illuminate their understandings," confessing that "God governs in the affairs of men, and that if a sparrow cannot fall without his notice, an empire cannot rise without his aid." The political fabric they erected, its approval by the people, and the peaceful revolution which established its supremacy, can be regarded by the Christian statesman familiar with those perilous times, only with adoring wonder and gratitude. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it was a stupendous, not to say miraculous success. Not that the Constitution was perfect; perfection does not belong to the finite. But it is difficult even now to see

how so many and such conflicting interests could have been harmonized on any principles or compromises essentially different. Nor can I doubt that on the whole, it had the Divine sanction. God is eminently practical in His administrations. In His management of great communities, the best conceivable gives place to the best practicable. As human activities enter into His plans, He seems to consider circumstances, opinions, customs and prejudices even, as facts, and to deal with them accordingly. Hence He often tolerates and regulates what, in the abstract, He never approves. On this principle, I believe our Constitution the best which the whole nation could bear, and had it been administered always in its spirit and design, the nation, as such, would have escaped the judgments of Heaven, though some of the States might have suffered for great evils embodied in them. As it is, though corruption has bred civil pestilence, though political depravity has outrun horsemen, though a monstrous ambition has defied the heavens, and hands black with perjury have grasped the pillars of the State to overthrow it, I believe that no government on the globe is better fitted, not only for the happiness of its subjects generally, but to put down rebellion and work out

those terrible problems which are rocking the nation.

Let us, then, accept our own government and sustain it. Constructed by men who knew how to avail themselves of the experience of all ages, formed in the vast and free spaces of a new country where no antiquated corruptions had grown into it, adopted by a population which had struggled up into freedom against hereditary prestige and oppression, and, outgrowing the period of colonial pupillage, had achieved independence, it was a government for the people. If any of the chief fathers of the Revolution had the smallest leaning towards monarchy, every one of them agreed that nothing but republicanism was desirable, was possible for America. The republican spirit has been gaining strength for generations. The masses will die for it. Let no man suggest a monarchy for us. An extreme democracy is an American possibility; so, perhaps, is a military despotism; but not a constitutional monarchy. The materials for it are wanting. We have neither the great wealth of an aristocratic clergy, nor the "immense interests of a secular nobility" to sustain it. The British constitution for England, the emperor for France, if you please, but Europe should know, above all we ourselves should

know, that republican institutions are not only the highest forms of government, but to us they are necessities.

Let the American people, as well as statesmen, study the government. We should study it in our colleges and common schools, and by our firesides, as well as in Congress and our legislatures. We should study government in its broadest principles, and its application to nations, but most of all the government under which, as free citizens, we are sheltered.

There is one lesson respecting government which we need most of all to learn, and that is *obedience*. Obedience to government because it *is* government. The proper ground of obedience to law is not ordinarily its reasonableness, or its equity, but its imposition by rightful authority. This doctrine had always been accepted in the army, in the navy, and to some extent in our merchant ships; the nature of the service in these cases made the necessity of it obvious. But in our pulpits, our schools, our homes, and our political teachings, the ideas of rightful authority and unquestioning obedience were becoming obsolete. Men were learning to reason about laws, as though the question of obedience should turn, not on the fact of their being laws, but on their

propriety. A doctrine of nullification, according to private judgment, was surreptitiously creeping in. It was undermining the foundations of our civil government, North as well as South, and the idea of government as government was passing away.

The times demand a higher teaching. Insist on abstract right, as eloquently as you will, but let government be paramount in its sphere. A constitutional government should be absolute within the limits of the constitution, and the extent of those limits is not a question for private judgment, but for the public tribunals. The quality of badness in laws is a reason for changing, not for disobeying them. All laws are to be obeyed while they are laws. Governments take the moral as well as the political responsibilities of administration upon themselves. Private responsibility is satisfied, when the individual, by his suffrage and the full power of his influence, has done his duty as a citizen. If there are extreme cases which justify rebellion,—and I do not deny that there may be,—they are only such extremes as strengthen the rule, and are to be dealt with as extremes and exceptions, and not elevated into principles. Conscience, to be sure, must have supremacy; but the supremacy of an enlightened conscience requires obedience to the laws. An

enlightened conscience will teach that it is right to do some things in obedience to law which it would not be right to do, if there were no law. Let extraordinary cases, like that of Daniel when idolatry was law, like the old martyrs when blasphemy was law, be excepted; but any general setting up of private judgments against authorized tribunals would destroy law, and introduce anarchy and destruction. Our human instincts, if unperturbed, recognize and demand the supremacy of government. Men fly from anarchy to despotism for the sake of it. We ourselves, when for a time it seemed as if we had no government, began to estimate aright the miseries into which we were plunging. And when, at length, the voice of legitimate *authority* came thundering forth from the Capitol, nineteen millions recognized it *as* authority, and sent up a great shout of exultation. From that moment, the entire people began to have new conceptions of government. Obedience was accepted as a duty, and loyalty became a virtue. From this vantage-ground, we must re-establish the authority of government. While we sacredly guard all the liberties of the people, we must show them that liberty is not license—that in human as well as in the Divine government, perfect liberty is found only in the line of obedience to rightful authority.

And the rising as well as the risen generation must be made to understand the meaning of that almost obsolete imperative, OBEY.

We must take higher views than heretofore of the office and importance of military organizations in sustaining free governments, and that not only during the present war but in coming years. We have made great mistakes both in theory and practice on this subject. Our custom of business, our peace-loving dispositions, our geographical position at a distance from the warlike nations, our sentiment and habit of protest against military ambition and despotic violence, our philanthropy, our Christianity wrongly interpreted, all helped to lead us astray. Force, constraint, punishment were put at discount. The idea of justice went down before that of a mistaken benevolence. The soldier belonged to history or to foreign tyrannies, or to some national gala-day, or vanity fair. Love, persuasion, moral influences were the motive powers to lift society. I have no word against peace. I believe in peace. I believe in the apostolic exhortation, "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you live peaceably with all men." Infinitely beautiful is the sentiment of mercy. But the attribute of justice, if it should seem less

amiable to any, is no less to be revered. Justice is at the foundation of the moral order of the universe. Practical truth is often the resultant of extreme, conflicting theoretical principles. It is found, in this case, not in justice alone, nor in mercy alone, but where "mercy and truth meet together, and righteousness and peace embrace each other."

Let us applaud the disposition for peace. Persuasion is admirable, but the moral universe is not constructed on that principle alone. As in nature, so it is in revelation. He who wept over Jerusalem, denounced desolation upon it, and the gospel which records, "Blessed are the peacemakers," commends civil government "as the terror of evil doers."

So far had our peace principles carried us, that when the war broke out we were almost as defenceless as children. And even now, I suppose, that out of our great cities, there is scarcely a community in Massachusetts which could protect itself from an insurrection. God forbid that any necessity should make of us a military, much more, a war-loving nation. But we must have a different practice and a different teaching on the questions of self-defence. Innocence is not sufficient for protection. Imbecility invites aggression. Christians must be men, citizens must be soldiers, magistrates must bear the sword,

and bear it not in vain. Let the schools, let the churches teach justice, then, as well as benevolence,—nay, teach justice as the highest form of benevolence. Let the young men be taught, let the government arm and train them, to uphold justice. Law, order must be sustained. Rebellion, anarchy, violence put down. Let the soldier look upon himself not as his country's mercenary; not as the mere circumstance and ornament of authority; not, most of all, as a great public murderer; but as an officer of justice called by God and his country to the high duty of sustaining government, and by his own strong heart and hand, protecting the welfare of the people—his mission that of a destroying angel, who, though destroying, is an angel still.

We must also gather up the lessons of the times, and forward the purposes of Providence as revealed in them. We read the lessons and learn the purposes in results already attained or foretold, and in the necessities brought clearly to view. What has the war done for us? It has developed in all our free States an intense and almost universal patriotism. It has set forth the idea and stimulated the sentiment of loyalty. It has brought up the notion of government as such, and begun to

enthroned it again on the hearts of the people. It has put appropriate honor upon the eternal attribute of justice and shown the importance of penalty, both human and divine. It has given a death-blow to that mawkish philanthropy which expended its unhealthful sympathies, not in punishing crime and protecting innocence, but in sheltering criminals from retribution, and which was emasculating the people of all manliness and moral power. It has settled the question of the great strength of republican governments. It has given the people an unbounded confidence in free institutions. It has taught self-sacrifice, and that there is something to live for outside of *self*. It has taught patience, moderation, persistency in the right under discouragements, and self-possession under calumny. It has taught self-knowledge, and helped to remove something of an immense conceit from the popular head. It has taught humility, and impressed the old belief that God governs the nations. It has taught one doctrine, partially, and but partially, understood before—the Divine abhorrence of slavery. While it was practiced as a necessity ; while it was allowed as an evil and a wrong, as soon as possible to be corrected,—the Judge of all men looked on with forbearance, and seemed to require us to do

the same. But when it came to be accepted as “the fundamental doctrine of civilization,” the normal basis of free institutions; when ministers of the gospel had come to declare it right, and good and desirable—a God-blessed arrangement, revealed in the sacred Scriptures, and to be defended by them; when Christian men joined in the shout, slavery everywhere and slavery forever;—then the heavens began to thunder. From that day it was manifest, as Mr. Jefferson said, that “there is no attribute in the character of God which can take sides with it;” from that day it began to be apparent that the time of visitation had come. The war also has taught respecting slavery, that never again must this great republican government be wielded for its extension and perpetuity. Never again must its unchristianizing and uncivilizing influences be allowed to predominate on this continent. The war is terrible. But the war has taught us—waged as it is on one part to crush the slaveholders’ conspiracy and to put down the slaveholders’ rebellion, a conspiracy and a rebellion started and carried on against any limitation of that accursed institution which has been the cause of all our troubles from the beginning—never to ask, never to suffer a peace, till slavery has received a blow which will insure its destruction,

in time. That dark spirit of evil—it has breathed moral pestilence over the land, and plotted the destruction of all freedom in it. Not satisfied with perverting justice, corrupting the people, making us ashamed before the world, it struck at the government, it rent the nation, it insulted our flag, it slaughtered our sons, and as God is true, it *shall never be forgiven*. Let it go down, peacefully if it may, in blood and fire if it must.

Meanwhile, you have no call to rashness. I would be the last man to encourage that reckless spirit which overrides compacts and violates oaths of office. Though regarding slavery with abhorrence, and always praying for its overthrow, I have been accustomed to feel that its continued existence was not the special responsibility of the free States; that it could not be directly assailed by our government without violation of the Constitution, and such rivers of blood as are now flowing among us. And still I say, let the pledges of the Constitution, whether expressed or implied, be maintained till they are constitutionally amended. All that ought to be done, can be done, is doing by the civil or the military power which the Constitution affords. God is in the heavens. “He that believeth shall not make haste.” When His time comes, we shall

know it. Opinions, inspirations of the public heart, circumstances which no mortal man can bend, will reveal it. Meanwhile, events are disclosing the Divine intentions. Eighteen months ago, in a public discourse, I had the honor to say: "We can see the hands on the horologe of the centuries passing up to the hour when the doom of slavery is to be struck." Since these words were uttered, from the great clock of human history has the awful peal rung out, and while the sound echoes and re-echoes over the country and reverberates among the nations, the angels of destiny have put down the record—the death-blow of slavery and rebellion, in the year of time, January 1st, 1863.

I was intending to speak also of a duty which now is, and soon will be more strongly upon us, viz.: the duty of our statesmen and citizens to assist in forming the character of the nation. We live in an age of the world when there is opportunity for a new kind of national eminence and power. Whichever of the great nations would distinguish itself before the world, for magnanimity and justice in all its foreign relations, so as deservedly to secure the confidence of mankind, might not only obtain the smiles of Providence, and become the noblest of

nations in itself, but have a real though moral supremacy over them all. If any here may have been predestined to a higher statesmanship than that to which most of us have yet attained, I would ask them to remember this among the observations of the hour, and do something to lift the government they may help to administer out of the miserable duplicities and circumventions of diplomacy; out of that spirit of quick resentment and imperious, not to say insulting demand, which provokes and predisposes to war, and bring it to conduct like an open, honorable, fair-minded man. Why should not an intelligent republic, conscious of greatness, stand more on its dignity? Why should we be so easily exasperated by opprobrium from abroad? Let the jealous or the ill-natured say what they will, self-possession and repose become a people who understand their position. Call not these ideas chimerical. If virtue and moderation are elements of greatness in individuals, so they are in nations. If it is difficult to quarrel with a strong, magnanimous, just and kindly man, so it would be difficult for any hostile power to quarrel or officiously intermeddle with a nation of such characteristics. Look at our own condition. There is a power in this land hardly second to that of an immense army. It is the wis-

dom and honesty, and the reputation of it inspiring confidence at home and abroad, which belong to the character of ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

I hasten to one remaining topic. It will be our special duty as republican patriots, to educate the people. The importance of education is confessed. But public sentiment, on this subject, is still incommensurate with the urgencies of the case. Whoever observes the ignorance, obscenity, profaneness which the drag-net of a popular enrolment sometimes collects, has materials enough for political despair. But still lower down, if possible, are those terrible populations which in periods of insurrectionary excitement sometimes rise to view. The remedy is not despotism, but education. Mere utilitarianism demands it. Education excites to enterprise. Enterprise furnishes bread, and bread helps contentment. We boast of our culture; and many a poor man is a nobleman. But can you not find voters in almost every town, and sometimes by the hundred, whose ignorance and passion fit them better for the violences of the mob than for the responsibilities of citizens? Not natural disposition so much as lack of advantages has been their bane. Let them, at least let their children, be educated. Compulsory education, where

compulsion is needed, is alike a charity and a law of liberty. Let them be taught the rudiments in schools, always remembering, however, that reading and writing are not all. Knowledge is well, but wisdom is better. Right motives must be inculcated, and right feelings inspired. Our youth must be habituated to reflection, self-control, and the exercise of judgment. The virtues of industry, frugality, public spirit and justice; the sentiments of honor, self-respect and kindness; the duties of loyalty to government and obedience to the laws, and the greatness of living and dying for country,—should be enforced upon them. They should be taught reverence—in which democracies are proverbially deficient—and that true dignity which is an attribute of good character, in the humblest as well as in the highest. The moral nature should be specially cultivated, conscientiousness should be developed, and a regard for truth and honesty made laws of life.

I am proud for what the old Bay State has been doing for her youth, from the beginning. I am proud of a Commonwealth which inserted in her Bill of Rights, almost a century ago, such a sentence as this: “A constant adherence to the principles of piety, justice, moderation, temperance, industry

and frugality, are absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty, and to maintain a free government ;” and which recognizes all these virtues in her Constitution, and requires the elected rulers to bestow them, through education, upon the people. I am proud to be the citizen of a State which expends money so liberally upon her schools, which appreciates her university and her colleges as fountains of liberty and fortresses of defence. I would gladly speak with honor of those truly great men among us,—benefactors of the race,—who, uniting high character with property, have so liberally cultivated good learning, and established endowments for the promotion of knowledge and virtue in the present and coming generations. But we have no time for commendations. There is work to be done. The grandeur of Massachusetts will never rest on the extent of her domains. If knowledge is power, her influence will increase in proportion as she educates her people.

This education must be given to the *country*. It must be given not only in schools and colleges, but through every possible way of influence ; through wise and liberal legislation ; by sermons, lectures, addresses, speeches ; by newspaper articles, reviews, and the varied powers of the press ; by home

instruction and by Sabbath schools. Educated men must educate others. Those who are up must lift up those who are down. God has placed some on eminences, not to glorify themselves on the heights, but to raise others to their sides. Socrates among the ancients, and Dr. Arnold in our times, are examples for us. There is but one brighter than these in history, and that is the Great Teacher. He sympathized with the masses, and associated with them to elevate them. We must do the same. We are all of *one family*, and we have our choice to make the humbler members of it good and respectable, or live annoyed by their ignorance, and imperilled and perhaps ruined by their want of principle. Christ chose the former alternative. He came down to men, that He might lift them up by his religion. Christianity, while it saves and blesses all who believe, especially regards and elevates the masses.

And this brings me to say emphatically, and what is among the deepest convictions of my heart, that you cannot educate a people for high citizenship without religion. Look over the earth; Christian nations tower like mountains above others, and those are highest in which Christianity has most power. But I will dwell here only on one point. In order to a moderate religious influence in a community,

there must be an immense religious power in portions of it. A cool inculcation of Christian moralities upon the mass, is not enough; there must be enthusiasm somewhere. The rivers will dry up when the rains are stayed, unless there are fountains to feed them. So if you would influence communities by religious motives, you must be assisted by those deep experiences in many persons which belong to the highest types of godliness. The patriot who thinks he can educate the people in schools, without the churches; the Christian who thinks that the churches can be powerful without an intense Christian life among some of its members,—have never learned the laws of influence. As in every human being there must be a strongly pulsating heart in order to vigor in the limbs, so there must be vast numbers of devoted Christian people—a strong central religious life—if you would have a general religious life, or expect to restrain and guide a community by a *sense* of religion.

Not only as a Christian minister, but as a patriot, I would urge on all good citizens the wisdom of encouraging an earnest Christianity, in all the religious denominations of the State. This sentence from the Farewell Address of the Father of his Country should never be forgotten: “Whatever

may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality may prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

To His Excellency the Governor, I respectfully turn, with confident assurance that by him, and the distinguished gentlemen immediately associated with him, the leading sentiments of this discourse will not be disowned. The patriotism, the patronage of education, the energy, and most of all the humanity which mark the administration of the preceding year, add strength to our faith when we pray, "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

Gentlemen, Legislators of the Commonwealth, I cannot lose this opportunity of commending to your regard the interests of our country, though it may be sufficiently dear to you. Patriotism is a characteristic of noble minds. The rustic Bard of Ayr turned aside his weeding-plough and spared the rough burr-thistle "for dear old Scotia's sake"—and one far greater than bard or statesman wept for his country, when he foretold the evils which

were coming upon it. And shall not the American citizen love his native land?

“ Land where our fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrims’ pride,
Sweet land of Liberty.”

Some among us have thought it pleasant and becoming to die for it; shall not we who survive most earnestly live for it? As you look upon your country, “the strong staves broken and the beautiful rods,” let me say to each of you, gentlemen, in higher words than human, “Behold thy mother.” She asks the help of her sons. Of you, among the chosen rulers, she asks wisdom in legislation, integrity of intention, patriotism, devotion. “Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people and for the cities of our God,” and His providence will smile upon us. The war will be brought to a righteous close. Liberty and law will be established, and we may hope for the time when the whole nation will become what Milton said a Commonwealth ought to be—“ONE HUGE CHRISTIAN PERSONAGE, ONE MIGHTY GROWTH AND STATURE OF AN HONEST MAN.”

THOMAS STARR KING.

His Last Sickness and Death.

The San Francisco Bulletin of March 4, the day of Starr King's death, gives an account of his last hours, a brief history of his labors during his short residence in California, and describes the sensation caused in the city by the unexpected intelligence of his death, and the unusual and heartfelt honors paid to his memory. To all in California except his most intimate friends, the blow came as sudden as to his old friends at the East, and as possible with more stunning force, for there his labors were freshest, his triumphs greatest, and his presence most necessary. The death of no public man ever drew out of San Francisco more tokens of respect and sorrow. The flags on all the public buildings and churches were hung at half mast, the public offices were closed, all the courts both state and national, adjourned, and there was a partial cessation of business all over the city, the citizens gathering in little knots to talk over in subdued tones the calamity which had fallen upon them. The Bulletin gives the following account of the last sickness and death:—

About two weeks before his death Mr. King first complained of not feeling well, and of some trouble with his throat. His friends urged him to be more careful, and not expose himself to the air; but he thought it was only an ordinary case of sore throat, and declined to confine himself or call in the aid of a physician until Friday last. In the evening he had his regular reception and between 10 and 11 o'clock went down to a social gathering at the church, though still suffering. On Saturday evening he had invited a number of friends to supper, but when evening came he was unable to appear at table. When supper was going on, however, a bridal party came to be married. Mr. King had received the previous intimation of such a visit, and sent down asking to be excused, saying that he was sick and confined to his bed. The party replied that they had set their hearts on being married by Mr. King, and would come up to his bedside sooner than be deserted in their desire. With that spirit of self-sacrifice for which he was so remarkable, he then said he would get up and go down into the parlor. He did so, and went through the ceremony, but though it was performed in a very few minutes, he was so weak at its conclusion that he had to be assisted up to his room. On Sunday morning his congregation was alarmed by the announcement that he was unable to preach. The attending physician pronounced it a serious case of diphtheria, and said he should have been called at least a week sooner—it had been too long neglected. The disease gained strength, and the patient's prostration increased. On Wednesday, the 2d, however, the complaint seemed under medical control, but so prostrated was the patient that for two days it had been difficult to keep up his vital energies. Thursday he was visited by an attack of pneumonia, and experienced great difficulty of respiration. At 6 o'clock Thursday evening the attack was very severe, and Dr. Eckel feared that it might prove fatal, but the patient possessed wonderful recuperative power, and seemed to revive, passing a very comfortable night, during which light stimulants were administered him to keep up the vital forces, and he seemed getting along remarkably well until about half-past 5 in the morning, when a second attack of pneumonia set in.

This second attack was not more violent than the first one, but the patient's strength was so expended that there was little or nothing for medicine to build upon. When taken with the first attack, Mr. King had remarked to some one standing by: "I know what this is; it is a severe attack of the pneumonia?" Was the second

occurred he said to the doctor: "What is this? Is this pneumonia, too?" The doctor replied that it was. Mr. King then asked: "Can I survive it?" The doctor told him no; he thought he could not. "How long can I live?" he asked. "Not a half hour." "Are you sure I cannot live longer than that?" The doctor told him he feared he could not. Friends then asked him if he had anything to say. He replied: "Yes, a great deal to say: I want first to make my will."

Up to this time, for two or three days he had not been able to speak above a whisper; but responding to the power of his will, his voice now resumed its old power and tone, and he spoke nearly as loud as ever. A friend sat by his bedside, and he dictated the will—it was read to him afterwards, and he assented to its correctness by saying "all right" at the end of each paragraph, exclaiming at the close, "It is just as I want it." He then hesitated a moment, and dictated an important correction. A pen was given him and he signed it in a handwriting as firm and bold as he ever wrote in his life, even punctuating the abbreviation of his name, and putting an accustomed flourish beneath the signature. Then came the sad task of bidding his friends who were present good by. One by one they came up to his bedside; in every instance he greeted them with a cheerful smile, as though he were only going on a journey of a day or two, grasping their hands and saying in that sweet, pleasant voice of his: Good by! Some one asking how he felt, he said: "Happy, resigned, trustful;" then repeated the 23d Psalm in a clear and well-modulated voice. At the verse: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me;" he raised his finger and his eyes as calmly as though in his pulpit, his voice as firm and strong as ever. After this exertion his strength seemed to fail him. Sinking back in bed he said: "It is all right for me, but she will feel it"—pointing to his wife. Friends again gathered round his bedside and he bade and smiled them good-by. His little son being brought in he said: "Dear little fellow—he's a beautiful boy!" kissing his hand to the child as the nurse carried it away in her arms. This was his last act on earth. Calmly closing his eyes, he seemed to go to sleep. A great, and good, and generous man was dead.

The Will of T. Starr King.

The following is a copy of the will of the late Thomas Starr King, made by him upon his death-bed, and filed in the Probate Court of California. It is understood that Mr. King, although most generous and open-handed in his mode of life, was able to leave a very comfortable provision for his family:—

Feeling that the time has come for me to be summoned in the presence of the Most High God, and believing in the salvation of my soul, I hereby make this my last will and testament: I hereby will and bequeath to my dear wife Julia, all my real and personal estate of which I am possessed, and all property of every description which belongs to me after my just debts are paid, with the exception of the proceeds of the policies of insurance upon my life which I wish shall be equally divided among my mother and the mother of my dear wife, to revert to my wife after the death of either, unless it should be the will of my wife that it should revert directly for the benefit of either or both of her children. The proceeds of this policy of insurance I wish to be invested by my executors for the benefit of the above heirs thereto. And I hereby name as my executors to this my last will and testament, Charles L. Low, William Norris and Robert B. Swain. My desire is that they shall give no bonds for the performance of their duty.

All other wills are hereby revoked, and in the presence of these witnesses I desire this to be my last will and testament.

San Francisco, March 4, 1864.

E. F. BEALE, } Witnesses.
J. N. ECKEL, }

TH. STARR KING.

THE UNSPOTTED LIFE:

A

DISCOURSE

In Memory of

REV. THOMAS STARR KING,

PREACHED IN THE WEST CHURCH,

MARCH 6, 1864.

BY C. A. BARTOL.

BOSTON:

WALKER, WISE, AND COMPANY,

245, WASHINGTON STREET.

1864.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON AND SON,
5, WATER STREET.

S E R M O N.

“LET US ALSO GO, THAT WE MAY DIE WITH HIM.” — John xi. 16.

It is an inquiry that comes to us ominously often of late, how we ought to feel about the death of those dear to us. We ought to feel, I answer, as dying with them; for, in fact, so we are, in the only way death has to us any meaning, or we ought to do with it. What is the dying of a man? Only his departure to another sphere of being. What is the dying of a beloved one? Only the entire translation at once of his spirit. But is not our spirit in part translated with him? Does not something of our thought, our heart, our imagination, and inmost mind, share in his ascent? Yes: not suddenly, but gradually, our human ties are worn away, and our affections weaned from their first nursing-places. Over long years of sorrow and experience does the process of our demise extend. As friend after friend rises, more and more of us, our real self, is gone, with each one taken into the skies; so that, when at last the herald comes for our poor mortality, he may have to sever but a slight cord, a single thread, of vital interest yet

holding us to the earth. Thank God, we do not remove painfully at once, but, as it were, piece-meal from one world to another !

You may well suppose this reflection is suggested by the sad news flashed over the telegraph on the last Friday so unlucky to our hopes. I find it in my heart to speak to you of nothing this morning but the decease of THOMAS STARR KING in San Francisco on that day, the 4th of March, 1864. O thou magnetic messenger, that seemest a spirit, so alert in thy motions and rapid to communicate through spaces of thousands of miles ! thou hast run on thy most grievous errand since thy trans-continental wires were stretched. But not so swift thy passage over the earth as his into the heavens.

Far back I am carried by this event. In the summer of 1848, a young man was brought, by my friend Dr. Bellows, for introduction at my house. He had the golden hair and ruddy complexion, in a fair skin, which are thought by some to betoken an uncommonly spiritual nature. A singular modesty, gentle self-denial, and beaming good-will, were in his countenance and air. The sweetness of his voice, when he spoke, added to the clear intelligence of every word ; while attending the tones were looks so transparent, that they served but for expression. The fleshly features were only the channel by which the immaterial inmate conveyed its wishes and thoughts. So extreme, however, in him was the impression of *youth*, that those who saw him with me said, " Why, he is a mere boy ! "

But that boy was a man already, as his whole deportment and discourse so signally showed. He was a Universalist minister, then settled in Charlestown,—a bright consummate flower of the Universalist faith. No particular advantages of academic or theological education had he enjoyed. But his were faculties so ready and forward, that they appeared to educate themselves. They required painstaking nurture as little as they did careful pruning or sharp restraint. At the touch of the common light and air, they came out in all their fulness. They blossomed into knowledge. They grew into piety. They spread abroad into love. They gave no credit to the theory, that dulness or depravity is the necessary heritage of the human race.

For myself, I was so drawn to the young stranger who came to my door, that I asked of him the favor to preach for me speedily, by way of exchange ; and accordingly, on the first day of October, 1848, he occupied this pulpit, preaching from the text, “ Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven ? ” — a theme how akin to the unconscious innocence and humility with which it was handled ! Pardon me the delight with which I look back to that first picture in my memory of a relation with Mr. King, that has never since felt a moment’s jar, but, with its chords running from his heart to mine, has only made perpetual music for me from that time to this ; though I must quicken my ear to hear its finer sweetness now. I am debtor for the grace of that early recognition. The Christian fel-

lowship thus expressed was indeed one of the steps — a necessary one, perhaps — to lead him into the pulpit of the Hollis-street Church, at his installation over which I was chosen to give him the charge. But, before entering on his more conspicuous career, he was compelled, by reason of slender health, to seek a balmier clime, which, like some other disabled clergymen, he found, mingled with hospitality from a family — including, I will not refuse myself the pleasure to say, some members of this West Church of ours — whose breath, on that Island of Fayal, among the sunny cluster, alighted like a flock in the ocean, of the Azores, was as kind to him as the atmosphere itself.

On his return, the influence he was born for swelled almost immediately through New England and New York. He was sought especially as a lecturer; and, in city halls or country lyceums, there was no more acceptable voice, till the fine oratory, so native to him, was summoned from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast. You know how the selection of him for that far southwestern border has, beyond the expectation of his warmest admirers, been justified by the result. Never was adaptation more perfect of a man to a work. Never to any shore of the globe was a more effective missionary sent out. You may be humbly proud of the one you chose. He has been alike religious apostle, philanthropic agent, and political converter. He has stood there like that Mount Shasta, which has lately been discovered to be loftier than Mont Blanc.

More than any other man, he has bound California to the United States, or strengthened her cable in the stormy gulf of Secession, so that it could not part when the great fleet of American commonwealths was so disastrously scattered. His country thanks him for the service. She will not forget it when her bands are whole again. Multitudes have gone into those regions after gold; but there has been no such *prospecting* of the auriferous fields as his. No miner has sunk shafts so deep. No engineer has crushed treasure from the rock, and cradled the glittering dust from mud and sand, with such skill as he has quarried and sifted, melted and refined, the heart of the people, which, under his masterly direction and gracious sway, brings its gifts of loyalty, devotion, and beneficence, by hundreds of thousands, to the common altar of country and God.

“Well, what shall he do for us, or get for us, where he goes?” I asked, in his presence, of a mutual friend, just before he went. “Let him fetch back himself,” was the reply. Ah! he has not done that in the body; though, verily, it was what most we wanted, and however some of us had been pleasantly exciting our fancy at the idea of the greater stature he would appear with, and the still richer accents we should be thrilled by, on his re-appearance in our midst. How fondly I, for one, like others of you, sketched him, with his face of blessing, again in my house, and once more, with his voice so soft and strong, here in the desk at which so early he stood! But what has he

done or gotten for us there? He has done the errand of a liberal theology. He has gotten the State for freedom. His has been the unparalleled convincing and commanding power. He raised that community as by the force of a hydrostatic column. He has done it, not by that burning and combining imagination which men call *genius*; for the impassioned originality which belongs to only one man among millions fell not to him. He has done it more meritoriously by holy and benignant purpose of his own will, and by that obedience to God which is the one thing better than inspiration. By many-handed ability of superior talents absolutely consecrated, by industry, simplicity, single-eyed zeal, never surpassed, has he done his work. He has done it at last by self-sacrifice to his own excessive requisitions on a delicate frame; for, in private letters, he pathetically describes himself as doing picket-duty on the outermost rim of civilization, longing for a sight of the camp. He has done it with a keen intellect, quick fancy, classic taste, and rounded style, suggesting something of the Greek in his composition, but employed to urge principles wide as the Christian revelation, and deep as the human heart. He has done it, moreover, by a temper, in all his toil, which I cannot help calling divine.

But why need I so praise him? There will be none to detract, in all the world, from his eulogy. True, I saw him intimately under the roof, abiding with him by the month, and never saw a fault in him.

I am profoundly ignorant, if he were a sinner, of his sins. But anybody could have lived with that magnanimous nature. Nobody could help loving it, though it did not solicit love. Did ever patience and forbearance go further than his? So just was he in trifles, that if he was staying anywhere, and wanted you to stay with him, he would tell the advantages of the other situation in the mountain-pass. Was greater generosity or self-forgetfulness ever seen? Was fairness in argument ever more impartial? Was finer geniality or truer friendship ever exhibited? Was a brilliant fame ever more unenvied? Did ever any one make smaller claims for himself? Did human eloquence ever reach, with strains more melodious, more open ears? Was ever critic, in his office, more equitable or kind? I have known mild, affectionate, tender-hearted, and accommodating persons, a great many, in my day; but I have never been acquainted with one who would go farther for you on his feet, toil harder or more disinterestedly for you with his hands, or sing the hymn of goodness he embodied in his life more harmoniously to you with his lips. Cheerfulness, like a bird's carol on the bough, he united with a prophet's gravity in every sober cause.

But no burdens of malice did he bear. If there are those who think it right to traduce, and to stab fair reputations for supposed truth and liberty's sake, he, Thomas Starr King, was not of their number: and he has proved, in the midst of temptation and opposition,

that no bitterness or hate is the necessary condition of unrivalled success ; for I judge there has been no accomplishment in the same way, on these Western shores, equal to his. He writes me, in a letter only a few days since received, that the pecuniary receipts in his church, recently dedicated, for the current year, would be twenty-five thousand dollars in gold, — a larger amount, by far, than in any other similar ecclesiastical establishment, without funded capital, in the land ; though, two years ago, the site of the building was a dreary sand-hill. Meantime, his instrumentality was pouring sums far greater into the purse of the Sanitary Commission. Truly of all good he was a medium. With the untroubled ease of a crystal lens he transmitted spiritual light and heat. We very often mention with commendation the dead. I thank God for such a subject of panegyric ; and I trust him to God, with all my grief, in the unfathomable mystery, shut so tight against our senses, to which he has gone.

The vanishing of a man like this seems a dreadful, an irreparable loss. Why was not some older or less useful person taken, and he left ? How many of us could have been better spared, and our stations with more facility filled ! Who indeed shall take his place ? Nobody, I answer. He has not left his place ! His own spirit, sanctified in glory to return mightier than ever to continue his work, — as spirits mightier than mortals doubtless do, — shall keep and enlarge the place God gave him only, whoever may succeed him

in office. Yet he did not leave his work imperfect. To what a beautiful top-stone he built it up ! No ; he did not die prematurely : no one does who is ripe for heaven. Dare we ask to be *old* before we are *useful*, since the expiring in greater youth, on the cross, of him who could yet say, "It is finished" ? Providence leaves nothing lacking. God knows where he wants his servants, and at what posts to assign their highest labor and joy. This at least is true of our friend, that, dying at thirty-nine, no man of his age could be a greater loss to this country, as no man, at any period of life, could by a larger band of the bereft be personally deplored. I pray you to observe, that, in all these sentences, I speak from conviction, with calm and unexaggerating mind.

"He was conscious to the last," says the electric report. Yes : he lived too thoroughly not to *manifest* life so long as his spirit staid. But did his consciousness cease when his frame turned to clay ? No : it only flamed beyond these dusty bounds into unobstructed communion with God ; though I see not how he can love us better even in heaven than he has done on earth. A telegram from Dr. Bellows, sent to me since this spontaneous preparation, announces that his death was after a few days' illness, at eight o'clock, Friday morning ; and that he was "happy to go," though "the grief of his friends is inexpressible."

What shall we say of him ? Many will mourn the patriot, the public benefactor, the moral teacher ; but hardly more than those, also, that will lament the

valued associate, whose life, as much as any in this generation, was fit to be friendship's crown. As I speak of him, something whispers to me, Is he not nearer to us now than he was at that remote position? This darling of our hearts, so loyal in his own, though loving the distant spot of his adoption, longed, like a home-sick child, for New-England things and faces. Is not angelic sight of New-England things and New-England faces part of his reward? With face as benignant, a listening as attentive, and a manner as lowly, as ever, may he not be witness, and consoler too, of our grief? O precious companion in past days with us in the dwelling and by the way! no more wilt thou take part in the delightful conversations to which thy own racy narrative, sympathetic art, and representative wit, lent the charm. No more wilt thou visibly attend us among the scenes of Nature, to whose most exquisite as well as sublime varieties of form and color, light and shade, thy perception was so large, so sensitive also, and acute. We shall not again see that soft brown eye of thine measure, more nicely than a surveyor's glass, the outline of the hills. No more will it dance in ecstasy at the curve of the waves, the shape and diverse hue of the sunset clouds, the slanting afternoon rays that shoot through the green alleys of the summer-woods, where we passed together, or the cathedral-arches reared for worship — "God's first temples" — among the branches of the pines. So deeply I at least must feel. When I walk henceforth among the mountains, through the

landscape, or by the sea, an image will come between to veil and hide them a little from my sight ; but mountain, landscape, and sea will be veiled and hidden by something more beautiful by far, and dearer to my heart, than they. Alas that we shall not see it with our eyes ! But, O friend vanished for a little while away ! we will not be downcast. Thou adorest in a loftier shrine. Thou beholdest beauty in the growths of a richer and more majestic paradise. The landscape is broader, the sky more grandly lifted, with thee ; and thou must have contradicted thy own nature if thou art not busy making the upper home more happy also for us to participate its felicities with thee by and by.

Brethren and sisters, how shall we who survive bewail our friend ? Not only in our words, not only in our tears. Not as we would bewail absent ones. He is not gone : he has come ! We will not sob over, but celebrate him. Providence does not permit us to pray beside his clay. That is not his body any longer, but foreign to him as any other dust of the globe. He is all spirit to us now, as he was nearly all such before ; and our obsequies shall be the seeking and assimilating of his quality to our souls, enthusiastic appreciator as he was of others' merits, and lowly, self-abnegating disparager of his own. The singular spell his peculiar nature laid upon us shall be a charm still to bring kindness from his aspect into our faces, richness from his voice into our tones, the matchless modesty of his behavior into our bearing, the breadth

